DEMETRIVS CANTEMIR.
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SENATOR, et AB IN- TIMIS CONSILIIS.

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THE HISTORY OF THE GROWTH and DECAY OF THE OTHMAN EMPIRE.

PART I.
CONTAINING
The GROWTH of the OTHMAN EMPIRE
FROM THE
Reign of OTHMAN the Founder;
TO THE
Reign of MAHOMET IV.
THAT IS,
From the Year 1300, to the Siege of VIENNA, in 1683.

PART II.
CONTAINING
The HISTORY of the DECAY of the OTHMAN EMPIRE,
FROM THE
Reign of MAHOMET IV.
TO THE
Reign of AHMED III.
BEING THE
HISTORY of the AUTHOR's OWN TIMES.

Written Originally in LATIN,

By DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, late Prince of MOLDAVIA.

Translated into ENGLISH, from the Author's own Manuscript,

By N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

ADORNED WITH

A Plan of Constantinople; and Twenty-two Heads of the Turkish Emperors, engraved from Copies taken from ORIGINALS in the GRAND SEIGNOR's Palace, by the late SULTAN's Painter.

LONDON,
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.
MDCCLVI.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

GROWTH and DECAY

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

IT will be necessary for the more easy pronouncing the uncommon names in this History to premise a few observations concerning the Turkish Ortography.

In the first place, A and E are often used for one another, as are also O and U, hence Soliman or Suliman, Allah or Ellah.

2. Ch is always to be pronounc'd like our K, except when it stands for the Turkish Chim (which read as the first syllable in the English word Chimney,) and then it must be sounded as our Ch in the word Church. Wherefore to avoid confusion, the words wherein Ch is to be thus pronounc'd, are always markt with an Asterisk as Chorlu*. Our Author expresses Chim by Cz (as Czorlu) which, 'tis to be supposed is the neareſt sound to it in his language. Sch when it stands for Shin or Schin, is pronounc'd like our Sh, as Shah or Schah. Our Author, probably for the forementiond reason, expresses also Shin by Sz, as Szah instead of Shah. When ſh belong not to one Syllable, they will be printed thus, ſh as Adhid, read As-had.

3. J consonant, standing for the Turkish Gim, may be pronounc'd in the beginning of a syllable, as in English; for example, Jenghiz. But at the end of a syllable like ge, in the word Age, as Yelvaj, as if it was Yelvage. So Hejra, as if it was Hedgri. If this be not exact, 'tis however the neareſt sound we have to it. Our Author always expresses Gim by Dz, as Dzenghiz, instead of Jenghiz, and generally uses the J consonant for the Turkish Ye (which answers to our Y) becauſe 'tis likely in his language, as in Italian, J is pronounc'd like Y. But this would breed confusion to an English Reader.

4. D and T are often used promiscuously, for instance, Erdogrul is sometimes Ertogrul. So Dugra and Tugra.

5. Words, or Names, that have been frequently, tho corruptly usd by us, are preserv'd in the Translation; such as Bajazet, instead of Bayazid; Mahomet, instead of Mohammed; Tamerlan, instead of Timurleng; and a few others, but then the difference is always noted.

As there will be annex'd a short Account of the Author and his History, there is no occasion to say any thing more here, than that the Author's Latin Manuscript History was communicated to the Translator by his Son, Prince Antiochus Cantemir, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Czarina, to his present Majesty King GEORGE.

At the same time were communicated also painted Copies of the Heads of all the Turkish Emperors, taken from Originals in the Grand Seignor's Palace, and with great difficulty procur'd by the Author, as is related in his Annotations. These Copies are small, and will be ingraven just as they are.

Some few Additional Notes are distinguiſh'd from the Author's Annotations, by being inclos'd between two Crotchets [ ].

THE

THE

HISTORY

BEfore the Reader proceeds to the following Hiſtory of the *Othman Empire*, it will be requiſite to explain ſome Particulars, concerning which the *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians ſeem to have been frequently and groſly miſtaken. The principal of theſe are,

I. The reduction of the year of the *Hejira*, to the *Chriſtian Æra*.

II. The Name and Nation of the *Turks*.

III. The Origin of the *Othman Race*, which now fills the *Turkiſh* Throne.

I. The *Hejira compar'd with the* Chriſtian *Æra*.

Many Hiſtorians, and thoſe of no little Credit, have, as I find, referr'd ſeveral material Occurrences to different years, for want of an accurate knowledge of the *Mahometan Æra*, by the *Turks* call'd *Hejret*, and by us *Hejira*. Of this, I ſhall produce a remarkable inſtance. Nothing certainly, ſince the removal of the Imperial Seat to *Conſtantinople*, has happen'd more memorable than the taking of that City by the *Turks*, whereby all Chriſtendom was in danger. And yet, the year of that laſt period of the *Greek* Empire is ſo far from being known, that very learned Writers differ about it, ſome placing it in the year 1452, others in 1453. Hence it may be inferr'd how many errors have been committed in other points of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory, as the days of the Birth, and Death of the Sultans, and the like. To remove theſe miſtakes, I have thought fit to inquire a little more accurately into this computation, eſpecially as I have made uſe of it in my Hiſtory. I ſhall not ſtay to examine the Name, or whether it begins from *Mahomet*'s flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, or from his death, as ſome *Mahometans* aſſert. It ſuffices for my purpoſe, to ſhow how to reduce the years of the *Turkiſh Æra*, to the year of our Lord, by ſome inſtances taken from *Chriſtian* Writings.

Ricciolus very rightly places the beginning of the *Hejira*, in the year of our Lord, 622, whoſe words, (ſince Authors differ chiefly about the day) I ſhall here quote. "The diſpute (ſays he) is concerning the "day. For the Aſtronomers, with *Al-*"*fraganus*, *Albutegnius*, and *Jordanus*, "aſtronomically compute the years of "the *Ismaelites* and *Turks* from *Thurſday* "the 15th of *July*, becauſe on that day "happen'd the true New-Moon. But the "*Arabians* themſelves, and the *Turks*, and "with them the Chronologers, *Scaliger* "and *Petavius*, politically compute from "*Friday* the 16th of *July*, join'd with the "foregoing night, becauſe in the night "following the 15th day, *Mahomet* fled "from *Mecca*, and the ſame night, firſt "appeared the New-Moon, and therefore "the *Arabians* begin their New-Moon "on the ſixth day of the Week or *Fri-*"*day*, which with them is now reckon'd "Holy." As *Ricciolus* has here mention'd two ſeveral ways of computing, without aſſigning the reaſon, it may not be amiſs to inform the Reader, that *Mahomet* when he introduc'd his Religion into the World, gave this general Rule for the beginning of the New-Moon, to the People ignorant of Aſtronomy: *When you ſee the Moon, begin the Faſt: When you ſee the Moon, celebrate the* Bairam. Now as the Moon is never ſeen on the firſt day but ſometimes on the ſecond, and ſometimes (if the New-Moon happens at Sun-ſet) not till the third; 'tis no wonder, *Mahomet* himſelf, being illiterate, or the Nations infected with his Superſtition, who believe their Law-giver is to be truſted more than their reaſon, ſhould take the ſecond day of the Moon for the New-Moon itſelf, and by that rule appoint the Months, Faſts, and Feſtivals. It is alſo very probable that *Mahomet* began the computation of the *Hejira* from his flight from *Mecca*. His Succeſſors, not to derogate from the Law, or out of negligence, or ignorance, have fix'd the beginning of the *Æra*, not from the Aſtronomical New-Moon, (which by the Teſtimony of all the Mathematicians, happen'd on *Thurſday* the 15th of *July*) but from the Political, which fell out on *Friday* the next day, and ſo appointed that day to be the firſt of the Month *Muharrem*. What has been ſaid is confirm'd by their preſent manner of computing, of which I have been an eye-witneſs. For tho' now, not only the day and hour, but

alſo

also the minute of the New-Moon may be pretty exactly known by their *Ephemerides*, by them call'd *Ruznamche**, yet they never begin either the *Ramazan* or *Bairam* ‖, till some have testified that they have seen the New-Moon. For this reason, every year about that time, certain Persons are sent by the *Sultan* to a high mountain (nam'd *Istrajadagby*, about twelve hours † distant from *Constantinople* towards the *Euxine Sea*) to observe the moment in which the New-Moon appears to their sight. When they see it, three of them instantly repair to the *Istambol Effendisi* or Judge of *Constantinople*, one of whom declares, he has seen the New-Moon, and the other two attest his declaration. The New-Moon being thus prov'd by three Witnesses, (for without that number, the *Grand Seignor* himself will not be credited in this case) the *Istambol Effendisi* immediately sends Cryers, at whatever hour it happens, to proclaim thro' the whole City, the *Ramazan* or *Bairam*. By which means, I have seen the *Mahometans* whilst they have been eating and drinking, spit out what they have had in their mouths at the voice of the Cryer, and begin the Fast. If a cloudy Sky hinders the Moon from being seen, or the Messengers are detain'd by the way, after waiting the first and second day, the People are commanded to abstain on the third from meat and drink, whether the Witnesses are come or not. In like manner, the Fast is not ended till the same Persons witness the appearance of the New-Moon of the Month *Shevvel*.

Tho' this be sufficient to remove the Reader's doubt of the truth of *Ricciolus*'s computation, it may not be improper to confirm the same by some farther instances. To this purpose, serve the two memorable conquests of *Constantinople* and *Rhodes*. The former is said, by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch to happen on *Tuesday* the 29th of *May*, 1453, and the more accurate *Turkish* Historians, on the 30th day of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, in the year of the *Hejira* 857. The Christians say *Rhodes* was taken the 25th day of *December* 1522, the *Turks*, the 3d day of the month *Sefer*, in the year of the *Hejira* 929, and add, that the siege lasted five months, beginning in the month *Ramazan*, of the year 928, and continuing the other three months of the same year; namely, *Shevvel*, *Zilcade*, and *Zilbije*, with the two first months of the next year, 729, *Muharrem* and *Sefer*, on the 3d of which it was surrender'd. To these, I may add a famous instance in the diploma of Sultan *Murad* III. to the Emperor *Rodolphus* II. in which, both the year of our Lord, and of the *Hejira*, are expresly set down in the following words: "On the first day of *Ja-*
"*nuary*, *Anno Domini Jesu*, (on whom be
"the divine favour and aid) 1584, which
"will be the 27th day of the month *Zil-*
"*bije* in the 991st year of the transmigra-
"tion of our Great Prophet." But according to *Ricciolus*'s Table, the year of the *Hejira*, 991, begins on *Tuesday* the 15th of *January*, 1583, and ends on *Friday* the 3d of *January*, 1584; so the 4th of *January* begins the year of the *Hejira*, 992. Since then the month *Zilbije* is the last of the *Hejira* year, and consists of twenty nine days, it is evident that the 27th of *Zilbije*, is the first of *January*, 1584. By means of these examples it will be easy for the curious Reader to compare the years of the two *Æra*'s together, with the assistance of a parallel astronomical Table, which I shall annex to this Preface **.

Before I proceed to the 2d point, I shall endeavour for the sake of the Curious, to clear a doubt into which some famous Historians have fallen.

The first year of *Othman* I. Emperor of the *Turks*, is by some, as *Leunclavius*, referr'd to the year of Christ, 1300; and

* The *ch* in all words markt with an Asterisk is to be pronounced as in the *English* words, *cheap*, *rich*.

‖ *Ramazan*, or as the *Arabians* write it, *Ramadan*, is the ninth month of the *Turkish* year, during which the *Turks* fast every day from meat, drink, and women, from Sun-rising till night. But upon the appearance of the next New-Moon, the *Bairam* begins, which is a time of feasting and jollity. In short, the *Ramazan* answers to the Christian *Lent*, and the *Bairam* to the Popish *Carnaval*.

Our Author seems here to reproach the *Turks* for reckoning the New-Moon from the second day, which after all, serves the purpose very well, and was a custom us'd also by the *Jews*. But I would fain know, what a learned *Turk* would think of our *Ecclesiastical* or *imaginary* Full-Moon by which we regulate all our Moveable Feasts. And for our *Old Style*, would he not think it ridiculous to hear us call that the first day of a month, which is really the eleventh? In a word, we knowingly and therefore absurdly stick to an error committed by the *Nicene* Fathers thro' ignorance, and therefore in them the more excusable. Sure a time will come when we shall be willing to reform at least such obvious and palpable errors.

† The *Turks* reckon the distance of Places by Hours, which are supposed to be each about three of our miles.

** Our Author has annex'd no such Table in his Manuscript.

by others, as *Calvisius*, from *Zacuthi*, to 1303. In order to clear this matter it must be observ'd, that by the consent of all the *Turkish* Chronologers, *Orchan* Son and Successor of *Othman*, took *Peusa* the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, in the year of the *Hejira* 726, and was then sent for by his dying father. That the same year on the 10th of *Ramazan*, *Othman* dying, *Orchan* succeeded him in the Throne. But *Ramazan* is the ninth month from *Muharrem*, the first month of the *Hejira* year. Now the 10th of *Ramazan* fell that year, (as appears by the Chronological Table) on the 8th of *August*. Moreover it is affirm'd by the *Turkish* Writers of the greatest credit, that *Othman* reign'd twenty six years, three months, and ten days, (tho' *Leunclavius*, by what authority I know not, ascribes to him, twenty nine Lunar or twenty eight solar years) and was succeeded by *Orchan*, the 10th of *Ramazan*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 726. Wherefore counting backwards from the 10th of *Ramazan*, to the year of the *Hejira*, 700, and to the 10th of the same month *Ramazan*, we shall reckon twenty six compleat years. In like manner, counting back three months, namely, *Shaban*, *Rejeb*, and *Jemaziul achir*, with the ten days of *Ramazan*, it will appear that the first year of *Othman*'s reign was the 700th of the *Hejira*, and began the 1st of the month *Jemaziul achir*; answering to the 11th of *February*, 1301. as appears in the following Table.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the year of the *Hejira*, 700, answering to the year of our Lord, 1300.

H. 700. A. C. 1300.

LUNAR MONTHS.	SOLAR MONTHS.
30 *Muharrem*, 1.	Sept. 16.
29 *Safur*.	Oct. 16.
30 *Rebiul evvel*.	Nov. 14.
29 *Rabiul achir*.	Dec. 14.
30 *Jemaziul evvel*.	Jan. 13. A. 1301.
29 *Jemaziul achir*.	Feb. 11.
30 *Rejeb*.	Mar. 12.
29 *Shaban*.	April 11.
30 *Ramazan*.	May 10.
29 *Shevval*.	June 9.
30 *Zilcade*.	Jul. 8.
29 *Zilhije*.	Aug. 7.

Observe the Year of Christ, 1301, falls in this Year of the *Hejira* on the month *Jemaziul evvel*, whose first day answers to the 12th of *January*. But it was before shown, that *Othman* began to reign in the year of the *Hejira* 700, the first day of *Jemaziul achir*, which is the 11th of *February* 1301, tho' in the Table, the year of the *Hejira*. 700, answers to the year of Christ, 1300; therefore what was said of the beginning of *Othman*'s reign is rightly infer'd. Hence, in my opinion, proceeded the mistakes of *Leunclavius* and others in their way of computing.

In the same manner the *Hejira* may in any other years be easily reduc'd to the *Christian Æra*, by only seeing in the astronomical Table on what day and year the beginning of any year of the *Hejira* falls. For instance, the beginning of the year of the *Hejira* 699, which preceeded *Othman*'s reign falls on *Monday* the 28th of *September*, 1299, which therefore is the first day of *Muharrem*.

Having thus sufficiently prov'd the first year, month, and day of *Othman*'s reign, by the same method may be found out the year, month, and day of the death of *Erdogrul*, *Othman*'s Father, who according to *Saadi*, died in the year of the *Hejira* 680, (which begins on *Tuesday* the 22d of *April*, 1281) and therefore from the first year of *Othman*'s reign to *Erdogrul*'s death, there were inclusively nineteen years, seven months, which being trac'd as before in *Othman*'s case, it will appear that he died the last day of *Shevval* of the year 680, which answers to the 10th of *February*, 1281. So likewise may be found the time of *Erdogrul*'s reign and *Soliman*'s being drown'd in the *Euphrates*, which is unanimously ascrib'd to the year of the *Hejira* 616, that is, sixty four years inclusively from 680, the time of *Erdogrul*'s death, which being trac'd as before, it is manifest that *Soliman* was drown'd and *Erdogrul* began his reign on the first day of *Zilhije* in the year 616, which answers to the 6th of *February* 1220.

Thus likewise the year of *Soliman*'s irruption may be found out, which according to *Nishrin*, happen'd in the year of the *Hejira*, 611, and consequently four years and eleven months before his death, or on the last day of *Muharrem*, in the year 611, which answers to the 10th of *June* 1214.

As *Jenghizchan*'s irruption is mention'd by the *Turkish* Writers about the same time with

with *Soliman's*, and as *Christian* Authors differ in that point, I shall endeavour to fix the time. *Nicephorus Gregoras* (who is rather a Rhetorician than Historian) says (Lib. II.) that *Jenghizchan* in the year of Christ, 1222, and of the *Hejira* 619, first came down towards the *Caspian* Sea. *Lonicerus* will have it to be in A. C. 1202. H. 599. *Calvisius* in A. C. 1220. H. 611. *Ricciolus* in A. C. 1212. H. 609. But with the most learned *Saadi effendi* of *Lariſſa*, in his elaborate *Synopſis Hiſtoriarum* (publiſh'd in 1696, and dedicated to Sultan *Muſtapha*, Brother and Predeceſſor of the preſent Sultan *Achmet*) collected from the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians, *Meulana Idris*, *Neſhrin* and *Saadi Tajuttevarich*, and *Pirebbi* * and *Herzarſen*, I firmly hold that *Soliman Shah*, Father of *Ertrogul*, firſt departed from the City *Nera*, bordering on the *Caſpian* Sea, in the year of the *Hejira*, 611, which anſwers to the year of *Chriſt*, 1214, and coming into *Aſia minor*, with his *Oguzians*, *Jenghizchan's* irruption happen'd either the ſame, or the next year (which of the two is uncertain) and *Soliman* thereupon remov'd towards *Media*. Hence therefore, on the authority of theſe Hiſtorians it appears that *Jenghizcan's* invaſion was one or two years after *Soliman*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 612 or 613, that is, of Chriſt, 1215 or 1216; in the 6th year of the reign of the Emperor *Theodorus Laſcaris*.

II. *Concerning the Name and Nation of the* Turks.

Among the many Swarms that came from the cold regions of *Scythia*, the *Turks* were not the leaſt noted, as the *Perſian* Annaliſts abundantly teſtify, as well as the famous Author of the *Othman* Annals *Tajuttevarich*, *Saadi effendi*, and what ſeems to be inſerted from him in the *Lexicon Perſico-Turcicum Nimetullah* to explain the word *Turk*, where it is ſaid, "By this name are call'd the inhabitants "of *Chata* or *Chaten* (*Kitabia* or *Great* "*Tartary*) who inhabit the *Copchac** Plains. "And becauſe all of them have fair faces "and black eyes and eye brows, there- "fore the *Perſian* Poets call Lovers and "Gallants, by compariſon, *Turks*." But this name of *Copchacs** peculiar to a Tribe of the *Tartars* was after *Jenghizchan's* expedition given by the *Perſians* to the whole nation of *Scythians*, their Conquerors, as appears by the teſtimonies of the *Perſian* Writers. Thus the Poet *Saadi Saadi*, in the Preface of his *Guiſtan* or *Roſary*, declares the cauſe of his leaving his country *Choraſan* to this effect: "Are you igno- "rant, my Friend, why I ſojourn'd for "a time in foreign Climates? I departed "becauſe of the iniquities of the *Turks*." Deſcribing their manners, he ſays, in another place, "They are all the Sons of "Men, but are like bloody Wolfs: At "home they are adorn'd with good man- "ners like angels, but abroad are an ar- "my of Lions." That he ſpeaks of the *Scythian* nation of the *Turks* who follow'd *Jenghizchan*, is plain from the time in which he compos'd this *Roſary*, namely, (as he ſays himſelf) in the year of the *Hejira*, 656, in the reign of *Ebubeker*, Son of *Saadi*, that is, forty four years before *Othman*, and forty eight after *Jenghizchan's* Expedition. *Nicephorus*, mentions by the name of *Turks*, the People who in his time were ſubject to *Azadinus* (ſo he corruptly calls *Aladin*) Sultan of *Iconium*. "To the "Emperor (*Theodorus Laſcaris* the younger, "in 1255) thus employ'd were brought "(ſays he) Letters from *Nicæa*, ſignify- "ing *Palæologus's* flight to the *Turks*." That *Michael* fled to this *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, ſhall hereafter be ſhown by the unanimous teſtimony of the Hiſtorians. Since therefore it is manifeſt, the Name of the *Turks* was known to all *Aſia* long before *Othman*, and chiefly attributed to the *Scythian* Tribes that follow'd *Jenghizchan*, and were diſpers'd over *Perſia* and *Aſia minor*, it remains to ſhow how this name came to be appropriated to the *Othmanides*. *Soliman*, Father of the *Othman* Race, Prince of *Nera*, treading in the ſteps of the great *Jenghizchan*, came forth from his Country with fifty thouſand Followers, the flower of the *Scythian* youth, and overran not only the neighbouring regions, but all *Azerbejan* and *Syria*, as far as *Aleppo*. When the news of theſe Conqueſts was brought to the *Perſian* Court, immediately the name *Turk*, common to the *Jenghizchan Scythians*, was given alſo to this Army. Another reaſon of this appellation, beſides that before mention'd out of *Tajuttevarich* and *Nimetullah*, is alledg'd by the beſt *Perſian* Writers, namely, the uglineſs of the *Scythians* if compar'd with the *Perſians*, on which account *Turk*, the name formerly of the

beautiful

beautiful nation of *Copehacs*, was by the Poets ironically given to them. After *Soliman*'s death these Forces being dispers'd, when upon *Jengbizcan*'s Invasion, many *Persian Satrapæ* or Governors, (who presided over *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Paphlogenia*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, and the rest of the *Asiatick* Kingdoms lying between *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Caspian Sea*, and the *Euphrates*) had taken the opportunity to shake off the *Persian* yoke, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, the most powerful of these Princes, resolv'd also to destroy the remains of the *Jengbizcban* Forces, who continually infested his dominions. But being by them conquer'd and expell'd his Kingdom, he fled to his Friend *Michael Palæologus* the *Greek* Emperor, and desir'd his assistance. As he died in this exile, his Son *Melekshah* (corruptly call'd by *Nicephorus*, *Meloko*) who afterwards assum'd the name of *Aladin* II. finding he was only amus'd by *Palæologus*, and having in vain desir'd leave to depart, privately retir'd by the help of his People, into his Country; where being join'd by the Great Men of his Father's Kingdom, he not only freed them and himself by his valour from the *Scythian* yoke, but recover'd his paternal dominions, and forc'd many of his Enemies to submit to his Empire. These he deprives of their Arms, and to stifle their martial Spirit, mixes them with the Country Peasants to exercise agriculture, and calls them by the common name of *Turks*, whence it came to pass that he who before was call'd *Satrapas* of the *Persians*, or Sultan of *Iconium* was now stil'd Sultan of the *Turks*. About this time, *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*, being drown'd in attempting to swim the *Euphrates*, *Aladin* appoints his Son *Erdogrul*, famous for his warlike Virtues and Exploits, and after his death, his Grandson, young *Othman*, General of his Armies. *Aladin* dying, (as the *Turkish* Annals relate) without Heirs, *Othman* is unanimously proclaim'd Sultan. Whereupon to banish from his People the ignominious and odious name *Turk*, he order'd it to be confin'd to the Peasants, and the rest to be call'd *Othmanli* or *Othmans*. Then removing his Seat from *Iconium* to *Neapolis*, (call'd by them *Enisheri*) he order'd himself to be stil'd Emperor of the *Othmans*, and not of the *Turks*. On these accounts the *Othman Port*, will not at this day be call'd the *Turkish* Court, nor does it suffer that word to be us'd but in reference to the language, as *Turkije Yilurmisin?* Do you understand *Turkish*? *Othmanije Yilurmisin* being improper. For *Othmanije* denotes politeness of manners, as on the contrary, *Turkije* signifies rude and uncivil'd. Hence the common saying, *Turk Muddeti um rinde: A Turk thro' the whole course of his life*: that is, he will always be a clown, and never learn the politeness of the *Othmans*.

Very probably to a Reader, vers'd in History, a doubt will here arise, since he finds that *Turkistan*, a Country lying between the *Chugataian Tartars* and the *Chinese*, is assign'd by most of the antient and modern Geographers for the Seat of the *Turks* or *Turcomans*. But as by a very gross error, the *Turks* and *Turcomans* are confounded, so by a no less mistake is *Turkistan* made the Seat of Both. This is refuted by the most accurate Historian *Suadi*, when he expressly affirms, that the Princes who from the *Chinese* Provinces join'd *Tamerlan*, came from *Turkistan*. His words are; "Of the "Kings of *Turkistan*, twenty famous "Princes join'd their forces with *Timur*, "and pitch'd their Tents in his camp." But that the *Turks* are descended from the *Oguzian Tartars* I shall demonstrate when I come to speak of the origin of the *Othman* Race. As for the *Turcomans*, to whom the Grand Seignor now gives a Prince, and removes him at pleasure, they have no fixed habitations, but live in Tents, (call'd *Oba*) and wander up and down as far as *Erzer*, thro' part of *Armenia major* (formerly *Assyria*) which even now is by some *Christian* Writers, call'd *Turcomania*, a name unknown to the *Turkish* Annals. For all the antient *Turkish* Historians and Geographers call *Armenia major* by a synonimous name with ours, *Ermeniyei Kubra*, and *Armenia minor* they are us'd to call *Ermeniyei Sugra*, which perhaps is a good argument that they are not originally Natives of that Country. They all profess the *Mahometan* Religion, but for want of Houses, neglect many Precepts of the *Koran*, particularly, praying five times a day. Some of these People, were by Sultan *Murad* IV. forced to remove into *Europe*, and were put in possession of the Plains between the mountains of *Hemus*, (call'd at this day *Chenghe* by the *Turks*) from *Aetos*, (a noted Town at the foot of *Hemus*) to *Philippolis*, where after the custom of their Nation, they live in Tents, and cultivate their

their lands, but however, are much more civiliz'd than those of *Asia*. But that the modern *Turks* should derive their original from this Nation, I don't find it so much as conjectur'd even by the Historians of these People. Only indeed they are the same, who were first subject to *Aladin*, and afterwards to *Othman* the first Sultan of the *Othmanidæ*, of which more largely under the following Head. Hence we justly infer, that the contrary common opinion is founded more on the ignorance of the *Europeans* in the Eastern languages, and on the sound of the Words, than on the Truth of the Thing.

III. *Origin of the* Othman *Race.*

It seems peculiar to the most illustrious Races in the World, to have either a doubtful or fabulous Origin. If we view the beginnings of the most noble *Grecian*, *Persian*, or *Roman* Families, what do we meet with but Fables and ridiculous Fictions of the Poets, concerning their Origin. If this was the case among the most polite nations of the World, what is to be expected from *Barbarians*, strangers to learning? Tho' soon after the foundation of this Empire several *Turkish* Writers, compos'd fabulous Histories, for instance, That call'd *Tevarichi Alothman*, (from whence some *Christian* Authors seem to borrow their Chronology of the *Othmans*) they are not approved by the *Turks*, and are bitterly inveigh'd against, in *Tajuttevarich*. Thus we read that some derive the Rise of the *Turkish* Empire from the downfal of the *Tartarian* Dominion, and others, from a Band of Robbers, and find but very few have discover'd the true Origin of the Race which now reigns.

I. As for those who begin the Growth of the *Turkish* from the downfal of the *Tartarian*, Empire, least they should seem to assert it without grounds, they frame a long series of *Tartarian Chans*, but agree neither in their accounts of the years, nor in Facts. *Nicephorus Gregoras* says *Jengbizchan* (whom he calls *Sitzischan*) appear'd about the year 1222 (more rightly in 1216 as we have shown) in the reign of *Johannes Ducas*. *Jengbizchan* dying, leaves two Sons, *Chalaos* and *Telepugas*. *Chalaos* leaving the *Caspian* Sea, and the river *Iaxartes* to the North, descended thro' *lower Asia*, but *Telepugas*, having settled his Empire, pass'd, towards the South, over the Mountains of *Caucasus* and the *Caspian* Sea, and marched thro' the Territories of the *Sauromatæ* and *Messagetæ*, subduing not only them, but all the Nations inhabiting about the *Palus Mæotis* and *Tanais*. *Lonicerus*, who places *Jengbizchan*'s expedition in 1202, relates, that having overturn'd the Kingdom of the *Indians*, he founded the Empire of *Great Tartary*, and reign'd twelve years in *Asia*. He was succeeded (says he) by his Son *Hocatan*, and he by *Majuzchan* who took *Antioch* from the Christians in 1260. *Majuzchan* dying, *Helio*, and after him, in 1280, *Abusaga*, reign'd. This last was succeeded by *Tanagodorus*, who embracing Christianity, was call'd *Nicolaus*, but returning afterwards to his old Superstition, took (says he) the name of *Mahommed*. *Battus* was his Successor, but dethron'd by *Casan* Son of *Argo*, who about the year 1310, overran all *Syria*. After *Casan*, came *Carbadagrus*, under whom the Empire of the *Tartars* in *Asia* falling to decay, that of *Othman* was erected. In this series of *Tartar* Kings, *Lonicerus* reckons one hundred and eight years, and others ninety eight. But to pass by all the forementioned Names, entirely unknown and foreign to the *Turkish* Language and History, it is agreed by all who have left written Histories of the Eastern Nations, that the *Tartarian* Princes, Successors of *Jengbizchan*, were in the year of the *Hejira* 656, and of Christ 1258, (forty-four years before *Othman*) subdued by *Ebubekir* Son of *Saadi*, King of *Persia*, and their Provinces restor'd to the *Persian* Monarchy, except those which were held by some of the *Satrapæ*, who in the expedition of the *Tartars*, took (as I have said) the opportunity to set up for themselves, among whom were *Aladin*, Sultan of *Iconium*, and *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*. Hence it is evident that the *Tartarian* Kingdoms in *Asia* were overturned by the *Persians* long before the beginning of the *Othman* Empire, which therefore could not derive its Origin from thence.

II. There are also other *Christian* Historians, who, perhaps out of envy, say that *Othman* first Emperor of the *Turks*, was a Man of mean Estate, who gathering together a Band of Robbers and Murderers, fell upon his Neighbours, and by force or policy oppress'd all, both of his own and other

Nations. To this opinion, though it wants, I think, no confutation, as being in itſelf improbable, 'twill not be amiſs to oppoſe the authority of *Chalcocondylas*, who almoſt alone of all the *Greek* Hiſtorians that have writ of the *Turkiſh* Affairs, deſerves credit. In his firſt Book he affirms, "that "*Othman* firſt Emperor of the *Turks* both "by his Father *Erdogrul* and Grandfather "*Soliman*, was among the *Turks* as well "illuſtrious for his Birth as renowned for "his Virtues."

III. Others there are who think a little more honorably of ſo great a race, and grant it was deriv'd from a noble Family of the *Oguzian Tartars*, but omitting its true Author, *Soliman Shah* Prince of *Nera*, introduce other names of Tribes unknown to the *Turkiſh* Annals, as the *Evreneſii*, the *Ebrenenſes*, the *Turacambi* or *Turacani*, the *Michaloglienſes* and *Malcochoglienſes** &c, &c. The four firſt of theſe names neither ſignify any thing etymologically, nor do I remember to have ſeen them in any *Turkiſh* Hiſtorian, except *Evrenus*, or as ſeveral read it, *Ornusbeg*, General under *Murad* I. and the firſt that was call'd *Prince of Greece*, as will appear in the following Hiſtory. The Families of the *Michalogli* and *Malcochogli** are moſt certainly private Families only, and not very antient. For *Michael Koſſe* was Head of the firſt, who being related in blood to the *Comnenian* Family, and abjuring Chriſtianity fled, as the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians ſay, to them. He flouriſhed under Sultan *Orchan*, an evidence of which is the Stone-Bridge at *Adrianople*, built over the River *Tunje* by his Son or Grandſon, which ſtill goes by the name of *Michalogli Kupriſi*, that is, *the Bridge of Michalogli*. Of the ſame original is the Family of the *Malcochogli**, whoſe Author by the common opinion of the *Turks* is of *Bulgarian* or *Sirbic* Extraction, who changing his Religion went over to them, neither is the name of the *Malcochoglians** heard of, but in Songs wherein the *Turks* uſe to celebrate the Actions of Great Men. Hiſtory is entirely ſilent about him. He flouriſh'd under *Mahomet* who took *Conſtantinople*.

IV. Moreover, ſome in numbering the *Oguzian* Race, feign ſuch unheard of names, that they may juſtly ſeem barbarous to the *Barbarians* themſelves, as, *Oguzalpis*, who, they ſay, was Father to *Erdogrul*, and *Duzalpis*, Father of *Oguzalpis* and Great Grandfather of *Othman*. Others no leſs barbarouſly divide it into four Branches, the *Nambuci*, *Candelori*, *Caramani*, and *Othmani*. Of theſe names only *Duzalpis* is *Turkiſh*. The *Caramani*, though very noted in the Eaſt, are however falſely numbered with the *Oguzians*. For the Founder of this Family, *Caramanogli*, who gave his name to his Dominions and Race, was one of the *Perſian Satrapæ* or Governors, that on *Jenghizchan*'s invaſion, threw off the *Perſian* yoke; but his Poſterity are deſcribed by the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians as Enemies to the Growth of the *Othman* Empire; nor was their Dominion entirely deſtroyed till the Reign of Sultan *Mahomet*, who took *Conſtantinople* in the year of the *Hejira* 872.

V. Having ſufficiently examined the various opinions of the Writers in general, I ſhall now proceed to the Sentiments of ſome particular Authors of Note. The firſt that occurs is *Laonicus Chalcocondylas*, a Man not only to be reckoned among the Claſſick Authors, but to be deemed a very diligent ſearcher into the *Othman* Affairs. He collects the various opinions concerning the origin of the *Turks*, and thus briefly relates them in his firſt Book. 1. Some (ſays he) think, the *Turks* (that is the *Othmans*) are deriv'd from the *Scythians*, whom they alſo call *Tartars*, and that whilſt the *Parthians* flouriſh'd, they broke out ſeven times from *Tanais*, and as often laid waſte *Higher Aſia*. They imagine this conjecture is confirmed from hence, becauſe (ſay they) there are now to be ſeen, as 'tis reported, many of this Nation diſperſed over *Aſia*, reſembling the *Scythian Nomadæ* in their manners and way of living, that is, they have no fix'd Habitations. He adds farther, they alſo endeavour to confirm their opinion, that the *Turks* are of *Scythian* extraction, by another argument, namely, becauſe the barbarous Nations of *Turks*, which inhabit *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, are known to differ neither in Language nor Cuſtoms from the *Scythians* inhabiting between *Tanais* and *Salmatia*. 2. There are alſo (ſays *Chalcocondylas*) who ſuppoſe the *Turks* to be deſcended from the *Parthians*. For it is agreed (ſay they in proof of their opinion) that the *Parthians*, when diſtreſs'd by the wandering *Scythians* (who from changing paſtures are call'd *Nomadæ*) came

came into *Lower Aſia*, and live in the ſame manner with the others, and appear diſperſed through their Towns, and from thence that race of Men happened to be called *Turks*, as much as to ſay, *Nomadæ*.

How weak this Interpretation of the word *Turk* is, abundantly appears, I think, from what I have before ſaid of the true Etymology of the *Turkiſh* name. 3. Others imagine the *Turks* came from *Turca*, a large and rich City of *Perſia*, and at laſt poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Lower Aſia*. 4. Some alſo are pleaſed to think that they came out of *Cælo-Syria* and *Arabia* or *Scythia* (perhaps this ſhould be *Perſia*) having with them their Lawgiver *Omares* (more truly *Omerus*,) and at length acquired the Empire of *Aſia*, living like the *Nomadæ*.

After *Chalcocondylas* had thus ſhown the various opinions of ſeveral Writers, he in the end agrees with them who affirm the *Turks* to come from the *Scythians*. For, ſays he, it is evident, the *Scythians* who live at this day in *Europe* towards the Eaſt, are exactly like the *Turks* in their Commerce, Cuſtoms, and manner of life.

VI. At laſt, *Chalcocondylas* being about to give his own opinion, rejects the almoſt dry Rivulets, and draws the Truth from the very Fountain. "I find (ſays he) "when the Race of the *Turks* was greatly increaſed, it was divided into ſeveral "Tribes, among which the Tribe of the "*Oguzians* was one. Of theſe was born "their Leader *Duzalpes*, (the ſame that "is called in the *Turkiſh* Annals, *Kiya Aleb*, "Father of *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*) a Man ſtudious of juſtice and "equity. This Perſon, I find to be "much praiſed for his fortitude, and to "be ſo juſt, that the contending parties choſe him for Arbiter in every affair, and both ſides gladly acquieſc'd in his "Sentence. The *Oguzians* ſeeing this "Man's equity, prevail'd by their repeated intreaties with the King of that "Country to make him their Judge." [The explainer of *Chalcocondylas*, wrongly interprets this King to be *Aladin*, Sultan of *Iconium*.] "After this, they delivered "themſelves up to *Duzalpes*, to do with "them what he ſhould deem beneficial "to the *Oguzians*. Afterwards when his "Son *Oguzalpes* [he will appear preſently to be the ſame with *Soliman Shah*] had "claimed the Rule of the *Oguzians*, he "aſpir'd to Royalty, and by warring on "the *Greeks*, ſoon grew to be very famous in *Aſia*. Moreover his Son *Ortho-*"*gules*," [hence it plainly appears that *Oguzalpes* is our *Soliman Shah*, Prince of *Nera*] "having made himſelf illuſtrious "by his Actions in *Aſia*, was at length "ſent for by *Aladin*, and by him greatly "eſteemed." Thus far *Laonicus Chalcocondylas*.

VII. After *Laonicus*, but not of ſo approv'd credit, comes *Johannes Gaudier*, no careleſs interpreter of the *Turkiſh* Annals. Nevertheleſs, he has, as I think, too boldly aſſerted for truth what he has taken from ſome *Turkiſh* Chronicle, concerning the *Othman* Race. In the firſt place, he ſets down ſome names very corruptly, and ſometimes not in their true order, with ſome inconſiſtencies as to times, places, names of Nations and particular Men. The firſt (ſays he) that rul'd the *Turks* was *Othman*, Son of *Erdogrul*, Son of *Soliman Shah*, Son of *Cabielpis*, Son of *Caſulbuga*. Thus far he was right, but then follow twelve corrupt names ſcarce to be traced in the *Turkiſh* Annals. After which, he adds that he recites only theſe ſeventeen Patriarchs of this Race, but that the reſt, whoſe names are unknown to him, might in a continued Series be carried up to *Japhet* Son of *Noah*. Then he proceeds to declare the Origin of the *Othman* race, and aſſerts what is contrary to almoſt all the opinions, and eſpecially to *Chalcocondylas*. Whilſt (ſays he) the Family of the *Oguzians* reigned in continual ſucceſſion over the *Parthians*, they were plain and unciviliſ'd, but afterwards embracing the *Mahometan* Religion, they made the City of *Macban* the Seat of their reſidence. When *Soliman Shahus* reigned over the *Parthians*, [*Oguzians*] the famous *Jenghiz* made an irruption into *Parthia*, and deſtroy'd *Belcha* and *Chorafan*, but *Curiſemi Shahus*, Prince of *Belcha*, periſhed in his flight. Sultan *Aladines* of *Seljukian* extraction, flying from *Parthia* to the Country of *Junan* [which this Author thinks to be the preſent *Caramania*, but in reality *Junan*, is *Ionia*] and ſeizing the City *Savaſta*, [whence he ſhould have this I don't know] aſſum'd royal Power. At the ſame time *Macban* being totally deſtroy'd, *Soliman Shahus* giving way to the violence of the *Tartars*, and leaving *Parthia* (perhaps this ſhould be *Patria*) repair'd to *Erzinga* [he means

means *Ezerbejan*] from thence penetrating into *Romania*, came to *Amaſia*, [entirely contrary to Hiſtorical Truth.] Then altering his courſe, he goes to *Chaleppus*; and when he incamped at the City *Jaber*, on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and firſt attempted to ſwim the River on horſeback, is drown'd. *Soliman* had three Sons, whoſe names were *Sungargenſis*, *Gilldogdis*, and *Ertucules* Father of *Othman*, Founder of the *Othman* Empire.

VIII. Having thus given the Opinions of other Hiſtorians in this Affair, it remains now to ſhow as clearly as I can, the true Origin of this illuſtrious Race. *Soliman* Prince of *Nera*, is by all the Hiſtorians of his Nation, and alſo by the more accurate *Chriſtian* Writers, affirm'd to be Fore-father of the *Turkiſh* Emperors, the Glory of whoſe Anceſtors, as it is but darkly ſet forth by the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians, I think it in vain to ſeek for a clearer account in other Writers. Nevertheleſs it is ſo far agreed by all, that *Soliman* was of the nobleſt *Oguzian* Family among the *Scythians*, and Head of a *Horde* or Tribe of *Tartars* near the *Caſpian Sea*, whom they vulgarly call *Conar Cocher Tatar tayfeli*, that is, *ſtaying* and *going*, as much as to ſay, without fix'd Habitations. I am inclined to believe they dwelt between the *Caſpian Sea*, and the Lake now called by the Inhabitants *Carabogaz*, where at this day the *Scythians* who are now called *Caracalpak*, lead a wandering life, and ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Language, though the *Turks* greatly differ from them in their manners and way of living. By theſe, as well as by the neighbouring People, *Soliman* was proclaimed by the name of *Shah*. (By the way, *Shah* in the *Perſian* Tongue is more honorable than *Chan*, and ſignifies a Prince to whom the *Chans* are ſubject, hence the King of *Perſia* affects the title of *Shah*. But *Chan* is the ſame as a Governor of a Province, and much like a Vizir or *Baſha*, who has the privilege of three Horſe-Tails.) Whether *Soliman* receiv'd this dignity from his Anceſtors, by Hereditary Right, or acquir'd it by his own Worth, ſince no Hiſtorian but *Chalcocondylas*, clearly mentions it, I ſhall not take upon me to determine.

IX. Before I proceed, it will be proper to inlarge a little on what has been juſt mention'd, namely, that after *Jenghizchan*'s expedition, and the deſtruction of the *Perſian* Monarchy, moſt of the *Satrapæ*, or Governors of the *Perſian* Provinces between the *Euphrates* and *Mediterranean*, made themſelves independent, and rul'd in their own names. This ſeems to be hinted by *Nicephorus*, in his ſeventh Book. "But "(ſays he) the *Turks* [note that he calls all the *Satrapæ* that revolted from the *Perſian* King, *Turks*] " by agreement divided "among them by lot, all the Provinces of "the *Roman* juriſdiction." Then he adds the names of the *Satrapæ*, but ſo corruptly, that without the aid of Hiſtory they could not be thought the ſame with the forementioned *Satrapæ*, whoſe true names thus occur in the *Turkiſh* Annals. *Churzem Shah* (King of *Caſpia*, for *Churzem* among the *Turks*, ſignifies the *Caſpian Sea*, whoſe name tho' they do not mention, yet they ſay he was ſubdued by *Jenghizchan*) *Caramanogli*, *Azerbejan*, *Germianogli*, *Hamidogli*, *Kutrum Bayezid*, *Iſfindarbeg*, *Ahmedbolamir*, *Tekkebeg*, *Zuulcadirbeg*, and the chief of all, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, who alone enjoy'd the name of *Sultan*. I ſhall dwell no longer on theſe matters, each of which the Reader will find in its proper place, in my Annotations.

X. When theſe things had thus happen'd, in the third year, (as I have ſhown) after *Jenghizchan*'s Expedition, our *Soliman*, Prince of *Nera*, and of a Tribe of *Oguzians* with fifty thouſand ſelect *Scythians*, paſs'd the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, and at once overran all *Azerbejan* (or *Media*) to the borders of *Syria*. But I imagine it will not be unworthy the Reader's Curioſity to look back a little to the manner, occaſion, and time of the coming forth of the Patriarch of a race at preſent ſo illuſtrious.

XI. *Saadi Effendi* Author of the Annals, ſo approv'd by the *Othmans*, thus deſcribes the manner and occaſion of *Soliman*'s irruption. Antient Writers, (ſays he) who have faithfully tranſmitted the Knowledge of things to poſterity, relate, that when *Alſuljuk*, (i. e. the *Seljukian* Tribe) removed from *Maverennubar* (a Country beyond the *Oxus* towards the *Caſpian Sea*, known alſo to our modern Geographers) to the Land of *Iran* (a Country below the *Oxus*, reaching to the *Perſian* Sea, and on the Weſt to the *Tigris*) with them alſo *Kiya Chan* (Father of *Soliman Shah*) Prince of the *Oguzians*, departed with his Tribe from *Meruſhahjan*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the City *Machan*.

chan. But after *Jenghizchan*'s Irruption, *Soliman Shah* Son of *Kiya*, or as ſome write it, *Kiya aleb Chan*, whoſe Dominions now reached to *Ahlad* (Part of *Armenia major*) when he ſaw the rage and cruelty of the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* to be intolerable, was forc'd to relinquiſh his Poſſeſſions, and with his people to move in queſt of new Habitations towards *Rum* (ſo part of *Anatolia* or *Aſia minor* was call'd by the antient *Turkiſh* Writers.) Thus far *Saadi Effendi*, concerning *Soliman*'s leaving his Country, after which he relates the Expeditions of *Soliman* and his Sons, which the Reader will ſee in their proper place.

XII. *Heſhri*, a much older Hiſtorian than *Saadi*, ſays, the *Oguzians* (who according to *Chalcocondylas*, choſe *Soliman*'s Father for their Prince) poſſeſs'd the Country of *Ahlad* 170 years before *Soliman*, and in 611 of the *Hejira* made their firſt expedition, under *Soliman*, towards the Regions of *Aſia minor*. But the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* having left nothing undeſtroy'd, *Soliman* with his followers deſerting *Aſia minor*, remov'd back to *Azerbejan*, and there for ſome time lead a Country or unſettled life. At laſt in the year of the *Hejira* 616, preſs'd with want of neceſſaries in thoſe uncultivated Parts, he advances a ſecond time with 50000 ſelect Men, towards *Rum* to recover his former poſſeſſions. When he was come attended with ſucceſs as far as the *Euphrates*, he attempts to ſwim the River on horſeback and is drown'd.

XIII. *Soliman* left four Sons, *Sungurtekin*, *Jundogdi*, *Erdogrul gaſi*, and *Dindar* or *Dumdar*. Of theſe the two firſt returning to their antient Seats are entirely paſs'd over in ſilence by the *Turkiſh* Writers. *Erdogrul* and *Dumdar* with their part of the Forces, firſt pitch'd their Tents in a place call'd *Syrmaluchukur**. *Dumdar* dying here in a few days, *Erdogrul* moving towards *Aſia minor* ſubdued ſeveral *Aſiatick* Provinces, and from his compelling the vanquiſh'd to pay tribute or embrace his Religion, obtain'd the name of *Zeletis*, a name famous in thoſe parts. *Erdogrul*, ſetting the moſt moderate bounds to his good fortune, leaſt he ſhould ſeem tyrannically to deſire the poſſeſſions of others, ſends in humble manner his eldeſt Son *Saruyati* (afterwards celebrated by the Epithet *Savuchibeg**) to *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, deſiring a Habitation ſomewhere in his Kingdom for himſelf and followers. *Aladin* readily grants his requeſt, prudently thinking it better to make this powerful, though new, Neighbour, his Friend than his Enemy. Wherefore he honorably ſends back *Saruyati* with Ambaſſadors to *Erdogrul*, and promiſes, if by his valour the remains of the *Jenghizchan Tartars* are driven out of his Dominions, not only to place him at the Head of his Armies, but aſſociate him in his Empire. For this aged Prince did not ſo much want Soldiers, Courage, Riches, and Strength, as a good General againſt ſuch troubleſome Enemies.

XIV. Neither was *Aladin* deceiv'd in his expectations of *Erdogrul*. For having aſſign'd him *Karajedagy* for his Habitation, and according to his promiſe, entruſted him with part of his Forces, *Erdogrul*, by his conduct and wiſdom, ſoon vanquiſh'd the *Tartars*, and not only freed his afflicted Kingdom from all its imminent dangers, but alſo ſubdu'd other Countries, ſubject to the *Romans*, and annex'd them to his Empire. *Aladin*, mindful of his promiſes, royally rewards *Erdogrul*, and commits to his rule the whole Province of *Ancyra*. At laſt, worn out with wars and old age, *Erdogrul* dies in the year of the *Hejira* 680, ſays *Saadi*, but according to *Niſhrin*, in 687, whoſe Sepulchre in the Town of *Sugutbick** is at this day honorably viſited by the *Mahometans*.

XV. *Erdogrul* departing this life in the midſt of his happineſs, *Aladin*, to ſhow his gratitude to ſo great a man, cauſes his Son *Othman* (who for his youth, 'tis ſaid, was wont to be call'd *Othmanjik* or *little Othman*) to ſucceed his Father, and to be the Chief of all the *Tecaddum* or *Satrapæ*. Moreover he allow'd him in all the Towns and Provinces ſubdu'd by his Father, or to be ſubdued by himſelf, to uſe the Title of Sultan, and coin money with the inſcription of his own name.

XVI. After this, *Aladin* the younger, (whoſe proper name was *Kichoſhrev*) in the year of the *Hejira* 699, (which begins the 28th of *September* 1299) being driven into *Europe* by the *Gazanenſian Tartars*, his *Satrapæ*, divide all his Dominions among them. But *Othman*, being the moſt powerful of them, oblig'd the reſt (in the year of the *Hejira* 700,) to ſeek his Protection and Favour. From hence ſome Hiſto-

torians date the firſt year of *Othman*'s Reign, though *Saadi*, not without ſtrong reaſon, contends his Reign began, when after the taking of the City *Carajebiſar*, he appointed a *Cadi* or Judge, and a *Chatyb* or Deacon (who might pray for him by name as Sultan) and coined new money with the inſcription of his own name, which was in the year of the *Hejira* 688, and of Chriſt 1289. Thus with the conſent of the Great Men and the Army, *Othman* is choſen King, and joining his own with *Aladin*'s Dominions, changes the name of *Oguzians* or of *Turks* (as they were commonly call'd under both *Aladins*) into that of *Othmans*, and lays the firſt Foundation of the *Othman* Empire, which is now ſo terrible to the World. The Actions of whoſe Succeſſors will be more accurately related in the following Hiſtory.

Genealogy of the *Othman* Family.

XVII. *Saadi* the *Turkiſh* Writer ſo often commended by me, one not more zealous for the *Othman* Glory, than for Hiſtorical Truth, willingly points at the burthen of ſo weighty and obſcure an affair on other Men's ſhoulders. Since it is not manifeſt to him, he ſays in general, there are Hiſtorians, who carry the line of this race from *Othman* to *Japhet* Son of *Noah*. As he has inſerted the names in the Preface of his Hiſtory, I ſhall tranſcribe them, that the Reader may not peruſe them corruptly, as I have ſeen them, in ſome *Chriſtian* Writers.

Othman Son of *Erdogrul*, Son of *Soliman*, Son of *Kiya aleb*, Son of *Kyzyl boga*, Son of *Baytemur*, Son of *Aykytlyg*, Son of *Tugra*, Son of *Karaniv*, Son of *Sacur*, Son of *Bulgar*, Son of *Suncur*, Son of *Toctemur*, Son of *Yaſak*, Son of *Chemeder**, Son of *Kutluk*, Son of *Turak*, Son of *Karachan*, Son of *Yaſur*, Son of *Yelvaj*†, Son of *Baybeg*, Son of *Tugra*, Son of *Togmyſh*, Son of *Cujbeg*†, Son of *Ortuk*, Son of *Kumari*, Son of *Chektemur**, Son of *Turaj*†, Son of *Kyzyl boga*, Son of *Yamak*, Son of *Baſhboga*, Son of *Hormir*, Son of *Bayſui*, Son of *Sunj*†, Son of *Boga*, Son of *Kurtulmyſh*, Son of *Korchard*, Son of *Balchyk**, Son of *Cumaſh*, Son of *Caraoglan*, Son of *Soliman Shah*, Son of *Corchlu*, Son of *Bulgar*, Son of *Baytemur*, Son of *Turmyſh*, Son of *Cokaleb*, Son of *Oguzchan*, Son of *Karachan*, Son of *Kaychan*, Son of *Ulijechan*, Son of *Takva*, of the Houſe of *Japhet*.

XVIII. Before I conclude this Inquiry, it will not be amiſs to obſerve, it is the common opinion of the *Turks*, that there are two principal Branches deriv'd from the *Oguzian* Tribe, the *Othmanidæ*, and *Aljenghizians*, which laſt branch has given *Chans*, in an uninterrupted Succeſſion, to the *Crim Tartars*. A ſtrong proof of this opinion is the law eſtabliſh'd by the *Othman Sultans*, whereby in caſe of failure of Heirs in the *Alothman* Race, the Emperor is to be choſen out of the *Aljenghizian* Family, as being both manifeſtly deriv'd from the ſame Stock. Hence the *Crim Tartars* have conceiv'd great hopes, that one day, the *Alothman* race being extinct, they ſhall mount the Throne. And that this law is not aboliſh'd, appears from a Sedition in my time, rais'd againſt Sultan *Muſtapha* (which will be largely related in the ſecond Part of my Hiſtory.) At that time it was conſulted in the *Hippodrom*, by the Soldiers, Citizens, and Eccleſiaſtical Order, for ſeveral days, about dethroning *Muſtapha*, and chuſing another Emperor. But ſince *Muſtapha* detain'd, according to cuſtom, in ſafe cuſtody with him at *Adrianople*, his relations, *Ibrahim* Sultan *Ahmed*, his Uncle with his two Sons, and alſo his Brother Sultan *Ahmed*, who now reigns, they were afraid, when their proceedings ſhould be known, he would put them to death, and by deſtroying the lawful Heirs of the Empire, oblige the People, whether willing or not, to honour him as Emperor. Whilſt they were perplex'd with this fear, the new-elected *Mufti*, with the reſt of the Learned in the Law, ſtood up and ſaid, "Indeed to confer the Empire upon any "not join'd in blood to the *Othman* Race, "is contrary to the Laws both human "and divine. But ſince the *Crim-Tartars* "have Heirs of the ſame blood with the "*Othmans*, who may lawfully govern the "*Othmanic* Commonwealth, the People's "fears of Anarchy are vain. For ſhould "Sultan *Muſtapha* kill all his Relations, "he ought to be puniſh'd for parricide and "diſturbing the publick peace, and a Succeſſor choſen from among the Sons of "the *Crim-Tartars*, as being of the ſame

† This *j* is to be pronounced like *ge* in the *Engliſh* Word *age*, and by the Author is uſually expreſs'd by *dz*.

"Family

" Family with the *Othman*." Nay ſo great is the force of this Law, that it excludes from the Throne, even the Men born of the Female Line. For when at the ſame time, it was ſaid by ſome, that an Heir of the Empire was at hand, namely, the only Son of *Saphia*, Daughter of Sultan *Murad*, living in the Suburbs call'd *Beſhiktaſh*, all the reſt oppos'd it, publickly declaring, " the *Othman* Empire never falls to the " *Spindle*, nor do they acknowledge other " Heirs than thoſe of the Male-line, and " on their failure, the *Aljengbizians*, as " being undoubtedly of the ſame blood."

AS *the Parallel Chronological Table mentioned by the Author in his Preface is not to be found in his* Latin *Manuſcript, the Tranſlator inſtead of it has inſerted the following Method of reducing the* Hejira *to the* Chriſtian Æra, *and the contrary.*

The Beginning of the Hejira *being fix'd to the Year of our Lord* 622, July 16*th*, *if the* 621 *paſs'd years of the* Chriſtian Æra *be ſubſtracted from any given Year of our Lord, the remainder will be the* Hejira *in Solar years, which being reduc'd to Lunar, will be the correſpondent year of the* Turkiſh Æra. *On the contrary, if any given year of the* Hejira *be reduc'd to Solar years and added to* 621, *the Sum will be the Year of our Lord.*
N. B. 521 *Solar are equal to* 537 *Lunar or* Turkiſh *years.*

For Example,

What is the preſent Year 1734, according to the *Hejira?*

From —— 1734
Subſtract — 621

Hejira in Solar years 1113

521 : 537 :: 1113 : 1147
The preſent year of the *Hej.* 1147

What is the Year of the *Hejira* 1000 according to the *Chriſtian Æra?*

537 : 521 :: 1000 : 970

Hejira in Solar years —— 970
To which add —— 621

The Year of our Lord 1591

N. B. *The minute Parts of Days and Hours are here omitted, which, by reaſon of the different beginnings of the ſeveral years, muſt be obſerv'd in ſtrictneſs of Calculation.*

A PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1. Seraglio or the Chief Palace of ye Grand Seignor.
2. The Old Church, now the new Mint.
3. The Grand Seignor's Apartments.
4. The Great Church of S.t Sophia.
5. Iami of Sultan Ashmet.
6. Hippodromia riding place.
7. The Grand Vizers palace.
8. Enge Iami.
9. The Egyptian market place.
10. The Stables.
11. The little Church of S.t Sophia.
12. Iami of Ibrahim Chan.
13. Bedestan, Market place.
14. Valide Channa, Store House for foreign Merchants.
15. Leky, Sera, formerly the Almighty.
16. Iami of Sultan Suliman.
17. The Palace of ye Imusties.
18. Iami of Shaxade.
19. Iami of Sultan Bayazid.
20. Vizer Channa, a Market Place for foreigners.
21. Eschy, Tarap Channa, the old Mint.
22. Iami of Ferhat Basha.
23. Sirmakesh Channa, where they make the Gold Wire.
24. Iami of Orta.
25. Iami of Kelles.
26. Sultan Mahomet, former ly the S.t Apostles.
27. Barricks of ye Janizaries.
28. Iami of Daud Basha.
29. Iami of Aya, formerly S.t Anastasious.
30. Iami of Sultan Selims.
31. Iami of Fettcha, former ly the Almighty.
32. Iami of Dragoman.
33. Iami of the Sultan.
34. The Palace of Constan tine the Great.
35. Iami of Yedron.
36. Yeni Imache, ye new Garden.
37. Vidiculle, ye seven Towers.
38. Zalachana, the Butchery.
39. Barroot-Channa the Powder mills.
40. Cokender Bacchesi, a Garden of ye Grand Seignor of silvery.
41. Silivrea Capisi, the Gates
42. Tzaki, a doister of Deryn.
43. Blickley, a mineral water
44. Yeni Capu, ye new Gate
45. Aivas, a Village.
46. Daud Basha, a country House of ye Grand Seignors.
47. Istrocca, a Village.
48. Yusef Basha, a mosque
49. Top Capisi, the Cannon.
50. Cara Mustapha Basha, a Village.
51. Edene capisi, the Gate of Adrianople.
52. Calfa Choy, a Village.
53. Egri Capu, ye crooked Gate
54. Otacchelar, where the leather is prepar'd.
55. Leyan, a Palace and Mosque of the Grand Seign.
56. Kachu, a Small Village.
57. Alibei, a Village.
58. Ratishan, a Village.
59. Mirachoor, an old Palace
60. Tatzurula, a Village.
61. S.t Demetrius, a Greek Church.
62. Teche, a doister of Deryn
63. Ok-Meidan, where they learn to shoot with Bows.
64. Mosque of a Mother Sultan
65. Mosque of Ibrahim Chan
66. A Burial place for Christians.
67. Chaschoy, a Village.
68. Cara agatch, Serai, one of the Sultans country Houses
69. Bichangir.
70. Chaus Pasha.
71. Besiclas, a Village.
72. A Burial Place for European Ambassadeurs
73. Dratchicoy, a Village.
74. Buruchemea, a Village.
75. Imaut Chiny, a Village.
76. S.t Elias.
77. Rumeli Hisari, the European Castles.
78. Hisar, a Village.
79. Balta Iliman, a little Village
80. Etzenia, a Village.
81. Nachorim, or Genichuy.
The new borough.
82. Tarapea, a Village.
83. Byuudere, a port for Ships
84. Domzendere, a Village.
85. Sari Ier, a Village.
86. Hisar, a Castle.
87. S.t Nicolas.
88. The cloister of Maurois
89. Fenerbeke, belonging to the Cloister.
90. Dercesan, old mind city
91. The european light house.
92. Blacked, ye pillar of Pomp.
93. Kiopredesi, the same.
94. Emerin, a landing place.
95. Istampol Ugasi, ye same.
96. Kailar, a Village.
97. Beibeck bacchesi, an Im perial Garden.
98. Gavim Calfa, a Garden.
99. Ackendi, a strong current
100. A Spring of excellent water
101. The palace of Demetrius
102. Stauros Bacchesi, an Imperial Garden.
103. Stauros, a Cloister.
104. Cusili Capuchoy, former ly S.t Pandeleimon.
105. Chan Dilli, the burying Place of Chan.
106. Bashicktas Serai, an Imperial Palace.
107. Dolma Bacchesi, an Imperial Garden.
108. Top Channi, ye founder
109. Egri Capu, one of the crooked Gates.
110. Balic Bazar, ye fish mar
111. Sindan, Prisons.
112. Calaphat Giri, where the Ships are Calk'd
113. Mat Ecbell, ye Dead Bridge
114. Kalafat, where ye galleys lye
115. Lapidaria, ye Admiral, pal.
116. The Admiralty Arsenal.
117. Eyup, Ivory, a Gate.
118. Ballet, a place where the Ieni's live.
119. Fenes, a castle where now the Greek Patriarch lives.
120. Petri Capu, S.t Peters Gate
121. Yeni Capu, New Gate.
122. Gibali, a Gate.
123. Ilya Capu, the Holy Gate built by Constantine ye Great.
124. Balum Capu, a Gate where Wood is sold.
125. Tudon Capu, a Gate by a Market.
126. Ballick Bazar, a Fish Market.
127. Yum Iruk, ye Custom House
128. Bakce Capu, a Gate.
129. Yali kiosch, one of the Gates of the Grand Seraglio
130. Seray Burnew, formerly
131. Kiosculay, formerly Diana
132. Top Capu, a Gate of ye Seraglio
133. Chavesder Oday, over the mules
134. Sera, the Old Seraglio built by Constantine ye Great.
135. Egri Capu, a Gate.
136. Chattlads Capu, ye drunk gate
137. Gindi Meidan, where they learn to throw dertz make or shack
138. Lem Capu, a Gate.
139. Ulunga, a gate & Garden.
140. Samatia, a gate.
141. Daud Basha, a Gate.
142. Fener Bacchesi, formerly the Widows Vineyard.
143. Kadichoy, formerly Calcedon
144. Katichoy Bacchesi, an Imperial Garden.
145. Mahalets, ye suburbs for the Janizaries
146. Kochindar, formerly Chrysopolis
147. Toni Mazull, ye next suburbs
148. Chengel Chan, a Village.
149. Calle Bacchesi, a Garden of the Emperours.
150. Vanli, a Village.
151. Condilli Bacchesi, a Garden of the Emperours.
152. Imaret hisari, ye Asian Castles
153. Chanligua, a Village.
154. Ingurli, a Village.
155. Libukli, a Parck.
156. Bicikoy, a Village.
157. Chunchiar Shelesi, a palace of Sultan Murads.
158. Talliana, a fishing place.
159. The Mill where ye flower is made for the Emperour.
160. Cum, a village where in 15.
161. Tocad Bacchesi, a delightful Garden.
162. Fenes, ye Lighthouse of Asia.

EUXINUS PONTUS

From this place to the Propontis or point of the Seraglio is 15 English Miles.

PART of EUROPE

The River Lycus

The

GULF called CERATIUS

PROPONTIS

PART of ASIA

BOSPHORUS

Palace of Prince Demetrius Cantemir.

THE HISTORY Of the GROWTH of the Othman * *or* Alothman † EMPIRE.

In Three BOOKS.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

The Time of the Eruption of the Tartars *under* Soliman Shah. *His Conquests and Death.*

Cause of the various Opinions concerning the *Othmans* Race.

SO great a diversity of Opinions, remarked by Us in the Preface, and such a mixture of Fable by Foreign Writers, occur to curious Inquirers into the Origin of the *Alothman* Race, now on the *Turkish* Throne, that like Travellers on a divided Road, they can't without great difficulty distinguish between

ANNOTATIONS.

BEfore we proceed, it may not be amiss to prefix to our Annotations some of the most usual Titles of the *Othman* Court. For that Court, like the rest of the *Eastern* Courts, both assumes and expects the proudest and most pompous Titles. Hence in the Imperial Edicts call'd *Fermàn*, there frequently occur; *Bâbi humayun*, The sublime Port. *Bâbi adalet*, The Port of Justice. *Bàbi seadèt*, The Port of Majesty. *Bàbi* or *Dèri deulet*, The Port of Felicity, from whence the *Othmàn* Empire has been wont to be call'd *Deuléti Othmaniyè*, The Othman Majesty, or Felicity. If the Reader desires more of these Titles, he will find them collected by *Meninskius*, in his *Turkish* Dictionary.

* *Othmàn*] This Name, given to the *Turkish* Nation from the Emperor *Othmàn* their Founder, is generally writ perversely by the Christian Historians, some inserting (o) in the second Syllable, as *Othoman*, others omitting the (h) and doubling the (t) as *Ottoman*. Both very falsely. For the *Arabic Tse* or (th) called by the *Turks*, *Tshei Arebi*,

tween what is true and what falſe. Some have wander'd from the Truth for want of Oriental Learning and Hiſtory, whilſt a Tradition, envious perhaps of the felicity of this Race, has impos'd upon others. From theſe troubled Streams our *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians, ignorant, as we obſerv'd, of the *Turkiſh* Learning, have been forc'd to draw what ſhould have been taken from the Fountain-Head. But we (without vanity be it ſaid) juſtly preferring the Teſtimony of the domeſtick Writers to the Aſſertions of all others, have from Hiſtorians deem'd by the *Turks* the moſt faithful and accurate, collected our Materials.

Time of the Eruption of *Soliman Shah.*

There we learn, that about the Time when the renowned Prince *Jenghiz* (1) *Chan* (2) had not only laid waſte the greateſt part of *Aſia* ſubject to the *Perſian* dominion, raz'd the City of *Balch* the moſt opulent of the Province of *Choraſan*, expell'd from his Kingdom and ſlain *Churzem* (3) *Shah* (4), but alſo, by means of continual Incurſions

Annotations.

exactly anſwering to the *Greek Theta* Θ [or the *Saxon* Ð] ought doubtleſs to be pronounced in *Latin* [or *Engliſh*] as in *Greek*, Ὀθμὰν, *Othman*. [It muſt be obſerv'd the *Turks* pronounce the *Arabic Tſe*, almoſt like our (ſ). Hence *Othman* is by them call'd *Oſman*.]

† *Alothman*] This word is compounded of *Al* and *Othman*, that is, *The Sons* or *Poſterity of Othman*, and aſcribed not only to the Imperial race deſcending from *Othman*, but to the whole *Turkiſh* Nation in general. Hence, *Tevaifi Alothman*, *the Alothman Hords* or *Tribes*. But the Emperors are wont to be call'd *Alothman Padiſhahi*, that is, *Emperors of the Sons of Othman*. For this reaſon, we have thought proper to ſtyle our Lucubrations, *The Alothman Hiſtory*.

(1) *Jenghiz*] He was, according to the *Turkiſh* Annals, Prince of the *Oguzian Tartars*, whoſe Actions and Fortunes are largely related in the Preface, to which the Reader is referr'd. [This name is pronounced by the *Perſians* and *Turks*, as if it were writ in *Engliſh*, *Chingbiz*, or in *Italian*, *Cinghiz*. He is call'd by the *Latin* Hiſtorians, *Cangius*. *Jengbizchan* ſignifies in the *Mogul* language, *King of Kings*.]

(2) *Chan*] This word perhaps paſs'd from the *Arabian*, into the *Perſian*, Language, and ſignifies *Lord* or *Prince*, anſwering to the *Arabic* Word *Sultàn* and the *Turkiſh*, *Uzu beg*, that is, *Great Prince*. *Chan*, tho' ever us'd by the *Turkiſh* Emperors, as *Muràd Chan*, *Selim Chan*, &c. was however chiefly aſcribed by the *Othman* Court to the King of *Crim* or *Little Tartary*. Hence he is uſually ſtyled *Kirim Chan*, The Prince of *Crim*, or *Chani Aliſſan*, The Sublime *Chan*. [*Chan* ſeems rather to come from the *Perſian* into the *Arabic*. The Reader muſt obſerve once for all that *Ch* is to be pronounced like our *K* or the *Italian Ch*, except in words where it is to be read like the *Engliſh Ch* in *cheap*, *rich*, for then it ſtands for the *Turkiſh Chim*, which to avoid confuſion ſhall always be noted.]

(3) *Churzem*] This word properly ſignifies the *Caſpian* or *Hyrcanian* Sea, and from thence is applied to the Regions bordering on that Sea, whoſe Sovereign is called *Churzem Shah*, that is, *King* or *Lord of the Countries ſituate on the* Caſpian *Sea*. It is ſometimes called, even by the *Turks* themſelves, *Chuzrem*, from the likeneſs of the two Letters, *Ry* and *Ze* without the diſtinguiſhing point, frequently

curſions and their civil Diſſentions, had weakened or diſperſed the Princes of all thoſe Regions, (then it was that) *Soliman* (5) *Shah* Son of *Kiya Chan* Prince of the City of *Nere* (6) and of the *Oguzian* (7) *Tartars*, Lord alſo of the Region of *Meruſhahjan*, excelling

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quently omitted in their writings by the more learned *Turks*. The *Nubian* Geographer (Part 7. Clim. 5.) pretends this word is derived from *Choſar*, Son of *Togarma* who firſt peopled the neighbouring Regions, which opinion ſeems to be owing rather to a likeneſs of name than to a reality of fact. *Meninskius* ſays it was alſo called *Kulzum Dengiz* but upon what foundation is uncertain, that name being chiefly appropriated by the *Turks* to the *Red-Sea*. It is however, from the City *Bakuyè* ſtanding on its Coaſt, by the *Chriſtians*, uſually called, *the Sea of Baku*. [It muſt not be underſtood as if all the Countries bordering on the *Caſpian Sea* are ſubject to one Sovereign, or that the whole *Caſpian Sea*, is call'd *Churzem*, but only that part which waſhes the borders of the Kingdom of *Churzem*; extending as is ſaid, to the mouth of the *Oxus*, which runs into the *Caſpian Sea*. This Kingdom is now ſubject to the *Usbek Tartars*, who took it from the Poſterity of *Tamerlan*, by whom the Succeſſors of *Jenghiz Chan* were expell'd. *Churzem Shah*, here mention'd by our Author, was the Title of one Race of its Kings, the moſt powerful in *Aſia*; which *Jenghiz Chan* put an end to, in the Perſon of *Mahommed Churzem Shah*. *Choraſma* is mention'd by *Herodotus*; ſo ancient is this Kingdom.]

(4) *Shah*] or *Sheh* is a *Perſian* word anſwering to the *Arabic*, *Sultan*. Hence the *Turkiſh* Emperor is ſtiled, *Shahi Alèm Penah*, *the Emperor Refuge of the World*. It muſt however be obſerv'd, that *Padiſhah* is commonly eſteem'd a more honorable Title than *Shah* in the *Othman* Court, the latter being given abſolutely to the *Perſian* Kings, the former never. The reaſon of this will hereafter be ſhown when the word *Padiſhah* comes to be explained.

(5) *Soliman*] He was Father of *Ertogrul* and Grandfather of *Othman*, deſcended from the nobleſt *Oguzian* Family among the *Scythians*. *Lanicerus*'s miſtake in making him King of *Nice* was remembred in the Preface. [It muſt here be obſerved that in the *Turkiſh* and *Arabic* Tongues, the ſame Mark ſtands for (*a*) and (*e*), and the ſame for (*o*) and (*u*). Hence the various ways of writing the ſame word in our Hiſtorians, as *Shah*, or *Sheh*; *Soliman*, or *Suliman*. &c.]

(6) Prince of *Nere*] A City according to the *Turks*, near the *Caſpian* Sea. The Name of this City is in vain look'd for in the Maps of the *Chriſtians*, unleſs we underſtand by it the City of *Herat*, Metropolis of the antient *Aria* or *Nurketzur* in *Maſanderan*, in the Province of *Ghilan*. The *Turkiſh* Annals mention the taking and demoliſhing this City by the *Jenghiz-Chan Tartars* in their return from the deſtruction of the Royal City of *Balch*. Our Opinion is confirmed by the *Perſian* Hiſtorians, who mention ſeven diſtinct Kings governing the Province of *Ghilan* at that time, one of whom was, probably, our *Soliman*.

(7) *Oguzian*] That this Tribe under their Leader *Jenghiz Chan* came forth from *Great Tartary*, the Fountain of numberleſs Swarms of *Scythians*, is the common and conſtant opinion of the *Turks*. Nor do we know of any Chriſtian Writer who aſcribes any other Country to *Jenghiz*. This our Opinion is ſupported by an evident Paſſage in *Nicephorus Gregoras* in the fourth Chapter of his ſecond Book, where he thus ſpeaks of the Irruption of theſe *Tartars*. "Many "ages after, flowing out of *the firſt* "*Scythia*, as from an inexhauſtible "Fountain,

celling all the Princes of his Nation in Nobleneſs of Birth, Glory of Anceſtors and his own Virtues, in the Year of the *Hegira* according to *Niſhrin*'s Chronology, 611, [and of the *Criſtian Æra*, 1214.] with about fifty thouſand ſelect *Tartars* of the *Oguzian* Tribe, encouraged by the Example and Fortune of *Jenghiz-chan*, forſook his old, and advanced towards *Europe* (8) in queſt of new, Habitations.

H. 611. A. C. 1214.

His Conqueſts.

In this manner *Soliman Shah* with equal ſpeed and ſucceſs entering *Azerbejan* (9), a Province bordering on *Syria*, by the force

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" Fountain, they divided into two Bo-
" dies, one whereof penetrated as far
" as the *Caſpian* Sea, and forgetting
" their Native Appellation were cal-
" led by the Names of, the *Sarmatæ*,
" *Meſſagetæ*, *Melanchlæni*, *Amazones*,
" &c. The others bending their
" Courſe towards *Europe* over-ran all
" the Sea-Coaſts, *&c.*" Again, in the 1ſt Section of the 5th Chapter, he ſays, " *John Ducas* being now Em-
" peror, a numerous Swarm of *Scy-*
" *thians*, compoſed of many Myri-
" ads of Men, forſaking the Nor-
" thern Regions came down to the
" *Caſpian Sea*. Mean while, their
" Leader *Sitzischan* (by which Name we have ſhown in the Preface, *Grego-ras* meant *Jenghiz chan*) being dead,
" the Command of the Armies was
" divided between his two Sons, *Cha-*
" *laus* and *Telepugas*." Thus far *Gregoras*, on whoſe words it will not be foreign to our purpoſe to remark, that the πρώτη Σκυθία or *firſt Scythia*, as it is called by him, is the ſame with what is now called *Great Tartary*, and tho' Hiſtorians have given Names to its Inhabitants, theſe Names are rather aſcititious and foreign than proper and peculiar to them, whilſt they remained in their old Habitations. So that when, in the Preface to this Hiſtory, the Reader finds the Princes of the *Oguzian* Family to be divided into two Branches, the *Alothman* and *Aljenghiz*, let him not imagine that this diſtinction prevailed during the Lives of the Founders of theſe Branches. For as it is abſurd, that the *Alothmans* under *Soliman*'s Command, ſhould receive a Name from his Grandſon, who reigned not till a hundred Years after, ſo with no leſs falſehood are the Princes of the *Crim-Tartars* vulgarly ſaid to have retained the Appellation of *Aljenghiz* from *Jenghiz Chan* himſelf. For neither were they wont to be called by this Name till after they were ſubdued by the *Othman* Arms, nor do their *Chans* derive their Origin from *Jenghiz Chan* but from his Grandſon *Gherai*, who firſt conquered thoſe Parts. And theſe Princes ſeem in later times, in imitation of the weſtern Emperors, (who from the Founders of the Empire, uſed to call themſelves *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*) to have taken and tranſmitted to their Poſterity the Names of their Heroic Anceſtors, the *Turks* That of *Othman*, and the *Tartars* That of *Gherai*. From whence at this day the *Chans* of *Tartary* to their proper Names always add *Gherai*, as *Selim Gherai*, *Kaplan Gherai*, &c. but of theſe things more in another Place.

(8) *Europe*] or the *European Parts*, *Rumi-li* or ſimply *Europe*, *Rum*, is bounded with *Syria* by the *Arabians*, ſo that they who at this day go to *Aleppo* the Metropolis of *Syria*, are ſaid to enter into the *European* Parts. But the *Turks* own the ſame Bounds to *Europe* as we do, namely, the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, *Tanais*, and the *Nile*.

(9) *Azerbejan*] or *Shirvan*, or *Bila duljebel*, the *greater Media*, but not with the ſame Bounds as antiently. For the *Tartars* (who ſcrupled not to extend the old Limits, and change the Names of their Conqueſts) have added to it the greateſt Part of Northern *Aſſyria*,

force of his Arms or the fame of his Exploits, poſſeſſes himſelf of every thing in his way to *Ablad*, a Province and City of *Armenia major*. But the *Jenghizian Tartars* with unheard of fury and cruelty ravaging all before them, and advancing to *Azerbejan*, *Soliman Shah*, either giving way to the ſtronger, or reſerving his Followers for a more proſperous fortune, was forc'd to aſſemble his People and from *Aſia minor* to retire into the inmoſt Parts of *Azerbejan*. But a Nation born to war and rapine, being impatient of the indigence of an unactive Country-life, and the want of even neceſſaries in thoſe Deſerts, he departed in the year of the *Hegira* 616, from *Azerbejan*, and led his victorious Forces a ſecond time towards the Regions of *Lower Aſia*. Being crown'd with unexpected ſucceſs, he ſubdued many Cities and Towns of thoſe Regions, and puſhing his Conqueſts to the *Euphrates*, wou'd, led on by inconſtant Fortune, firſt attempt to paſs the River on Horſe-back, but being carried away by the violence of the ſtream, was drown'd in the forementiond year. His Body being afterwards taken out of the Water, was buried by his Sons under the Walls of *Jaber* (1), not far from *Aleppo* (2). An anonymous Poet of that Age ſung his Epitaph in the following Diſtich.

H. 616. A. C. 1219. and Death.

Seu

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Syria, the reſt of which goes at this day by the Name of *Kurdiſtan* (with ſome *Gordiana*) and joins it on the Weſt. *Azerbejan* is compounded of *Azer*, *Fire*, and *jan*, *Soul*, with the Conjunction *be*, *in*, ſo that it may be properly rendered, *Fire in* or *with the Soul*. [This Word is writ by *d'Herbelot*, and others *Erzengian*.]

(1) *Jaber* or *Baber*] formerly a City near *Aleppo*, at preſent a *Tekkiè* or Convent of *Turkiſh* Monks called *Sheg Ebù bekìr*, which in late Maps is, perhaps, corruptly writ *Bir*, and *Elbir*. This place of his Interment is viſited by the *Turks* with great Devotion, which, beſides its Antiquity, is become more venerable by a Monument or *Turbè* erected there by Sultan *Selim* the Conqueror of *Egypt*. It is ſaid to have been raiſed to the Memory both of *Soliman* and *Ebubekir*, one of the four Expounders of the *Koran* and *Mahomet*'s immediate Succeſſor, who is believed to be buried here. [*D'Herbelot* calls this Place *Khaibar*, and ſays the Sepulchre of *Soliman Shah* is according to *Saadi* the famous *Turkiſh* Hiſtorian, nam'd at this day, *Mezar Turk*, *the Turk's Grave*.]

(2) The Reader may, perhaps, think that we have been more conciſe in relating the Actions of *Soliman* than the dignity of the Subject, and the Memory of the Founder of ſo great a Race, ſeems to require. But we who have made truth our ſole aim, chuſe rather to deliver a few well atteſted Facts, than impoſe upon the Reader with a long recital full of Fables, Barbariſms, and Anachroniſms. With ſuch things as theſe, we have often obſerved *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians in their accounts of the *Turkiſh* Affairs, to have loaded their Works, and have wondered that Men of Learning, and in other reſpects of great Penetration, could be ever induced to credit the indigeſted and abſurd Narrations of *Abulfarago*, who among the *Turks* ſcarce merits the Name of Hiſtorian. There are indeed among the *Turks* themſelves fabulous Books *Alothman Tevarichi*, and others which give us pompous Liſts of *Othman*'s Anceſtors, but are in no more eſteem with the more learned *Turks* than *the*

Seu mèzidi chu nebrì ſaili ol,*
Nebri Sailde buldi meſt ana yol.

That is,

Since he the river *Sail* did not love,
He in that very river met his death.

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Arabian Nights Entertainments, lately publiſhed in *Europe* in *French*, nor do they ſcruple to own, that every thing in the *Othman* Hiſtory before *Soliman* ſavours of Fables.

* *Chu* is here to be pronounced as in the *Engliſh* Word *Chuſe*.

[It may not be amiſs to add at the end of each Reign, a Catalogue of the Cotemporary Princes reigning in *Europe*, whereby the Reader will be enabled at one view to repreſent to himſelf what was tranſacting at the ſame time in thoſe two Parts of the World. From the Time therefore of the Eruption of *Soliman Shah* in 1214 to his Death in 1219 there reign'd in *Europe* as follows:

At *Conſtantinople*, { HENRY Earl of *Flanders*, 1206-16. / PETER *de Courtenay*, 1216-22.

In the Weſt, { OTHO IV. King of the *Romans*, 1208-18, / FREDERIC II. 1218-45.

In *England*, { JOHN, 1199 to 1216. / HENRY III. 1216-72.

In *France*, PHILIP *the Auguſt*, 1180 to 1223.]

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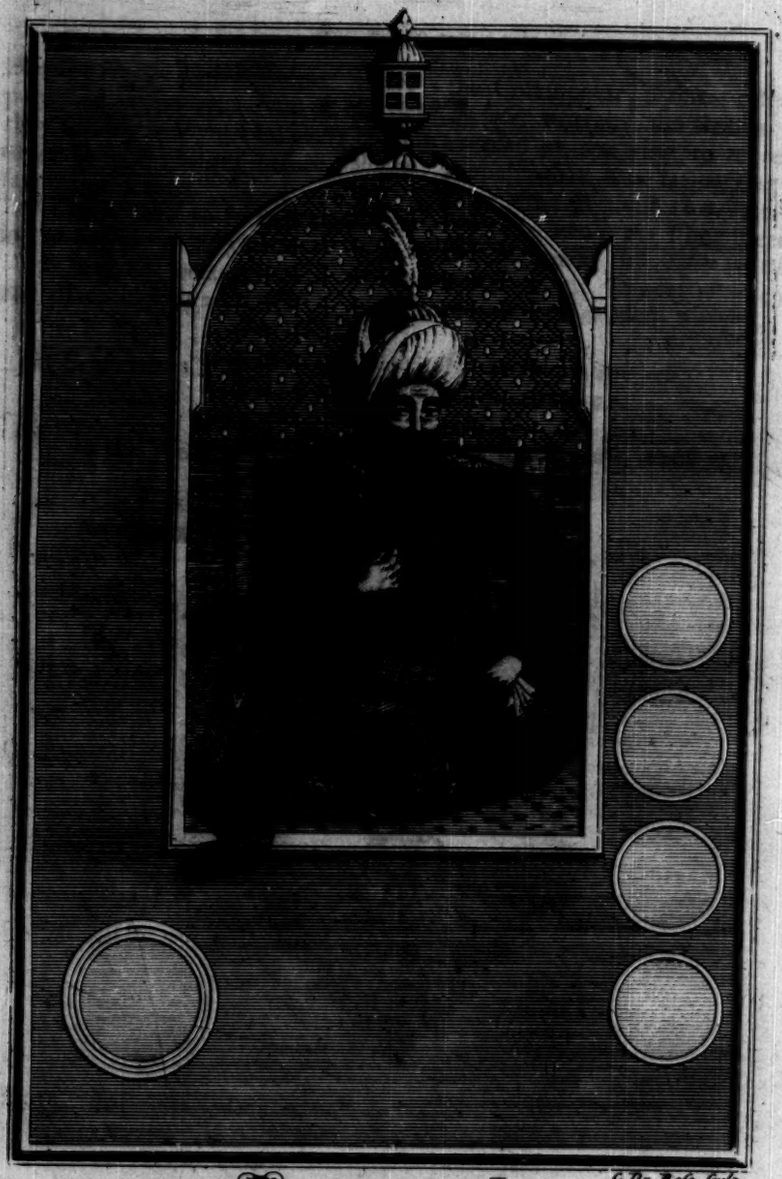

C. De. B. fc. Sculp.

OTHMAN. I.
FOUNDER of the OTHMAN EMPIRE.
in the Year 1300.
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

OTHMAN or OSMAN I.

FOUNDER of the

Alothman EMPIRE.

BOOK I. CHAP. II.

I. Soliman Shah's *four Sons divide their Father's Forces among them.* II. Ertogrul *goes to* Aladin. III. *Falls upon, and vanquiſhes the* Tartars, *whilſt they are ingag'd with the* Turks. IV. *Is made General of his Army by* Aladin. V. *After many proſperous Actions, dies*; and, VI. *is ſucceeded in his Dignity by his Son* Othman. VII. *Who ſuppreſſes the Rebels and conquers many Cities upon the* Grecians. VIII. Othman *is dignified with more Honours.* IX. *He repels Fraud by Fraud, and Arms by Arms.* X. Aladin *deſerted by his People flies to the Emperor* Michael. XI. Othman *by the Suffrages of all the Princes is declared* Sultan. XII. *Sets his Sons over the Provinces.* XIII. *Removes the Seat of his Empire to* Jenghiſheri. XIV. *Attempts in vain to take* Nicomedia. XV. *Defeats the* Grecians *in a Battle, and takes* Cotaia. XVI. *Long beſieges* Pruſa. XVII. *Offers the* Coran *or Sword to the* Chriſtians, *and by*

by Both subdues many. XVIII. *He adds many Cities to his Empire.* XIX. *Conquers a nation of the* Tartars, *and compells them to* Mahometism. XX. *Conquests of* Orchan *Son of* Othman. XXI. *He takes* Prusa. XXII. *and by his dying father is left Heir to his Empire.*

Soliman's Sons divide among them his Forces.

Soliman Shah being thus taken out of the World, his four Sons *Ertogrul* or *Togrul* (1), *Sunkùr Tekin* (2), *Jundogdi* (3) and *Dindar* or *Dumdar* (4), divided between them their Father's Riches and Forces. *Sunkùr* and *Jundogdi* returning to their antient habitations, must be there left to their unknown Fortunes. *Ertogrul* and *Dumdar* with their part of the Forces, first pitch'd their Tents in a Place call'd *Syrmalyzukur*, where *Dumdar* within a few days, departing this life, *Ertogrul* assembled his own and his Brother's Forces; and subdued by arms or policy, all the Countries between *Aleppo* and *Cæsarea*, with their Castles and Towns, introducing every where (5), the *Mahometan* Religion which he himself profess'd.

Ertogrul goes to *Aladin.*

II. His Fame thus increasing, *Aladin* (6), Sultan of *Iconium* thought it

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(1) *Togrul* or *Ertogrul*] These Names signify in *English*, *a Man born*, or, *a just Man*. *Ertogrul* was Son of *Soliman* and Father of *Othman* I.

(2) *Sunkùr Tekin*] *Sunkùr* according to its Etymology signifies a kind of *white Falcon*, the most rapacious of all the feather'd Tribe, and found no where but in the Country of the *Usbec Tartars*, and by their Ambassadors brought to the *Turkish* Emperors for a Present. It is but rarely taken and highly esteemed by the *Turks*.

(3) *Jundogdi*] Etymologically, *the Sun is risen*, or, *the Morning has appeared*. For *Jun* with the *Turks* signifies, *Day* or *the Sun*, *Dogdi* is the Preterperfect Tense from *Dogarim*, signifying, *to be born* or *to come into the Light*.

(4) *Dumdar*] According to the Etymology this Name signifies, *Sonorous* or *endued with the power of Sound*, for *Dum* is the noise of the Drum called *Kios*. *Dar*, in the *Persian* Language signifies *keeping* or *being endued with*. Whence the Words *Vefadar*, keeping Faith, *Namdar*, endued with a good Name or Reputation, *Alèmdàr*, holding the Standard or Standard-bearer, *&c.*

(5) *Introducing every where*] The *Turks* ascribe the fortunate Successes of the Empire, not so much to human Prudence, Policy and Valour, as that their first Emperors wag'd war not through Ambition and a Desire of Dominion, but through the Zeal of propagating the *Mahometan* Religion, and by that means they procured the divine Assistance to their Undertakings.

(6) *Aladin*] Lord or Sultan of *Iconium*. He is always call'd *the Second* by the *Turkish* Historians. Hence though they mention not *a first*, yet it seems most agreeable to Truth, that the first *Aladin* was the *Azatines* spoken of by *Nicephorus Gregoras* B. IV. Ch. 1. Sect. 6. who (says he) taking occasion from the Expedition of the *Tartars*, shook off the *Persian* Yoke, subdued

it more adviſeable to allure to him ſo brave and indefatigable a Warrior, and ſet him at the head of his Army, than to cope with him as an enemy. Whilſt he was thinking of theſe things, he was unexpectedly prevented by an Embaſſy from *Ertogrul*, with his Son *Sarujat* at the Head of it, who in his Father's Name was to ask of *Aladin* ſome Place in his Dominions where himſelf and his People might live in peace and amity. *Aladin* receiving the Ambaſſy, and ſeeing, as the Proverb expreſſes it, that what he expected from Heaven, was come to him on earth, readily grants *Ertogrul*'s deſires; and with Ambaſſadors from himſelf, honourably diſmiſſes *Sarujat* to his Father, deſiring him to repair immediately to his Court, where he ſhould meet with a reception worthy ſo famous a Leader. Induc'd by theſe promiſes, *Ertogrul* haſtens to *Aladin* with the Ambaſſadors; is receiv'd with great diſtinction, and obtains *Carajedagy*, in the region of *Ancyra* for his firſt Habitation.

III. *Aladin* had been long infeſted, and often brought to the laſt extremity by diſpers'd Bodies of the *Tartars*, who ſurviv'd the great *Jengbiz Chan*'s expedition. About this very time a numerous Body of theſe *Tartars* happening, without oppoſition, to invade the region of *Ancyra*, *Aladin*, to check their fury, leads againſt them ſuch Forces as cou'd be moſt ſpeedily aſſembled. But the *Tartars* ſuperior in number and arms, at the firſt Onſet, put the *Sultan*'s Army into diſorder. *Ertogrul* hearing of the battle, comes opportunely in the heat of the Fight, with five thouſand ſelect Men. His Soldiers ſeeing *Aladin*'s Forces diſpers'd, and flying before their victorious Enemies, perſwade their General to join with the Conquerors. But *Ertogrul* anſwers, "It is not the part of a ſteddy man to violate "his faith, or of a brave warrior to draw his Sword upon the pro"ſtrate, but rather to aſſiſt and relieve the deſperate and weak." By theſe words diſſwading his Soldiers, eager to fall upon the ſpoils of the Run-aways, from their baſe purpoſe; he bravely charges the victorious *Tartars*, and quickly putting them to flight, unexpectedly recovers the day to the vanquiſh'd *Aladin*.

Ertogrul vanquiſhes the *Tartars*, whilſt ingag'd with the *Turks*.

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ſubdued ſeveral Aſiatick Provinces, belonging to the Eaſtern Emperors, and with his Son *Melek Shah* was obliged to retire to *Michael Palæologus* after having been routed by the *Tartars*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 661, and of *Chriſt* 1261. For, it being certain that his Son *Melek Shah* after the Recovery of his Father's Dominions took the Name of *Aladin* II, who can be (eſpecially in ſo ſhort a ſpace as the Empire of *Iconium* laſted) the firſt *Aladin*, but the forementioned *Azetines* of *Gregoras*?

Aladin makes him General of his Armies.

IV. Sultan *Aladin* now an Eye-witneſs of *Ertogrul*'s Valour, which before had only reach'd him by fame, perceiv'd that he ſtood in leſs need of Forces than of wiſe Counſels and a good General. Wherefore pronouncing *Ertogrul* moſt worthy in both theſe reſpects, he commits to his care the whole region of *Ancyra*, and appoints him Generaliſſimo of his Armies.

Ertogrul's Actions and Death.

V. *Ertogrul* therefore joining his Forces with the *Sultan*'s, not only puts a ſtop to the incurſions of the *Tartars*, but every where defeating and ſlaying them, compells them to retire from the Borders of the Kingdom. Thus he not only preſerves, but alſo enlarges, the *Sultan*'s Dominions. In the year of the *Hegira* 680, (according to the accurate Hiſtorian *Saadi*) he crown'd his Victories with the Conqueſt of the famous City of *Kutabi*, upon the *Greeks*, and would have done greater things, had not death, unjuſt to the Glory of Heroes, taken him out of the World. For, worn out with old age, and the Toils of his Victories, he ended his life the ſame year, with great fame indeed to himſelf and his nation, but to the greater grief of *Aladin* and the whole Kingdom. His Sepulcher at the Caſtle of *Suguchick* * is ſtill religiouſly viſited by the Admirers of the *Alothman* Family.

H. 680.
A. C. 1281.

Othman ſucceeds to his Father's dignity.

VI. But however, the Fortune of his Race did not expire with *Ertogrul*. For there remain'd three Sons, *Othman*, *Junduz*, and *Sarviz*. *Othman* (7) tho' the eldeſt, yet being a young man, receiv'd in *Aladin*'s Family the diminutive appellation of *Othmanjik* or *little Othman*. His deceas'd Father had indeed left him by Will the Inheritance obtained of Sultan *Aladin*; but the Sultan in a grateful acknowledgment of *Ertogrul*'s Services, ſends him the military Enſigns, *Tabl Alem* (8); that is, the Drums, Standards, and the other Ornaments

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* *Ch* is to be pronounced here like *Ch* in the *Engliſh* word *Chick*.

(7) *Othman*] *Ertogrul*'s only Son according to the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians, who (ſay they) on account of the Heroic Virtues of his Father ſucceeded to the Generalſhip of *Aladin*'s Army whilſt a Youth, and from thence was called *Othmanulus*, or *little Othman*.

(8) *Tabl Alem*] All the Governours of Provinces are called *Tabl Alem ſahibi*, ſuch as *Viziers*, *Baſha's*, *Begs* and the like. *Alem* is a large broad Standard, which inſtead of a Spear-head has a Silver Plate, in the middle, bor'd in the ſhape of a Creſcent or Half-Moon. *Tabl* is a Drum, from whence the whole military Accoutrements with which the *Turkiſh* Emperors adorn the Great men, are called *Tabulchanà*. The *Tabulchanà* of a Vizier conſiſts of nine Drums, nine *Zurnezèn* or Players on the *Zurnader* or Fife, ſeven *Borazèn* or Trumpeters, four *Zillezàn* or Players on the *Zil* (or Braſs Baſins which being ſtruck againſt one another make a loud and clear ſound) three Horſe-Tails very artificially pleated, called *Tug*, one *Alem*, one *Sanjak*, (or Standard, diſtinguiſhed only by the Colour from the Standard of *Mahomet*, *Mahomet*'s being red and this

ments of a General, with full power over his whole Army. Moreover, he permitted him not only to coin money (9), impreſs'd with his own name, but alſo in the Cities and Towns conquer'd by his Father, and in thoſe he ſhould himſelf conquer, to have the *Chutbè* (1), that is, to be mention'd by name in the publick Prayers. Some Hiſtorians have from hence dated the beginning of the *Othman* Empire; but, as will hereafter be clearly ſhown, they are miſtaken in their computation.

VII. *Othman*, inveſted with ſo many Honours, ſeem'd to want nothing of the royal dignity, but the Title of *Sultan* (2), which however

Othman ſuppreſſes the Rebels, and conquers many Cities upon the *Greeks*.

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this green) to theſe are added two other very large Standards called *Bairak*. Other *Baſha's* who are not honoured with the name of Vizier and who are not inferior to them, the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, have the privilege of at leaſt two *Horſe-Tails*, with the other Standards and Ornaments of the Viziers. A *Beg* with the Standards has but one *Horſe-Tail*. There are moreover others of a much inferior order to *Begs*, who have no *Horſe-Tail*, and but one *Sanjak* allowed them by the Emperor, and theſe are called *Sanjakbegs*, whoſe Office at the beginning of the *Othman* Empire, was the moſt honorable, That of *Baſha* being of later appointment.

(9) *Money*] No *Turk* is allowed to coin Money or to be mentioned in the publick Prayers, but the Emperor alone. For though *Cairo* in *Egypt* coins money by the Emperor's licenſe, it is done not in its own, but the *Sultan's*, Name. The *Turkiſh* Money has no Effigies ſtamp'd on it, but only the *Sultan's* Name in moſt elegant Characters. Thus on the Money of *Sultan Ahmet* who now ſways the *Turkiſh* Scepter, are theſe Inſcriptions.

Sultan Ahmet ibn Sultan Mahomèd el Sultan ibn el Sultan. That is, *Sultan Ahmet Son of Sultan Mahomet, himſelf Sultan and Son of a Sultan.*

On the reverſe,

Sultan alberin vehacanulbahrin ſarb ſi Conſtantanie. That is, *Emperor and Conqueror of the World, Lord of the Seas; ſtamp'd at Conſtantinople*, or *ſi Edrne, at Adrianople*, or *ſi Miſr, at Cairo*, or *ſi Iſmyr, at Smyrna*. For no other Cities enjoy the privilege of Coining. But if the Emperor himſelf is in the Field with his Army, he carries a Mint with him, and the Inſcription is thus, *ſi ordûi humayun*, that is, *in the Tents of the moſt Sublime.* The *Chan* of *Crim Tartary*, is permitted however to coin Money with his own Name inſcrib'd on it.

(1) *Chutbè*] By this is meant an *Acclamation* or *Petition* in the publick Prayers for the Health and ſacred Majeſty of the Emperor, and for Victory over his Enemies, particularly the *Chriſtians*.

(2) *The Title of Sultan*] It was obſerv'd that the *Arabic* Word *Sultan* anſwers to the *Perſian* [or rather *Mogul*] Word *Chan*. It is ſuppoſed by ſome to be derived from *Selatat*, that is, *Conqueror* or *Potent*. It muſt however be remark'd that this word in common Diſcourſe is applied with a Pronoun to any Perſon, as *Sultanùm, my Lord*, juſt as in *French* they uſe the Word *Monſieur* without any diſtinction. But if *Sultan* be uſed abſolutely without a Pronoun, or with the Article *el (the)* it ſignifies only the Emperor, though, as I have before obſerved, the Title *Padiſhah* is accounted more excellent. The Sons of the *Chans* of *Crim-Tartary* are allowed the Title of *Sultan*, as *Caplan Gherai Sultan &c.* [*Ricaut* ſays when the Sultan writes to the *Chan* he uſes this Style. *To the Government wherein flouriſhes the Maſs and Original of Regency.*

however he did not think proper to aſſume during *Aladin*'s life (3) He believ'd it more adviſeable to wait that Prince's death, than, by an unſeaſonable thirſt of dominion, to hazard both his Kingdom and Himſelf, nor was he diſappointed by this reſolution. For preſerving inviolable the Allegiance, he had ſworn to *Aladin*, he arm'd in his defence; and leading his victorious Troops againſt the Princes who had revolted from the Empire, reduc'd them to obedience. Then he turn'd his Arms againſt the *Greeks*, and in the year of the *Hegira* 687, taking the Town of *Culze*, the Firſt-fruits of his following Victories, added it to *Aladin*'s Empire. The ſame year he fought with the Captain of *Caraſheri* or *the Black City*, and defeating him in a ſharp Battle, takes his Brother *Calanos* or *Callinicus* priſoner, whom he cauſes to be flea'd, and afterwards buried. Then he orders the whole Army to piſs on his Grave; from whence the Field, call'd before *Tomalidæ*, retains, to this day, the name of, *It iſhini* or *Dog's Piſs*. Nor was this a bloodleſs Victory to *Othman*, for beſides the Loſs of many of his Men, his Brother *Junduz* was ſlain valiantly fighting. His Body was by *Othman*'s order laid in his Father *Ertogrul*'s Sepulcher near *Suguchick* *. Immediately after this Victory he took alſo the city *Carachiſar* and annex'd it to the *Seljukian* Dominion.

H. 687.
A. C. 1288.

He is inveſted with more Honours by *Aladin*.
H. 688.
A. C. 1289.

VIII. *Aladin* the ſecond, being inform'd of *Othman*'s Victories, inveſts him with the Government of *Eskiſhehr*, or *the Old City*. The next year 688, he expells the *Mogul-Tartars*, and ſuppreſſing on all ſides the incurſions of the Enemies, ſignalized himſelf by many Victories. At laſt, having aſſembled Inhabitants from all Parts and enlarged *Carachiſar* with new Buildings and Walls, he made it the ſplendid Seat of his Reſidence.

There ſeems to be ſome difference in the Computation of years in the *Seljukian* Hiſtorians. For they fix *Othman*'s Victory over the *Mogul-Tartars* to the year of the *Hegira* 698; namely, ten years later, which we therefore believe trueſt, becauſe *Saadi*, in the following Actions of *Othman*, uſes alſo the ſame Computation.

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Regency, on which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtain'd. Poſſeſſor of excellent Power and eſtabliſh'd Glory, elected by the favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of Crim, Gian, Beg, Ghirai, Chav, *whoſe Height be for ever maintained. After reſpect had to thoſe Bleſſings which are freighted with Amber, and Salutations perfumed with* Narciſſus *proceeding from the Imperial Grace,* Be it known unto you, *&c.*]

(3) During *Aladin*'s Life] The prudent *Othman* refuſed whilſt *Aladin* lived to accept the offered Title of *Sultan*, perceiving he could not fail of it after his Death. He choſe rather to be called *Seraskèr* or *General of the Army*, that he might not be ſuſpected of aſpiring to the Throne. But after *Aladin*'s Death, he threw off the Fox's and put on the Lion's Skin.

* Pronounced like the *Engliſh Ch.*

Othman repells Fraud with Fraud, and Arms with Arms. H. 698. A. C. 1298.

IX. In the year of the *Hegira* 698, *Michael* sirnam'd *Kyse*, that is, *Goat's-Beard*, Prince of the City *Bilejiki*, being to celebrate the Nuptials of his Daughter, invites *Othman* as his Friend and Patron, to the Marriage. Whereupon the other *Grecian* Princes privately concert measures to seize *Othman*. But this Treachery being discovered to *Othman* by trusty Messengers from the faithful *Michael*, he feigns ignorance of the design, and using stratagem for stratagem, orders some hundreds of Soldiers to conceal themselves near the Place, whilst forty well armed young Men, dress'd like Women, were to enter in the Evening, the Castle of *Jarbisar*, and in the Night set fire to the Houses about it. In the mean time he himself repairs to the Guests with a slender Retinue to *Chalyrbunar*, a Place so call'd in the Suburbs where the Nuptial Feast was to be. The forty disguis'd Soldiers, (who, as we said, had entered the Town then without garrison) set it on fire, and in the Combustion, seize the Gates and Fortifications. *Othman* perceiving by the Flames that his stratagem had succeeded, gives the signal for the Soldiers in ambush to take their Arms with a Shout, and charge the Enemies buried in Wine. The Signal is no sooner given than executed, and all, except *Michael*, *Othman*'s faithful Friend, are taken or slain, without distinction of Sex. Among the Captive Ladies was the Bride *Holophira*, of a noble Descent, whom *Othman* afterwards married to his Son *Orchan*, by whom she had *Soliman* and *Murad*, which last was *Orchan*'s Successor in the Empire (1).

Presently

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(1) [This Story by reason of some mistakes or omissions is render'd very imperfect and obscure, and therefore it will not be improper to insert it here as related by the Christian Historians. *Michael Cossi* Governor of *Hirmen Kata*, Great Friend of *Othman*, invites him with the Christian Governors of the neighbouring Castles to his daughter's marriage. *Othman* by his noble Presents to the Bride and Bridegroom, (usual on those occasions) raising both the envy and jealousy of these Governors, they combine to destroy him by treachery. To that end, the Governor of *Bilejiki*, the most powerful of them, being shortly to marry the Captain of *Jarbysar*'s daughter, requests *Othman* to grace the marriage with his Presence, and acquainting *Cossi* with their design, sends him at the time appointed to conduct *Othman* to the Wedding. *Cossi* found *Othman* very ready to go; but grieving that so brave a man should perish by treachery, discovers to him the whole Plot. *Othman* resolving to be reveng'd, bids *Cossi* tell the Governor, he would certainly come, but being at wars with a neighbouring Prince, and fearing a surprize in his absence, that he desires the liberty to send to his Castle of *Bilejiki*, his Mother-in-law and Wife with their Attendants, and some of the best of his Goods. This is readily granted, and *Othman* disguising forty young men like women, with some others, pack'd up in carriages as goods, he comes to the place where the marriage was to be solemniz'd the next day, being an open Field, for the conveniency of room, at some distance from the Castle. After his compliments to the Governor, he obtains his order that the pretended Ladies and Goods may be received

Preſently after this Victory, he takes the Town of *Ainegiol*, and alſo ſubjects many other Caſtles and Towns with their Territories to *Aladin*'s Dominion.

Aladin deſerted by his People flies to the *Grecian* Emperor. H. 699. A. C. 1299.

X. In the year of the *Hegira* 699, a Swarm of the *Gazanenſian Tartars* invading *Aladin*'s Kingdom, his Princes and Great-Men, who obey'd him more out of Fear than Affection, deeming his Misfortune their Happineſs, revolt a ſecond time. By this Defection *Aladin*'s Affairs growing deſperate, he is forced to abandon his Dominions, and privately fly for his Life to *Michael Palæologus* the *Grecian* Emperor. But when the Thread of the Deſtinies is ſpun, fruitleſs and vain are the Efforts of human Policy. For when he hoped to find a Sanctuary and Aſſiſtance from the *Greeks*, he is moſt inhumanly thrown by them into perpetual Impriſonment. From whence though he is ſaid by *Nicephorus Gregoras* to be afterwards delivered by his Subjects, yet it appears by the unanimous Teſtimony of the Hiſtorians that he died in the year of the *Hegira* 703, and of *Chriſt* 1303.

Othman by the Suffrage of all is choſen Sultan.

XI. Mean while *Othman* far ſuperior to the reſt of the Princes under *Aladin*'s Dominion, in Valour, Reputation, Soldiers and Wealth, prevailed with them all, partly by great Preſents and Aſſurances of greater, partly by the Favour of his Protection and a Communication of Power, and partly by threats, to obey and acknowledge him for Sovereign of the whole Empire. Wherefore by the unanimous Conſent of all the Great-Men he is, in the beginning of the next year, that is of the *Hegira* 700, declared *Sultan*, and in the City *Carachiſar* firſt aſſumes the Title of Emperor of the *Othmans*. From hence ſome Hiſtorians date the beginning of *Othman*'s Reign, though *Saadi Effendi* ſtrongly contends, that the firſt year of his Reign was when having conquered upon the *Greeks*, the City *Carachiſar*, he appointed there in *Aladin*'s life-time, and with his Conſent, a *Cadi* or Judge, and a *Chatib* or Deacon to mention his Name in the publick Prayers, and alſo coin'd Money impreſs'd with the Title of *Sultan*, namely in the year before-mentioned 687. But we following the common Opinion fix the

H. 700. A. C. 1300. *Feb.* 11.

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into *Bilejiki*. The moment they are enter'd the Caſtle, the Soldiers leaping out of the Packs with the help of their diſguis'd Fellows, with ſome difficulty ſeize the Caſtle. *Othman*, as ſoon as the Governor was retir'd to his Bed-chamber, ſuppoſing by this time the Caſtle was ſecur'd by his Men, immediately takes horſe with his Followers and Friend *Coſſi*, and rides full ſpeed to *Bilejiki*. The Governor, inform'd of his ſudden departure, purſues and overtakes him, but his attendants, being for the moſt part, drunk, he is ſlain by *Othman* in the conflict, and the reſt put to flight. Having thus taken *Bilejiki*, *Othman* with great diligence ſurprizes alſo in the morning the Caſtle of *Jarbyſar*, where he took priſoner the Captain, and his beautiful daughter the Bride, who were preparing to go to the Wedding.]

the first year of his Reign to the beginning of the year 700 [and of *Christ* 1300,] as the clearer, in our Opinion, and more accurate Chronological Computation, as we have demonstrated in the Preface to the Reader.

XII. *Othman* being thus possess'd of an Empire which he had rather long expected than sought, and having fix'd the Imperial Seat in *Carachisar*, sets his Sons over the Provinces and Cities to govern and protect them. The *Sanjak* of *Carajedagy*, a City afterwards very famous by the Name of *Sultan Onghi*, was given to *Orchan*, of *Eskishehri* to *Junduz Aleb*, of *Ain Onghi* to *Aigud Aleb*, of *Jarhysar* to *Husan Aleb*, of *Ainegiol* to *Dorgud Aleb*, but *Aladin* his youngest Son with the Government of the City *Bilejik*, was committed to the care of his Mother and Father-in-law *Baliad* (2). *Othman* places his Sons over the Provinces.

XIII. These Governments being thus fill'd, and the City of *Kuprihisar* taken the same year, he removes the Imperial Seat from *Carachysar* to *Jenghishehri*, which he adorns with Royal Palaces, Bagnio's, and other stately Buildings, enlarges with new Walls, and strengthens with various kinds of Fortifications. He removes the Seat of the Empire to *Jenghishehri*.

XIV. In order to the more firm Establishment of his new Empire and Seat, he peaceably spent some time in regulating his Domestick Affairs. Having ordered these according to his pleasure, his next concern was to prevent the Soldiers from being corrupted with Luxury and Ease. To this end he leads his Army against the City of *Iznimid* (or *Nicodemia*,) which though he annoy'd with a long Siege, he is unsuccessfully repuls'd by the Garrison. Wherefore raising the Siege, he builds over against it on a very high Mountain towards *Jenghishehri*, a strong Castle, which being well garrison'd and stor'd he commits to the Custody of the famous *Targan*. After that, he retires with the rest of the Army to Winter Quarters at his Royal Seat at *Jenghishehri*. It must be observ'd that the Chronicle of *Meulan Idris* makes this Castle (call'd *Targan* from its Captain) to be built not by *Othman* but his Son *Orchan*. He attempts in vain to take *Nicodemia*.

XV. About this time the Governours of the *Greek* Provinces, among whom *Ornus* or *Honorius* Governor of *Prusa* was the Chief, observing He defeats the *Greeks* and takes *Kutahi*.

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(2) *Baliad*] [It is plain from hence, that *Michael Kose* was not Governor of *Bilijik*, since it is not probable, *Othman* wou'd deprive of his Government, so faithful a Friend, that had lately sav'd his Life. Consequently there must be some mistake in (Sect. IX.) where our Author makes him Captain of *Bilijeki*. And therefore most likely to be, as related in the foregoing note.]

obſerving the daily Progreſs of *Othman*'s Arms, and that Victory always attended him, privately agreed to meet with their forces under the Walls of *Coiunbyſar* in order to march and ſurpriſe him. But *Othman*'s watchful Fortune diſcovers to him by ſcouts their Deſigns. Wherefore ſilently leading his Army into the Field, he unexpectedly attacks, vanquiſhes and routs his Enemies. The Prince of the City *Koſtel*, with many others fell in the Battle. *Ornus* Lord of *Pruſa*, and the Governor of *Kutahi* (whoſe Name is not mention'd) ſave themſelves by flight. *Othman* purſuing them, the Captain of the Caſtle of *Ulubad*, warn'd by the Example of his Allies, and fearing alſo to be expos'd to the Fury of the *Othmans*, on certain conditions opens a way to his Purſuit. But *Othman*, unable to overtake the flying Enemies, beſieges *Kutahi* (lately recovered from the *Turks* by the *Grecians*) and takes it. But the Conqueſt of that Place was attended with a notable Loſs to *Othman*. For paſſing his Army under the Walls of the Town, over a Timber-Bridge, his Grandſon *Dogris* with ſome Soldiers were drown'd, the Bridge breaking under them. His Body being found, was, by *Othman*'s Command, buried in the Suburbs of *Coiunbiſar*.

He beſieges *Pruſa*, but raiſes the Siege, H. 717. A. C. 1318.

XVI. Moſt of the Cities of *Bithynia* being conquered, and his Empire now firmly eſtabliſhed, *Othman* at laſt in the year of the *Hegira* 717 beſieges *Pruſa* (1) the Metropolis of *Bithynia*. But the City being ſtrongly fortified and defended by a numerous Garriſon, it was very difficult if not impoſſible to take it, and therefore *Othman* to prevent any freſh Supplies of Men or Proviſions, from being thrown in, builds over againſt the City two Caſtles, of which he commits one to the Cuſtody of his Nephew *Artimur*, and in the other places the famous Captain *Balanjik*, with ſtrict orders not to moleſt or injure the Inhabitants. By this means all the Subjects of the *Pruſian* Territory, flying for ſafety and life to theſe Caſtles as to a Sanctuary, voluntarily ſubmitted to *Othman*'s Dominion.

XVII. It

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(1) *Pruſa*] [This City is of great Antiquity, and was the Seat of the Kings of *Bithynia*. It lies at the foot of Mount *Olympus*, and is ſaid to be built by a King of that Name in the time of *Cræſus*. It had been in the hands of the *Greek* Emperors ſince the year of *Chriſt*, 947. It is now call'd by the *Turks*, *Burſah*, or *Buruſſah*, in *Natolia*. This City is famous for its Baths of Mineral Waters, which draw thither a vaſt Courſe of People from all parts of *Turkey*. A *Turkiſh* Poet has made an Inſcription in verſe for the Baths of *Burſah*, to this effect: *It muſt not be wondered that the great number of naked Perſons in theſe Baths very aptly repreſents the general Reſurrection, ſince the Springs of the Water wherein they bath, flow from the Fountains of Paradiſe.* When *Pruſa* was taken by *Orchan*, he made it the Seat of his Empire, as will hereafter be ſeen.]

Othman offers to the *Christians* the *Koran* or Sword, and by both wins many to his Dominion.

XVII. It was *Othman*'s Custom after the Conquest of a certain Number of Cities, to check the rapid Course of his Victories, and repose himself and his Army some time in composing the Affairs of his late conquered Provinces, and restoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Inhabitants. Having spent some years at home to this purpose, his Soldiers, accustom'd to Victory and Spoil, and impatient of Ease and Rest, humbly petition'd to be led to new Conquests upon the *Greek* Empire. The prudent, and, in the Administration of the publick Affairs, the most politick, *Othman*, readily promises to grant their Request, but however, says he, the Propagation of the *Mahometan* Religion is not to be neglected, and puts them in mind that the Precepts of the *Koran* are to be preferr'd to Riches and Empire. Wherefore he proves to them by the Law of the *Koran*, that the *Christian* Princes ought first to be peaceably invited to the *Mahometan* Religion, and in case they refused to obey, were then, by the Divine Law, to be declar'd Enemies of God and the Truth, and for their Obstinacy to be subdued and chastised with Fire and Sword. Accordingly, an Edict is sent by the *Chauses** (2), signifying to all the Princes of *Asia Minor*, that they must either embrace *Mahometism*, or pay tribute, or be subdued by the Sword. The News of this thundering Edict reaching the Ears of all, *Michael Kose*, Lord of *Bilejik*, was the first that submitted to the *Mahometan* Superstition, which afterwards procur'd him and his Posterity for many ages great Honour and Credit with the *Othman* Emperors. His Example was follow'd by the Prince of the City *Liblebiji*, who, tho' he refused to turn *Mahometan*, became Vassal to *Othman* and delivered his Son to him in Bondage. The Lords also of *Lefka* and *Chadarly** subjected their Dominions to the payment of a yearly Tribute.

Many Cities are added to his Empire.

XVIII. About the same time the Cities *Mortuni*, *Goinik*, *Tarakly Enguiesi*, *Kayahisar*, *Hejeji*, *Akbysar*, *Karachyn**, *Tekkurhanati*, and some others, whose Princes had contemn'd both the Religion and Do-

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* The Reader is to take notice for the future, that the Letters *Ch* in all the Words mark'd with an Asterisk are to be pronounc'd like the *English Ch*, otherwise like *K*.

(2) By the *Chauses**] [These are (according to *Ricaut*) a sort of Messengers who attend at the Prime Vizier's Palace, to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire. There are now between five and six hundred who have from twelve to Forty *Aspers* (about our Half-penny) a day. Their chief Officer is call'd *Chaus** *Bashee* to whose Custody Prisoners of Quality are committed. Christian Renegadoes for their Incouragement and Subsistence, are commonly admitted into this Rank, because, understanding other Languages, are most serviceable on Messages into foreign Countries, and sometimes are sent with the Title of Ambassador, as one was once into *France*, *England*, and *Holland*. They serve likewise as a sort of Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty Person to Justice. Their Arms are a Scymiter, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a Knob at the End, call'd *Topus*.]

minion of *Othman*, being weaken'd by the frequent Incurſions of *Chauſhibeg* *, formerly *Ertogrul*'s ſervant, he at laſt takes them all, and annexes them to the *Othmanic* Empire.

Othman obliges the *Tartars* call'd *Chaudar* to embrace his religion. † *Phrygia.*

XIX. Whilſt *Othman* was employ'd in theſe Conqueſts, a nation of *Tartars* call'd *Chaudar* * coming from the Kingdom of *Kermian* †, unexpectedly invade his Dominions, and deſtroy all with Fire and Sword, to the very Walls of *Carachyſar*. *Othman*, then reſiding at *Jenghiſheri*, when he heard the unfortunate news, immediately leads his Army into the field. At *Oinaſh* (a Town then in ruins near *Carachyſar*,) he bravely attacks and routs the ravaging *Tartars*, killing great numbers, and taking more Priſoners. Theſe upon their embracing the *Mahometan* Religion, were afterwards reſtor'd to liberty, and remain'd for ever within the juriſdiction of *Carachyſar* (3).

The Conqueſts of *Orchan* Son of *Othman.*

XX. Among the Sons of *Othman*, *Orchan* (his Succeſſor in the Empire) excelled in Virtue and Bravery. With part of his Father's Army he conquer'd the Cities *Carachebeſh* * *Alebſui*, *Pirgos*, *Tekinhiſari*. Then he returns to his father, leaving the Command of his forces to *Cognuzalbem*, who ſtorms and takes the Caſtles of *Akari*, and *Tuzbazari*, and diſpatching the famous Captain *Akije Coja*, lays waſte the Province of *Iznigmid* to the very Walls of the City. The Governor of *Iznigmid* complaining to the Emperor at *Conſtantinople* of the Fury of the *Othmanidæ*, and informing him of the imminent danger the City was in, the Emperor ſent ſome thouſands of well-armed Forces to his relief. But *Abdulrahman* another of *Othman*'s Captains, having intelligence of their coming, ſuddenly meets them in the Field of *Yailazova*. The *Greeks*, when they could no longer withſtand the Fury of the *Othmanidæ*, turn'd their backs to the Conquerors, but being purſu'd, many were ſlain, great numbers taken, and but very few eſcap'd by an early flight, to carry the unfortunate news to their Emperor.

Othman being ſeiz'd with the Gout, *Orchan* overruns *Bithynia*, and takes *Pruſa* the Metropolis.

XXI *and* XXII. Tho' *Othman*, exhauſted with labours, continual Expeditions and old Age, had been ſeiz'd with the tormenting diſtemper of the Gout, yet preſerving the vigour of his mind, and perceiving a moſt

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(3) *Othmanic* Empire] Some *Chriſtian* Writers aſcribe many more Victories to *Othman*, particularly the Taking of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, *Neapolis* in *Thrace*, *Ancyra* in *Phrygia* and other Cities of *Natolia*. But ſince the *Turkiſh* Annals expreſsly mention in what year and by whom theſe Cities were taken, namely *Nice* in the year of the *Hegira* 726, by *Orchan*, *Ancyra* in 761, by *Murâd* I, and relate as it were with the ſame Pen, that *Orchan* firſt attempted to paſs into *Europe*, we cannot be blam'd if we doubt of the Faithfulneſs of theſe Narrations, till they are confirm'd by the ſtronger Teſtimony of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians.

most prosperous success attended his Arms, he sends his Son *Orchan* with numerous Forces, to subdue the Province of *Bythinia* govern'd, as we observ'd, by *Ornus*, and if possible to take *Prusa* the Metropolis of the Kingdom. *Ornus*, unable to meet *Orchan* in the Field, is oblig'd to remain within the Walls of his Capital, a City otherwise very strong, and stor'd with eight years Provisions. *Orchan* closely besieging the City, and annoying it with continual attacks, met with a gallant resistance from *Ornus* and his Garrison. But, (to use the language of the Psalmist) *except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman wakes in vain.* For *Michael*, who had lately abjur'd the *Christian* Religion, and was now chief Counsellor to *Orchan*, artfully perswaded *Ornus*, after a long and obstinate Siege, to surrender at last upon Capitulation. So, on payment of thirty thousand Gold Crowns, the lives of the Inhabitants were spar'd, and the famous City of *Prusa*, without the effusion of one drop of *Turkish* Blood, was delivered to *Orchan* in the year of the *Hegira* 726 (4). H. 726. A. C. 1326.

XXIII. As human happiness is seldom pure and unmixt, *Orchan*, in the midst of his triumph and joy for the taking of this renowned City, receives the melancholy news that his Father was dying, and had therefore commanded him to repair to him with all possible diligence. *Orchan*, obedient to his Father's command, leaves a strong Garrison in *Prusa*, and with few attendants returns to *Jenghisheri*, where he found his Father almost expiring. *Othman* giving him his paternal Benediction, and bequeathing to him his Empire, the same year *Prusa* was taken, in the month *Ramazan*, resign'd his last breath, in the 69th year of his age, after a reign of twenty six years, three months and ten days (5). *Othman* dies, and bequeaths his Kingdom to his Son *Orchan*.

OTHMAN'S

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) [As the *Christian* Historians for the most part say, this City was taken by old Sultan *Othman* himself, so they pretend it was effected in the following manner. The Sultan after taking the Town, perceiving the Castle to hold out, ordered it to be reported that he was dead and had just before his Death, desir'd to be buried in the *Greek* Convent in the Castle, with about forty Persons to attend his Funeral, and if this Request was granted, his Army was to retire. The credulous Monks very readily complied, and a Coffin full of Arms with *Othman* himself in disguise and thirty nine others being admitted, they seiz'd the Gate, let in more Troops, and took the Castle. *M. Lucas* gives this Account in his Travels to the *Levant*, wherein he describes the Place with its Monuments of Antiquity, numerous Baths, Sepulchres of the *Turkish* Sultans, and the Ruins of antient Palaces, *&c.* by which it appears to have been a very considerable Place. The Reader will see presently a probable Conjecture of our Author how the Christian Writers came to think this City was taken by *Othman*.]

(5) ten days] *Philippus Lonicerus*, and other *Christian* Writers ascribe to him a Reign of twenty eight years, but we think the *Turkish* Historians, as better informed and more accurate

Othman's *last Words to his Son* Orchan *as extant in the Historian* Saadi.

WHEN these two Princes beheld one another, with Hearts inflam'd with affection, *Orchan* lamented and said, "Oh! *Othman!* Thou Fountain of Emperors, Lords of the World! Thou "Conqueror and Subduer of Nations!" The excellent King casting his dying Eyes on him, in a languishing voice, expres'd himself thus: "Lament not, O my Soul's delight! for this my last Conflict is "the Lot of all Human Kind, common to young and old, who e-"qually breath the same Air of this malignant World. Whilst I now "pass to Immortality, live thou Glorious, Prosperous, and Happy. "Since I leave thee for Successor, I have no cause to grieve at my de-"parture. I will give thee my last Instructions, to which be attentive. "Bury the cares of this Life in oblivion. I conjure thee, crown'd "with Felicity, lean not to Tyranny, nor so much as look towards "Cruelty. On the contrary, cultivate Justice, and therewith embel-"lish the Earth. Rejoice my departed Soul, with a beautiful series "of Victories, and when thou art become Conqueror of the World, "propagate Religion by thy Arms, and exercise a just Friendship to-"wards the *Rumæan* Kingdoms (6). Promote the Learned to Honors. "So

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rate, are to be followed, who unanimously allow him but twenty six Lunar Years, three Months and ten Days, that is, about twenty five Solar Years, five Months, and seventeen days. [When *Othman's* Coffers came to be open'd, no Treasure or Jewels were found there, he having liberally bestow'd his Money upon his Warriours, so that the Wealth he left his Sons was, his Example to imitate, large Dominions, many Horses and much Armor fit for Service, and especially great Herds of Cattle and Flocks of Sheep. Of these last it is remarkable, that there are at this day in the Pastures near *Prusa*, Sheep belonging to the Grand Seignor which are said to come from those of *Othman*. He lies buried at *Bursah*, where his Tomb is still to be seen in a certain Chappel of an old Monastery in the Castle. But whether this be so or no, it is certain the Tombs of the Sultans that were afterwards buried there, resemble Chappels, and are lin'd with Marble and Jasper, and their Domes painted with Azure and fine Ornaments in Gold and Red, their Floors are covered with Tapestry, on which lie the Coffins of the Sultans with their Turbants and Arms about them.]

(6) *Rumæan* Kingdoms] [*Regna Rumæorum. D'Herbelot* observes, that *Rum* was a name given by the *Arabians* and other Eastern Nations to the Countries, which the *Romans* first, and afterwards the *Greeks* and *Turks*, reduced to their Obedience. But more particularly, according to *Ebn Alvardi* in his Geography, the Country call'd *Rum* begins at the Western Ocean and contains *Galaleca*, Gallicia; *Andaluz*, Spain; *Afranja*, France; *Rumiah*, Italy; *Nemsiah*, Germany; *Leh* and *Cheh**, Poland *and* Bohemia; *Inkitar*, England; *Majar*, Hungary; to *Constantinople* and the *Euxine-Sea*, where he joins the Country of the *Secalebah* or *Slaves*, and *Sclavonians* bordering upon the *Russians*,

" So the Divine Law ſhall be eſtabliſh'd, and in what Place ſoever " thou heareſt a Learned Man, let Honour, Magnificence, and Cle- " mency attend him. Glory not in thy Armies, nor pride thy ſelf " in thy Riches. Keep near thy Perſon the Learned in the Law, and " as Juſtice is the Support of Kingdoms, turn from every thing re- " pugnant thereto. The Divine Law is our ſole Aim, and our Pro- " greſs is only in the Paths of the Lord. Imbark not in vain Under- " takings or fruitleſs Contentions. For it is not our Ambition to en- " joy the Empire of the World, but the Propagation of the Faith was " my peculiar deſire, which therefore it becomes thee to accompliſh. " Study to be impartially gracious to All, and take care to diſcharge " the publick Duties of thy Office; for a King not diſtinguiſhed by Good- " neſs and Bounty, belies the Name of a King, Let the Protection of thy " Subjects be thy conſtant Study; ſo ſhalt thou find Favour and Pro- " tection from God." *Othman, Refuge of the Faithful*, having finiſh- ed theſe Inſtructions, his Soul departed to the Regions of Eternity.

ANNOTATIONS.

ſians. And laſtly, the Country ſtill more properly calld *Rum*, viz. *Romania* and *Rumilia*, that is *Thrace* and modern *Greece*. The Author of the *Maſſabat alardh*, or, *Extent of the Earth* ſays, that *Rum*, in which he includes Part of *Aſia Minor*, is bounded on the Weſt, by the Canal of the *Black-Sea*, on the South, by *Belad Sham* and *Belad Jezirah*, Syria *and* Meſopotamia, and *Arminiah*, Armenia, on the Eaſt and North by *Belad Kurg*, Georgia, and *Bahr Bontos*, the Euxine-Sea, and that in the Middle of this Country of *Rum*, is, *Gbebal Carman*, (the Mountain of *Carumania* or *Mount Taurus*, where inhabit many *Turkiſh* and *Turcoman* Families) the ridge of which Mountain extends from *Tharſus* in *Cilicia* to the *Helleſpont*. And in this Country of *Rum* properly ſo call'd, reign'd the Dynaſty of the *Seljukian* Sultans, call'd by the *Arabians*, *Selajekah Rum*, or, the *Seljucidæ* of *Rum*, from whom the *Othmanidæ* or preſent *Turks* deriv'd their Original, which is the reaſon that the *Perſians* and *Moguls* ſtill call the *Turks* to this day, *Rumi*. From *Ebu Aluardi*'s Deſcription of *Rum* it appears that by the *Regna Rumæorum*, *the Kingdoms of the Rumi*, here menti- on'd by *Othman*, are to be underſtood the *Chriſtians of Europe*, and by, *exerciſing juſt Friendſhip towards them*, he doubtleſs meant, *obliging them to embrace Mahometiſm*, which in the opinion of the *Turks*, is the greateſt Kindneſs or Friendſhip that can be ſhown *Chriſtians*.]

From the Death of *Soliman Shah* in 1219 to the Death of *Oſman* I. in 1326, there reigned in *Europe*, as follows.

At *Conſtantinople*,
- ROBERT (Son or Brother of PETER *de Courtenay*) 1222-29.
- BALDWIN II. 1229-62.
- MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS 1262-82.
- ANDRONICUS PAL. *the Elder* 1282-1325.

In the *West.*

From the Death of FREDERIC II. 1250 to 1273, was a Sort of *Interregnum*, in which time were elected HENRY of *Thuringia*, WILLIAM of *Holland*, RICHARD Duke of *Cornwal* Son of King JOHN of *England*, ALPHONSUS *the Wise*. During these twenty three years, were extinguish'd the great Families of *Suabia*, *Austria* and *Thuringia*.

RODOLPHUS of *Habsburgh*, 1273-91.
ADOLPHUS of *Nassau*, 1291-98.
ALBERTUS Son of RODOLPHUS, 1298-1308.
HENRY of *Luxemburg*, 1308-13.
LEWIS of *Bavaria*, 1313-46.

In *England.*

EDWARD I. 1272-1307.
EDWARD II. 1307-27.

In *France.*

LEWIS VIII. 1223-26.
LEWIS IX. 1226-70.
PHILIP *the Hardy*. 1270-86.
PHILIP *the Fair*. 1286-1313.
LEWIS X. 1313-15.
PHILIP *the Long*, 1315-21.
CHARLES *the Fair*, 1321-27.

The End of the Reign of OTHMAN I.

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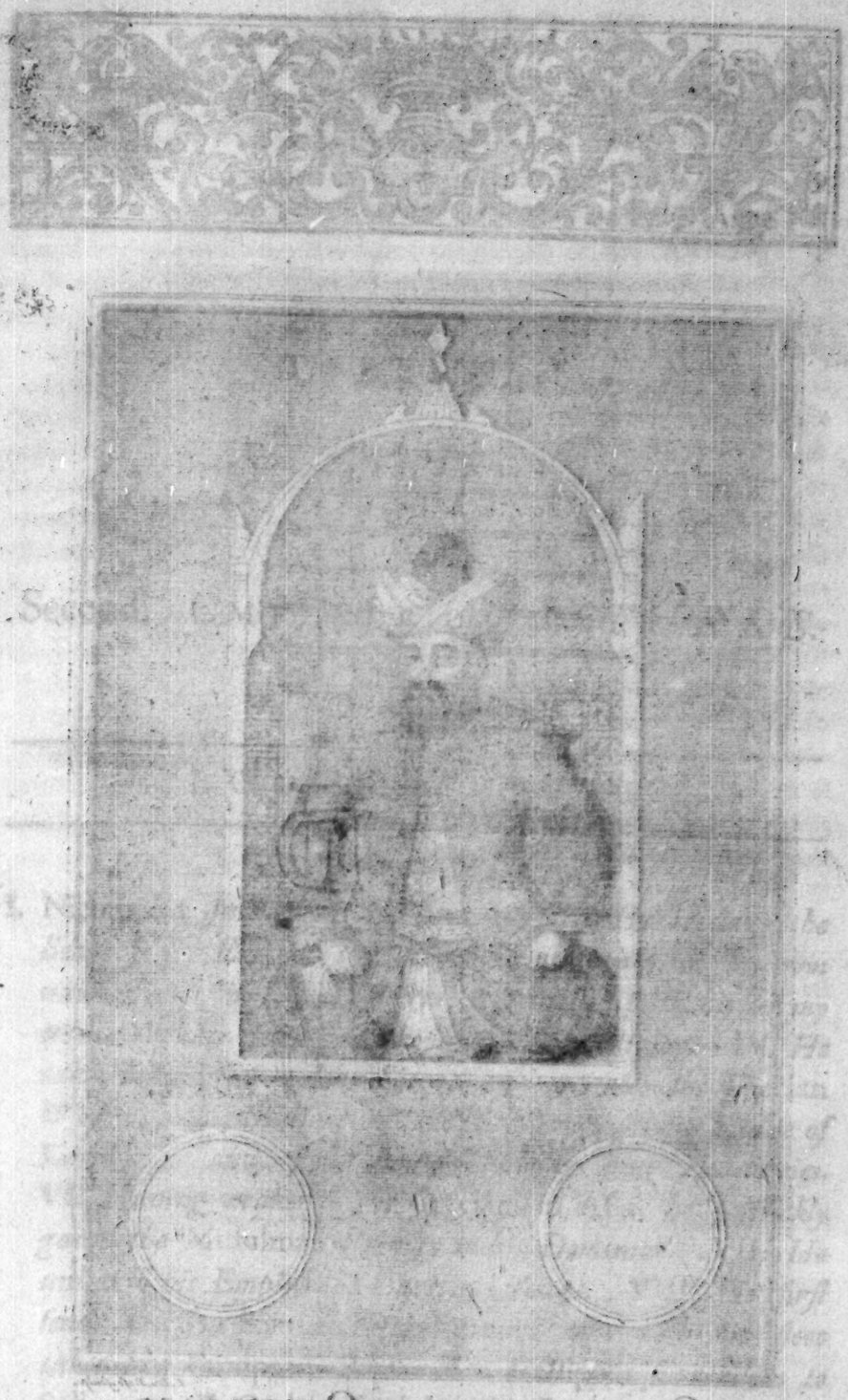
THE



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C. Dow. Mafs. fculp.

ORCHAN Son of OTHMAN,
SECOND EMPEROR of the TURKS.
in the Year 1326.
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

ORCHAN

Second EMPEROR of the *TURKS.*

BOOK I. CHAP. III.

I. Nicomedia *surrenders to* Orchan. II. *He removes the Seat of his Empire to* Burſah, *coins money in his own name, and models the Army.* III. *He puts his Army under regular Pay, and propagates his Religion.* IV. *He takes* Nice *after a long Siege, and marries the* Grecian *Widows to his Soldiers.* V. *He takes the ſtrong Caſtle of* Kemluk, *and firſt founds Schools and Academies.* VI. *Having weaken'd the* Grecians *in* Aſia, *he politickly gains the* Muſulman *Princes to his Dominion.* VII. *He unites to his Empire the maritime Towns.* VIII. *He firſt ſends his Son* Soliman *into* Europe, *who with his fleet takes two* European *Ports.* IX. Callipolis *ſurrenders to* Soliman. X. Orchan *ſends his other Son* Murad *with a new Army into* Europe, *where, beſides others, he takes the ſtrong City* Chorlu *. XI. Soliman, *Son of* Orchan, *is kill'd by a fall from his Horſe.* XII. Ache-beg * *takes the*

the City of Dydomothychon, *which is reſtored to the Inhabitants by* Orchan. XIII. Orchan's *Death and Character.*

Orchan is ſaluted Emperor, to whom *Nicomedia* ſurrenders.

H. 726.

A. C. 1326.

H. 727.

A. C. 1327.

OTHMAN being dead, his Son *Orchan* (1) in the thirty fifth year of his age, and of the *Hegira* 726, on the 10th day of the Month of *Ramazan*, was immediately ſaluted Emperor of the *Othmanidæ*. *Orchan* having in his Father's Life-time (as 'tis ſaid) taken *Pruſa* (2), and ſubdued the Territory of that City to his dominion, ſpends the firſt year of his Reign in ſettling the affairs of *Aſia*, and eſtabliſhing his new Empire. But the next year, he at once overruns the whole Province of *Semendura*, extending from the City of *Aitos* to *Iznigmid* or *Nicomedia*. Then he leads his Army againſt *Iznigmid*, which tho' difficult to be taken, he cloſely beſieges and conquers. *Calojanes* the Governour, who rather deſerted than defended the City committed to his care, when he ſaw *Orchan*'s Army approach, flies away in the night to the Caſtle of *Coiunbiſar*. *Orchan* hearing of his flight by ſome Captives, ſends part of his Army to inveſt that Caſtle alſo, which being eaſily taken, and *Calojanes* ſlain with an arrow; he cauſes his head to be fixed on a Pole, and ſhown in terror, to the *Nicomedians*. They ſeeing the head of their Governor and General, ſend Ambaſſadors to agree with *Orchan* upon Articles of Surrender, and ſo obtaining liberty to retire with their lives and goods to *Conſtantinople*, they deliver up the City to *Orchan*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Orchan*] *Nicephorus Gregoras* Book XV. Chap. 5. Sect. 2. calls him *Hyrcanus* or *Orchanes*, and ſays, he married *Maria*, (or according to *Cantacuzenus*, Book III. Ch. 92. *Theodora*) Daughter of *Johannes Cantacuzenus*. Of this, tho' the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians are entirely ſilent concerning it, we are unwilling to doubt, becauſe it is hardly credible that a *Chriſtian* Writer, and Father of this *Maria*, ſhould relate a Falſity which could be attended with nothing but diſgrace, both to the *Chriſtian* Religion and the Emperor himſelf; or ſhould propoſe from thence any praiſe to himſelf. But whether he had any Children by this marriage or not, ſince no Hiſtorian, that we have ſeen, has informed us, we chuſe alſo to paſs it over in ſilence. [*Johannes Cantacuzenus* Guardian to the Emperor *Andronicus*'s two Sons, uſurp'd the Throne in 1338, but being dethron'd, he retired to a Monaſtery on Mount *Athos*, where he wrote the Hiſtory of his own Reign, which is reckoned the Maſterpiece of the modern *Greeks*.]

(2) *Having taken Pruſa*] The *Chriſtian* Writers refer the taking of *Pruſa* to the times of *Othman*, who they tell us, died the following year. This miſtake ſeems to ariſe from the Loſs of *Pruſa*, (which was a very great calamity) being known to *Greece* before the news of *Othman*'s death could arrive there. For it is uſual in the *Othman* Court to conceal with great care the death of the Emperor, eſpecially from their Enemies. Now the great exactneſs obſerv'd by the *Turkiſh* Writers in marking the days of the deaths of their Emperors, will ſcarce permit us to doubt of the truth of this Narration.

II. In

II. In the year 728, he took by Capitulation under the conduct of *Alibeg*, the City of *Herkie* (call'd afterwards *Karamuſeki*) Capital of the Province of *Semendura*. *Orchan*, when he had ſubdu'd all the fortified places of *Bithynia*, except *Nicæa*; the ſame year removes his Imperial Seat from *Jenghiſheri* to *Pruſa*, and by the advice of his Brother *Aladin*, aboliſhing the *Seljukian* money, makes a new Coin, inſcrib'd with his own name. He orders the Inhabitants of Cities to be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe of Villages by different Habits; and alſo was pleaſed that the military Men ſhould be diſtinct, who before differ'd in nothing from the *Chriſtian* Soldiers. He inroll'd a new Militia of Foot, (of which there had yet been none among the *Othmans*) and taught them to make Engines, for taking of Towns, (which before they were entirely ignorant of) and made his Brother *Aladin* General of his Armies, and ſet him over the Publick Affairs with the new Title, of *Prime Vizir*.

H. 728.

A. C. 1328. *Orchan* removes his Seat to *Pruſa*, and models the Army.

III. In the year 729, *Orchan* firſt aſſign'd the Soldiers (who before were all Volunteers) regular Pay, namely a *Nikra* a day, (ſo his new Coin was call'd, being in value about the fourth part of a ſilver Drachma.) However, when they were not upon duty, he appointed them to live peaceably on their own poſſeſſions, free from all contributions. But this Infantry, being taken from the dregs of the Peaſants, a rough and unciviliz'd generation, very frequently rais'd, or endeavour'd to raiſe, mutinies. *Orchan* obſerving this, aboliſhes that Body, and puts in their room as many *Chriſtian* youths as can poſſibly be procur'd; whom he firſt cauſes to be inſtructed in the *Mahometan* Faith, and then to be inroll'd. So, in a ſhort time he not only got a numerous Army, but alſo greatly enlarged the *Mahometan* Superſtition. If any of the *Turkiſh* Peaſants, contented with his own poſſeſſions, was willing to be inroll'd, they were permitted to ſerve among the Horſe, under the *Sanjakbegs* and *Balukbaſhis*, by the name of *Muſellem*, that is, *the Free*.

H. 729.

A. C. 1329. He firſt gives the Soldiers Pay, and propagates his Religion.

IV. The military *Orders*, and a new Soldiery being thus re-eſtabliſh'd, and the number of Forces greatly increaſed; *Orchan* this ſame year beſieges *Iznik* or *Nicæa*, which almoſt wholly deſtroy'd by a two years continual Siege, Famine, and Peſtilence, is compell'd to ſurrender at the mercy of *Orchan*; who, when the Inhabitants by their Deputies beg their lives with leave to retire to *Conſtantinople*, very generouſly permits them to take alſo what riches they can carry with them. Whereupon, the *Nicæans* ſeeing *Orchan*'s clemency, voluntarily become Tributaries to the *Othmanic* Empire, and remain'd free in their poſſeſſions and houſes. *Orchan* in the year 730, enters the City, and, when the Wives of the *Greeks*, kill'd by famine and war, bewail their Widowhood in his preſence, commands the *Othmanic* Courtiers and

He takes *Nicæa* after a long Siege, and marries the *Grecian* Widows to his Soldiers.

H. 730.

A. C. 1330.

Nobles to marry them, and treat them as honourably as *Muſulman* Women. By this means, many Women of noble birth, and alſo of inferior condition, received at once Husbands, and the *Mahometan* Faith. After the taking of *Nicæa*, the Fame of *Orchan*'s humanity to his Subjects flying over the neighbouring Regions; not only the *Nicæans*, of whom great Multitudes had by flight avoided the Siege, but alſo numberleſs Inhabitants of other Cities and Towns, not yet ſubdued by the *Othmanic* Arms, flock to *Nicæa*. By which means, in the ſpace of one year, *Nicæa* ſo abounded with Inhabitants, that it ſeem'd to rival even the City of *Conſtantinople*.

H. 734. A. C. 1334. He takes the ſtrong Caſtle of *Kemluk*, and founds Schools.

V. In the year 734, *Orchan* takes by capitulation the Caſtle of *Kemluk*, fortified by Nature and Art, after a whole year's cloſe Siege. This Caſtle had been often, tho' in vain, attempted by *Othman*. In the year 736, *Orchan* adorns the City of *Pruſa* with a new *Moſch*, Academy, and Hoſpital, Structures truly royal. But eſpecially the Academy, which was founded in a Monaſtery, became ſo famous, and illuſtrious for Profeſſors of the liberal Arts, that out of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, which before were looked upon as the Preceptors of the World, very many to purſue their ſtudies, flocking thither, diſdain'd not to be the diſciples of the *Othmanidæ*.

H. 736. A. C. 1336.

Having weaken'd the *Grecians* of *Aſia*, *Orchan* politickly gains the *Muſulman* Princes to his dominion.

VI. *Orchan*, after he had by his Arms ſubdued upon the *Greeks*, the forementioned Cities and Territories, by his Policy and Art of Government, for which he was famous; contrives how to unite to his dominion the reſt of the *Aſiatick* Provinces, which were in ſubjection to ſome *Muſulman* Princes, the remains of the *Seljukian* Empire. He begins with the dominions of *Ajidambeg*, who dying and leaving a young Son call'd *Caſhimbeg*, *Orchan* under pretenſe of being his Foſter-father and Protector, places him near his Perſon, and ſeizes his whole Province. *Turſonbeg*, another young Prince, imitating his example, dedicates to the *Othmanic* Scepter the Cities of *Aidynjik*, *Minas*, *Balykeſre*, *Bergame*, and *Ermid*. Near to theſe, *Ulubad*, *Kublius*, and *Eblius*, which as yet acknowledged the Empire of the *Greeks*, were reduced by the force of his Arms. *Michaëlbe*, * the Son of *Keramaſteria* a noble Matron, taking warning by their misfortune, delivers up his paternal poſſeſſions (which from his name are at this day call'd by the *Turks*, *Muchalich* *) to be held of *Orchan* in Vaſſalage. Mean while a contention ariſes between *Turſonbeg* and his Brother *Hajelbeg*; the former offers to *Orchan*, the Principality which he had before promis'd him, but the latter refuſes to conſent to it. A War from thence being kindled, they had recourſe to Arms. *Hajelbeg* being the weaker, quitted the Field, and betook himſelf to the City of *Bergame*. *Orchan* taking occaſion from this quarrel of the Brothers to ſeize the Province; with a cunning Hypocrify, ſays he, "it is not "juſt nor allowable by the *Mahometan* Religion, that by reaſon of "the

"the rage kindled between the Brothers, even one drop of *Muſulman* "Blood ſhou'd be ſpilt; yea rather it is a ſin to contend with Arms "about what may be decided by Law." Wherefore he orders the Brothers to meet under the Walls of *Bergami*, and according to the preſcription of the Law, to make an equal diviſion of the Poſſeſſions. Both agreed to the Sentence of the Judge. But at their firſt meeting, *Turſonbeg*, ſtabb'd with a dart by his Brother, (who pretended to embrace him) falls down dead before *Orchan*'s Mediatorſ. *Hajalbeg*, like another *Cain*, being ſeiz'd with horror at the dead, and dreading both his own People, and the *Othmanida*, endeavours to ſhut the Gates of the City, and oppoſe *Orchan* with Arms, but in vain; for the Citizens abhorring the murder and juſtly fearing *Orchan*'s power, deliver up to him both their City and Prince; who, after languiſhing two years in priſon, died at *Burſah*. The ſame fate attended the Prince of *Ulubad*, who being falſely accuſed of a revolt, is put to death. Whereupon the whole Province of *Caraſus* with *Ulubad*, acknowledge the Sovereignty of *Orchan*. Theſe things were tranſacted about the end of the year 737, and of the *Chriſtian Æra* 1337.

VII. In the beginning of the year 738, the maritime Towns *Anachor* and *Emrud*, (which yet remain'd under the deplorable rule of the *Chriſtians*) hearing *Orchan* was preparing an Army againſt them, chuſe rather to ſurrender themſelves to his clemency, than by their reſiſtance to experience his fury; whoſe example being followed by ſome other Towns and Caſtles, they were united to the *Othmanic* Empire.

H. 738. A. C. 1338. He unites to his Empire the maritime Towns.

VIII. *Orchan*'s Ambition ſeem'd rather to be inflam'd than ſatisfied, with the courſe of his *Aſiatic* Victories. Wherefore having conquer'd all *Bithynia*, in the year 738, he ſends his Son *Soliman* to attempt a paſſage into *Europe*, joining with him the moſt famous Captains of his time, *Acheheg* *, *Gazifoxyl*, and *Ornuſbeg*, (or as other Writers are pleaſed to ſay) *Gazifaryl*, *Yacubjebeg* and *Michalbeg* (3). Wherefore *Soliman*

H. 738. A. C. 1338. *Soliman* Son of *Orchan* is ſent into *Europe* and takes two Ports.

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) *Michalbeg*] The *Chriſtian* Writers have left nothing certain (as far as I find) concerning either his Birth or Fortune. But the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians tell us, he was deſcended from the Emperors of *Trabizond*, (perhaps of the *Comnenian* race) and abjuring the *Chriſtian*, embrac'd the *Mahometan*, Faith, and was ſo belov'd (as they ſay) by *Orchan*, that he would do nothing without his advice. At this day there remains a very beautiful Stone-bridge at *Adrianople*, built over the river *Arta*, a famous Monument of his Son, who after his Father was call'd *Michal*. This Bridge ſtill retains the name of its Builder, being call'd, *Michalogli Kopriſi*; that is, *the Bridge of Michal's Son*. But whether he was of royal race I dare not venture to affirm, tho' the name of *Michael*

Soliman taking with him eighty choſen men, under pretenſe of hunting, deſcends into the region of *Aidinjik*, and ſurveys the *Aſiatic* Shores. But as it was death by an Edict publiſhed by the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and confirmed by the reſt of the *Chriſtian* Princes, for any one even in a little boat to go over on the *Aſiatic* ſide, or for an *Othman* to ſail over into *Europe*; neceſſity whetting his invention, *Soliman* lays two Rafts on Ox-bladders tied together by the necks, on one of which he gets firſt himſelf, and in the night, the moon being at full, paſſes over more happily than he expected, from a village in *Aſia* to the Caſtle of *Hamni* in *Europe*. *Soliman* having thus wafted over his followers, they firſt ſeize a Country-man, who thro' an underground paſſage ſhowing them an eaſy entrance into the Town, deſtitute of Guards, they ſuddenly ſurpriſe the People oppreſſed with ſleep, and little expecting ſuch an Invaſion. Wherefore *Soliman* taking the men priſoners, and judging it more prudent to deal gently with them than roughly, treats his captives very civilly, ſwearing to give them their liberty with ample Preſents, if any of them underſtanding Sea-affairs, wou'd conduct into *Aſia*, the Ships which lay in the Harbours of *Balair* and *Akchiliman**. The Captives, allur'd by *Orchan*'s clemency and promiſes, tranſport into *Europe* from *Aſia* in a few hours, about three thouſand *Othmans*. On the morrow he ſuddenly took the Caſtle of *Hyaſobonia*, and ſupplying it with Proviſions and a Garriſon, gave it in cuſtody to *Achebeg**; from whoſe name that Territory is at this day call'd *Acbeovaſi*.

Callipolis ſurrenders to *Soliman*.

IX. *Gelibolij* or *Callipolis*, put indeed a ſtop to his progreſs. The Governor, (who is mentioned by the *Turkiſh* Writers by the name of *Callaconias*) aſſembling as many of the neighbouring Youth as he could, endeavours to make head againſt *Soliman*. The fight was long and doubtful; but the *Othmans*, ſuperior both in courage and number, are at laſt victorious, and force the *Greeks* to fly within the Walls of their City. *Soliman* conſidering that he could not take the Town by aſſault, without the loſs of his men, reſolves to humble his enemies by a long Siege and Famine. Wherefore drawing the Garriſons out of the Caſtles already taken, and preventing all relief and proviſions from entering, he cloſely beſieges the Town. Tho' the Governor and Garriſon bravely defended the place committed to their care; yet tir'd at length with a long Siege, and weaken'd with frequent aſſaults, and moreover deſtitute of proviſions,

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Michael will hardly ſuffer us to doubt of his former Religion; for to the beſt of our remembrance that name is aſcribed to none but him and the Archangel by the *Turks*. In the *Koran* or *Alcoran*, this name is written *Mikail*, but in ſpeaking or writing to *Chriſtians*, they are wont to ſay *Michal*.

they

they deliver up by capitulation in the year of the *Hegira* 760, *Callipolis* with the whole Province of *Chairèboli* or *Cheripolis* (4). The *Grecian* Emperor, when he heard of the taking of *Callipolis*, which was justly call'd not only the Key of *Constantinople* but also the Bulwark of *Europe*, is reported to say, the *Turks* had only taken a Hogsty and a Pottle of Wine (5). H. 760. A. C. 1359.

X. The next year Sultan *Orchan* sends a second Army into *Europe*, under the Conduct of his other Son *Murad*. The two Brothers uniting their Forces, *Soliman* subdues *Malgara* and *Ibsalam*, and *Murad* takes the Castle of *Epibatos*, about ten hours journey from *Constantinople*, after which he lays siege to the strong City of *Chorlu* * (or *Tyrilos*) situated between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*. The Inhabitants relying on the strength of their City by nature and art, despise the Army of the *Othmans*, and not only refuse to surrender upon the honourable terms offered them by *Murad*; but also in vigorous Sallies kill several thousands of their enemies; and often beat them from their Walls, 'till overpower'd with numbers, rather than vanquish'd, they were all slain to a man. In revenge of this slaughter, *Murad* having taken the Town, order'd it to be entirely demolish'd, and levell'd with the ground, so that now there scarce remain any signs of it. By this act of Cruelty the Inhabitants of *Pirgos*, (a Town between *Adrianople* and *Chorlu* *) were frighted from their habitations, and left their empty Town a prey to the Enemy. After these Conquests, *Murad* joyfully returns with his Army into *Asia*, whilst *Soliman* remains with his Forces in *Europe*. H. 761. A. C. 1360. *Orchan* sends his Son *Murad* with an Army into *Europe*, who takes *Chorlu*.

XI. This year, however fortunate it was to the *Othman* Empire, prov'd as fatal to Sultan *Orchan*. For *Soliman* (6), when under the colour of hunting, he was reviewing his Forces in the Field, and exercising, according to the *Othman* custom, his Cavalry in darting their Spears, and shooting their Arrows, was by an unruly Horse run away *Soliman* is kill'd by a fall from his Horse.

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(4) *Chairèboli*] It seems to be *Christopolis*, in which place *Gregoras* (Lib. VII. c. 6. Sect. III.) says that the Emperor *Andronicus* built a Wall extending from the Sea to the Top of a neighbouring Mountain, (call'd by the Turks *Despòt yalasi*,) in order to obstruct the way into *Macedonia*. I wonder from whence *Johan. Dunf.* should have it, that *Christopolis* is called by the *Turks*, *Yanboli*. For *Yanboli* is in *Thrace*, about seventy miles from *Philippopolis* under Mount *Hemus*, situated on the Banks of the River *Tunje*.

(5) [Alluding it seems, to the name of a Castle taken by the *Turks*, which signified *Hogsty*.]

(6) *Soliman*] *Gregoras* seems to call him by the name of a *Trojan* Leader, whilst he tells us (Lib. XIV. c. 11. Sect. II.) that he married the Daughter of *Johannes Bataizes*, and first pass'd over from *Asia* into *Europe*. For the *Turks* make no mention of any man's passing into *Europe* before this *Soliman*.

with, and breaking his leg againſt a Tree, fell to the ground with ſuch violence that he inſtantly expir'd.

Achebeg takes *Dydomothycon*, which is reſtored to the Inhabitants by *Orchan*.

XII. *Orchan*, hearing of the unexpected death of his beloved Son, was ſo overwhelmed with grief, that he was ſeized with an incurable Illneſs, which ſhortly after laid him in his grave. However, leaſt his Son's death and his own ſickneſs ſhould ſeem to ſtifle all warlike thoughts, he ſends an Army under the conduct of *Achebeg*, to conquer *Dydomothycon*. This General approaching the City before he was expected, accidentally takes the Governour in the Neigbourhood of the Place, where he had walk'd for his pleaſure. The Governour, who was of the race of the *Greek* Emperors, impatient of a hard Captivity, purchaſes his freedom with the ſurrender of the City. *Orchan*, however, mov'd at that time with the intreaties of the *Grecian* Prince his Friend, (this was *Johannes Cantacuzenus*, who had married his daughter to *Orchan* before his acceſſion to the Throne) reſtores the City to its former poſſeſſors.

Orchan's Death and Character.

XIII. The illneſs contracted by the death of his Son, continually preying upon *Orchan*'s old Age, and daily increaſing, he died the ſame year, two months after his Son's misfortune, and was buried in *Manaſtyr* or the Monaſtery of *Pruſa* (7). He left his Kingdom to his Son

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(7) *Manaſtyr*] There was at *Pruſa* or *Burſah*, a large monaſtery, (now turn'd into a *Jami* or Temple, retaining its antient name) in which, it is reported, there were in the time of the *Chriſtian* Emperors five thouſand Monks. Strange ſtories are told of theſe Monks by the *Turks*, in a Book call'd *Tacobin Madian*. Among the reſt, one Story is, that thoſe Monks from the top of Mount *Olympus* (call'd by the *Turks*, *Keſhiſh dagy*, or the *Mountain of the Monks*) flew thro' the air over the *Propontis* to the Church of *Sancta Sophia* at *Conſtantinople*, and that they eat only every ſeventh day one Olive or Fig. If any *Chriſtian* queſtions the Truth of this Story, a *Turk* thinks it ſufficiently prov'd, if he ſhows it to be written in his Book. For the illiterate among them, believe nothing falſe can poſſibly be recorded in their Books. I don't think it foreign to the purpoſe to relate here, as an inſtance of this credulity a pleaſant Story which happen'd at *Conſtantinople* in my time. In the reign of Sultan *Muſtapha* the preſent Emperor *Achmet*'s Brother, the Patriarch was one *Callinicus*, who was tolerably vers'd in the *Greek* learning, and of unblameable morals. He was continually dunn'd by the Proctors or *Meteveli* of the Empreſs *Valida*'s Temple, for the intereſt of money due to them from the Church. The Patriarch, having no money to diſcharge the debt, deſires they would grant him a delay till the *Monday* of the following Week. This term being expired, the Proctors are with him again, and more urgent for their money. The Patriarch intreating for another Week's reſpite, is thus taken up by the ſenior Proctor. "To "what purpoſe (ſays he) O Patri-"arch, are theſe lies? Our Books "tell us, and we certainly believe "it, that your Monks heretofore,

"not

Son *Murad* having lived seventy (8), and reign'd thirty-five years, according to *Saadi*'s Computation. The *Turks* greatly extol this Sultan's Clemency, Valour, Justice and Liberality to the Poor, and affirm, that it was his constant practice to converse with the Learned; nor would he undertake any thing of moment without asking their advice; that he was the first of their Emperors that founded *Moschs*, *Jami* (9), *Medrese* (10), or Schools, and *Imaret* or

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" not only were far from being " guilty of lying, or any ill action, " but also had attain'd to that de- " gree of Virtue, that being taken " up into the Air, they flew from " Mount *Olympus* [meaning *Olympus* in *Bythinia* different from that in *Greece*] " to *Sancta Sophia*, and re- " turn'd the same way; and were " famous for other miracles exceed- " ing all human power." The Patriarch, as he was very facetious, replies, " not the antient Monks on- " only did This, but we also daily " do the same wonders. I myself " frequently take a flight from hence (he was then at the Patriarchal Seat at *Phanarium*) " to *Pera*. Indeed I " chuse to fly after Sun-set, and not " very high, in order to avoid the " eyes of the multitude, and the " imputation of Imposture or Ma- " gick." To this the *Turks* only answered, " did not we tell you, our " Books, wherein we believe no- " thing untrue is contained, say as " much?" It must however be confess'd, that in so great a Nation, there are many of the learned *Turks* who do not implicitly believe all that is said in the *Koran*; tho' they dare not openly express their Sentiments. So on the contrary, the most learned *Turk*, *Saadi Effendi* (to whom alone I am indebted for my *Turkish* learning) being one day asked by me, how he, being a great *Mathematician* and vers'd in the *Democratean* Philosophy, could believe, that *Mahomet broke the Star of the Moon, and caught half of it falling from heaven, in his sleeve.* He replied, " that indeed in " the course of nature it could not " be done, nay was contrary to it, " but as this miracle is in the *Koran* " affirmed to be wrought, he resign'd " his reason and embrac'd the Mira- " cle. For, added he, God can do " whatever he pleases."

(8) *Seventy*] From the years of his life, we gather the years of *Orchan*'s reign. For if he succeeded his father *Othman* in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and died in his seventieth, it is evident he must have reign'd thirty-five years. Hence we think those mistaken who ascribe to him but twenty-two years reign. Historians also differ in the manner of his death: Some say he was kill'd with an arrow at the siege of *Prusa*, and others, that he fell in a battle with the *Tartars*. But without insisting that the *Turkish* Historians are to be most credited in these domestick affairs, it is agreed by all, that *Prusa* was taken in the first year of *Orchan*'s reign; and consequently it would be ridiculous, to seek his death where he begun his reign. No Historian mentions his war with the *Scythians* or *Tartars*, and therefore I think this to have no better foundation than the other opinion.

(9) *Jami* This is a *Turkish* Temple, privileg'd for the *Friday*'s devotions, called *Jumanamazi*; which it is not lawful to perform in the lesser *Meschids* or *Moschs*. If a *Jami* is built by the Sultan, it is call'd, *Selatyn* or *Royal*.

(10) *Medrese*] These are Academies or greater Schools, and generally, if not in the Court of the *Jami*, they are always very near it. The lesser Schools where Children are instructed in the first rudiments of learning are commonly called *Mekteb*. The Persons set over these Academies are call'd *Muderis*; that is,

School-

or Hospitals (11). That he had a red Face, blue Eyes, yellowish Hair, and was of a middle Stature tho' corpulent, appears from his Picture, which was copied by *Launichelebi* * (the Sultan's Painter) from an antient Original.

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Masters, who have an annual Salary, proportionable to the revenue of the *Jami* to which they belong. Hence it is, that some have three hundred, whilst others have but seventy *Aspers* a day. Out of these Schools are taken the Judges of the principal Cities and Towns call'd *Molà*, (for those of the lesser Towns are call'd *Cady*, who are of a different order; neither can they rise to higher degrees, like secular and parochial Priests) From the *Molà*, the next step is to the *Cadilasker* or Judges of the Armies, of whom there are only two, one for *Europe*, who is the chief, and the other for *Asia*. Lastly, the highest ecclesiastical dignity is that of *Muphti*, which signifies, *the Interpreter of the Law*. These several *Turkish Orders* may be compared to the *Christian*. The *Muphti* to the *Pope*, the *Cadilasker* to a *Patriarch*, the *Molà* to an *Archbishop* or *Metropolitan*, the *Cady* to a *Bishop*, (except, as I said, the *Cady* cannot rise to a higher order) and the *Imam* to a *Priest*. The *Donisbmend* may be compared to our *Deacons*.

(11) *Imarets*] This is a House near the *Jami*, for the relief and reception of the Poor and Travellers, like an Inn.

During ORCHAN's Reign from 1326, to 1360, their reigned in *Europe*.

At *Constantinople*. { ANDRON. PALEOLOGUS *the Younger*, 1325-54. / JOHANNES PALEOLOGUS, 1554-84.

In the *West*. CHARLES IV. Son to *John* King of *Bohemia*, 1346-56.

In *England*. EDWARD III. 1326-77.

In *France*. { PHILIP *de Valois*, 1327-50. / JOHN *de Valois*, 1350-64.

The End of the Reign of ORCHAN.

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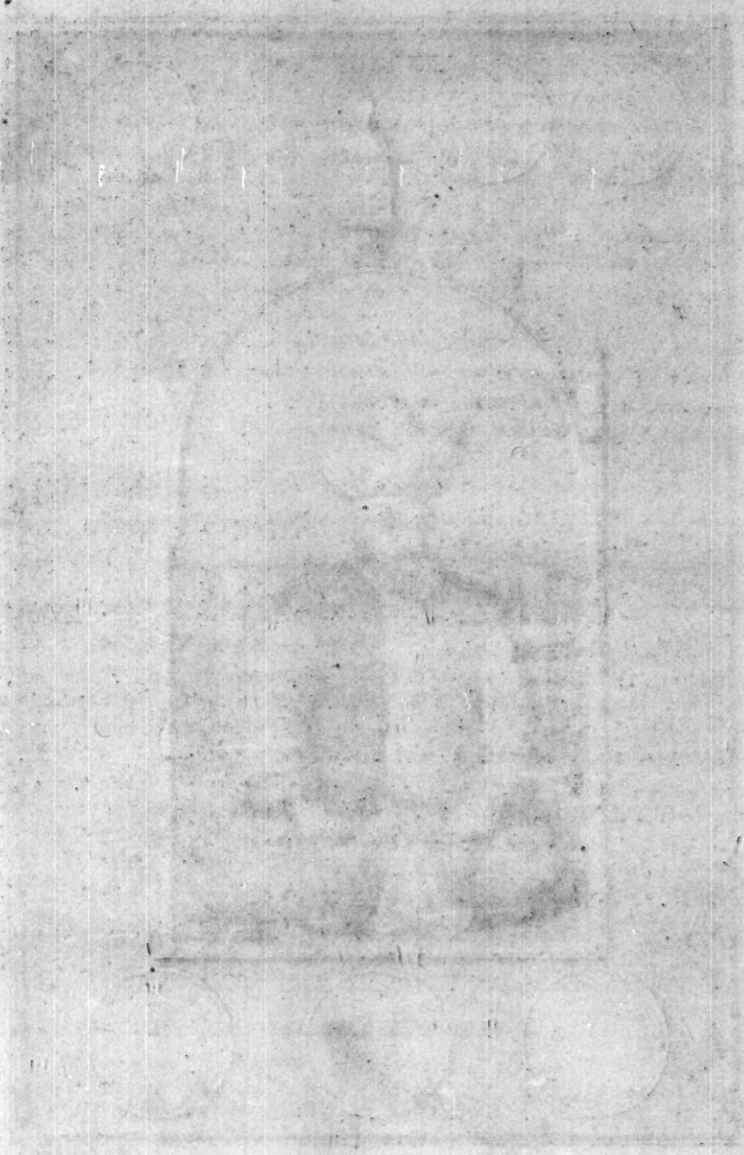

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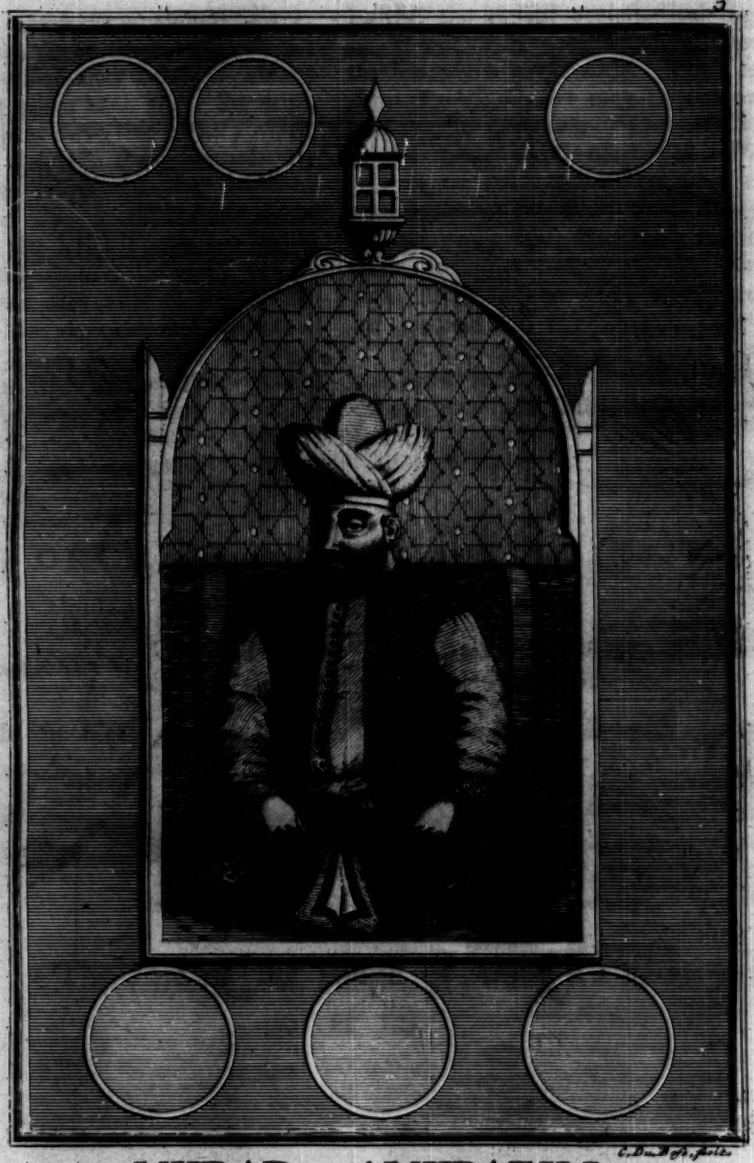

MURAD or AMURATH I.
Son of Orchan, third Emperor of ye Turks
in the Year 1360.
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

MURAD or *AMURATH* I.

Son of ORCHAN,

AND

Third EMPEROR of the *TURKS.*

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

I. Murad *takes* Ancyra. II. *Then* Adrianople *and* Philippolis. III. *Founds a* Jani. IV. *Inſtitutes the military Order of* Janizaries. V. *Conquers* Servia. VI. *Marries his Son* Bajazet, *and receives by ſurrender the Dominions of* Hamid. VII. *Takes* Bolina *by his prayers.* VIII. *Invades* Macedonia *and* Albania. IX. *The Victory at* Coſſovia, *the occaſion of his death.* X. Yacub *Chelebi *is ſtrangled, and* Lazarus *Duke of* Servia *beheaded* XI. Murad's *Burial and Encomium.*

I. MURAD (1), the firſt of that Name, in the forty-firſt year of his Age, not only inherited his Father's Empire but his Virtues alſo. In the very beginning of his Reign he aſſumes, in order to ſhow his religious diſpoſition, the name of H. 761. A. C. 1360. *Murad* takes *Ancyra.*

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(1) *Murad*] We ſhould be inclin'd to believe him to be the ſame with *Amurius*, the *Lydian* General, and Friend of *Cantacuzenus*, ſo celebrated

of *Chodavendikar* (2), which in the *Perſian* language ſignifies, *God's Labourer*, and gives an inſtance of his Bravery by ſubduing in the firſt year of his Reign, the ſtrong City of *Ancyra*, with ſeveral Caſtles in the ſame Parts.

He takes alſo *Adrianople* and *Philippolis.*

II. When he had thus eſtabliſh'd his Empire in *Aſia*, he turn'd his thoughts to his *European* affairs. And therefore the ſame year orders his Prime Vizir, *Etabeki Shahyn Lala* (3), a General both valiant and wiſe

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brated by *Gregoras*, if the computation of years would allow it. But ſince he ſays *Amurius* died of a wound receiv'd by an Arrow in the year of Chriſt 1348, and of the *Hegira* 749, at the ſiege of a Caſtle built by the *Chriſtians* for the defence of *Smyrna*, and as *Murad* was not known in *Europe* till eleven years after; namely, in 760, and the next year aſcended the throne, on the death of his father *Orchan*; we conjecture that *Gregoras* meant ſome other *Perſian* Prince in *Aſia* of the ſame name with Sultan *Murad*, whoſe dominions (becauſe they are not mention'd in the *Turkiſh* Annals) either fell to Another for want of Heirs, or were ſwallow'd up by ſome powerful neighbouring Prince. However, the more *Cantacuzenus*'s folly is to be blam'd, for making uſe of an Infidel, not only to curb his Enemies, but to lay waſte the *Chriſtian* Territories, and thereby ſhowing a way to the *Mahometans* into *Europe*; the more praiſe-worthy were the virtues of *Amurius*, and the uncommon generoſity of the *Turks* towards thoſe they call *Gaur* or *Infidels*. Certainly *Amurius*'s inviolable Friendſhip for *Cantacuzenus*, which was the ſame in adverſity, deſerves no leſs encomiums than thoſe beſtowed by the Antients on the Friendſhip of *Pylades* and *Oreſtes*. *Gregoras*, ſo frequently mention'd by us with honour, gives us ſingular inſtances of this friendſhip in his thirteenth Book; which, as his Works are not in every one's hands, it will not be improper to inſert here. The Emperor *Cantacuzenus* being ingag'd in the *Triballic* War, *Amurius*, when he ſaw he was not attended with the deſir'd ſucceſs, croſſed the *Helleſpont* in the depth of Winter, and came to the Emperor's Aſſiſtance with a powerful Army. But being detain'd by the badneſs of the Weather, and the Ways near *Dydomothycon*, where the Empreſs *Irene* was left with a few Attendants, he pitched his Tents in the Fields; and would not enter the City, or embrace the opportunities given him by the Empreſs; neither would he, tho' deſir'd, come into her preſence; ſaying, it was no leſs abſurd to viſit his Friend's Wife in his abſence, than unbecoming and repugnant to Friendſhip, to enjoy the pleaſures of life, whilſt his Friend in a foreign Country was ſtruggling with his adverſe fortune.

(2) *Chodavendikar*] This is a *Perſian* word, and ſignifies *God's Workman*, or *addicted to divine things*. Why Sultan *Murad* aſſum'd this Appellation, is uncertain, tho' he undoubtedly took this as well as ſeveral other Titles.

(3) *Lala*] This word ſignifies etymologically, *Tutor* or *Foſter-father*, who is appointed to be Guardian and Inſtructor to the young Princes. This name was firſt given to the Prime Vizir of *Murad* I. From that time the *Turkiſh* Emperors, both in ſpeaking and writing to them, have been wont to give the appellation of *Lala* as well to the Prime, as to all other Vizirs, as *Lalam Ali Paſha*, and *Mi Lala Ali Paſha*. Beſides theſe, the *Agaſi* or General of the Janizaries, and the *Boſtanji Baſha* or the Chief of the Gardiners or Keepers of the Royal Palaces, have the ſame Title, tho' the laſt is of a much

wiſe, with ſome light-armed Troops to croſs the Straits of *Callipolis* and take *Adrianople*, whilſt he himſelf follows with a more powerful Army. The Vizir at the firſt aſſault takes *Adrianople* before the Sultan's Arrival; at the news of which, *Murad*, thinking his preſence would be unneceſſary, returns with a few forces to *Pruſa*. But leaſt a delay ſhould be detrimental to his affairs, he appoints *Haji Ornusbeg* to be *Beglerbeg* (4) of *Rumeli* (5), or his *European* Conqueſts, after he had order'd the Prime Vizir to lead his moſt victorious Army into the inmoſt Parts of *Thrace*. This was done with ſuch ſpeed, that not only *Felibe* but *Eſkizagena* and other neighbouring Places were taken from the *Greeks*, and added to the *Othmanic* Empire.

III. The next year *Murad* gave a ſingular inſtance of his Piety. Hitherto the Sultan had never been uſed to ſay the common Prayers, call'd *Namaz* (6), with the reſt of the People. *Menla Fenari* the *Mufti* H. 762. A. C. 1361. He erects a *Jami*.

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much inferior degree. This name is given to the firſt, becauſe it is his Buſineſs to guard the Sons of the Sultans from being kill'd by Fathers or Brothers; and to the other, becauſe he has the care of the imperial Palace, eſpecially in the Sultan's abſence, which Office among the *Greeks* was call'd, *Curopalatis*.

(4) *Beglerbeg*] This word ſignifies *Prince of Princes*, (as *Shahin-ſhah*, *Emperor of Emperors*) which title, tho' all the Vizirs who have three Horſe-Tails, do enjoy, yet three are more eſpecially honoured with it; namely, *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, who reſides at *Sophia*, *Anadoli Beglerbegi*, who keeps his reſidence at *Kutahia*, and *Sham Beglerbegi*, who reſides at *Damaſcus*; which City in *Arabic*, is *Demeſhk*, tho' vulgarly call'd *Sham*, and *Shami Sherif*, *Damaſcus the Holy*.

(5) *Rumeli*] By this name is underſtood among the *Turks*, both *Greece* and *Europe*, and alſo all the *European* Provinces under the *Turkiſh* dominion. Hence *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, that is, Prince of the Princes of *Greece*, or the *European* Regions. [*See* Note (6) p. 20.]

(6) *Namaz*] Theſe are the common and daily prayers, which the *Turks* by their law, are commanded to repeat five times in the ſpace of twenty-four hours, and are thus diſtinguiſhed: *Sabah Namazi*, or Morning-Prayers; *Oile Namazi*, or Noon-Prayers; *Ikindi-Namazi*, or Afternoon-Prayers; *Acbſham Namazi*, or Evening-Prayers; *Yatzi Namazi*, or Night-Prayers. Of theſe, Three are fix'd, namely, the *Morning*, *Evening*, and *Night* Prayers; and two are moveable, namely, the *Oile* and *Ikindi*, according to the length or ſhortneſs of the day. For inſtance, at the Equinox, the Morning-Prayers are ſaid before the twelfth hour of the night; that is, the hour before Sun-riſing, [or between five and ſix of the clock in the morning,] Noon-Prayers at the ſixth hour of the day, [or our twelve of the clock,] Afternoon-Prayers at the ninth hour, [or three of the clock,] Evening-Prayers at the twelfth hour, [or ſix of the cloek,] Night-Prayers at the firſt hour and half of the night, [or half an hour paſt ſeven.] Morever, in appointing the time of theſe Prayers, they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that after the preſcrib'd hour they deem them vain and fruitleſs, and to be repeated hereafter in *Arâf* (or Purgatory.) Thus, to ſay Morning-Prayers after-Sun-riſing, Noon-prayers at the ninth hour, *Ikindi* at the twelfth, Evening-Prayers in the night, and *Yatzi* at day-

Mufti (7), who at that time diſcharg'd among the *Turks* the office of Judge,

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day-break, they neither think lawful nor acceptable to God. In the Field, before a Battle, they are obliged to perform their *Namaz*; but after the battle is begun, or if it continues beyond the hour, the *Namaz* may be omitted without ſin, becauſe they are of opinion that a more acceptable worſhip cannot poſſibly be paid to God, than to fight ſtrenuouſly againſt the Chriſtians. [*Friday* or the *Turkiſh Sunday*, is diſtinguiſhed from other days, only by their going on that day ſix times to their *Moſchs*, the additional Prayers being ſaid between Sun-riſing and noon, and are call'd *Salah Namazi*.]

(7) *Mufti*] He is alſo call'd by the compounded name of, *Mufti-zeman*, or, *Shichuliſlam*, or *Sabibi fetva*, *the Maker of Laws*, *the Giver of Judgments*, *the Prelate of Orthodoxy*. He is the Chief of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, and of the greateſt Authority in the *Othman* Empire; for even the Sultan himſelf, if he will preſerve any appearance of religion, cannot without firſt hearing his opinion, put any perſon to death, or ſo much as inflict any corporal puniſhment. In all actions, and eſpecially criminal ones, his opinion is required, by giving him a writing, wherein the ſtate of the Caſe under feigned names, is given in the following manner; "*Zaid*, if it be prov'd by good "evidences that *Titus* has acted con- "trary to the Sultan's commands, "and has not obeyed, as he ought, "nor ſubmitted to his Mandates; "Is he to be puniſhed or no?" When he has read theſe Words, the *Mufti*, according to the ſtate of the Caſe, ſubſcribes, *Olur*, (he ſhall) or *Olmaz*, (he ſhall not). But if the *Mufti* is to appoint the puniſhment, the Writing given him is to this effect: "If a man knew, his horſe "had loſt his ſhoes, and had time "and opportunity to have new ones "ſet on, yet without any compaſ- "ſion for his beaſt, drove him thro' "rough and ſtony ways till the eve- "ning; What puniſhment ſhall be "inflicted on ſo mercileſs a Ma- "ſter?" To which the *Mufti* would ſubſcribe, *He ought to be baſtinaded*: becauſe that is the puniſhment appointed in their Law for ſuch an offence; (for the *Turks* believe, that in the laſt Judgment, God will judge Man not only with Man, but alſo with Beaſts, and Beaſts with Beaſts. Sentence being given, all Animals indeed are inſtantly to dye again, and return to duſt; but that God will eternally puniſh Infidels, and reward *Muſulmans*, if they have been conſpicuous for Good Works, with everlaſting happineſs; or if they have polluted themſelves with ſin, puniſh them for a time according to their demerits in *Arâf* or Purgatory, after which he will admit them into a ſtate of Bliſs.) After the ſame manner, in every Cauſe, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, and eſpecially in the making War or Peace, the *Turks* are bound by their law to conſult the *Mufti*. [Such outward Honour is paid the *Mufti*, that the *Grand Signor* himſelf riſes up to him, and advances ſeven ſteps towards him, when the *Mufti* comes into his preſence; who alone has the honour of kiſſing the Sultan's left ſhoulder, whilſt the Prime Vizir with a profounder reverence, kiſſes only the hem of his garment, and is met with but three ſteps. *Ricaut* ſays, the Titles given by the *Grand Signor* to the *Mufti*, are as follows: "To the *Eſad*, who art "the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe, inſtruct- "ed in all Knowledge; the moſt "Excellent of Excellent, abſtaining "from things unlawful; the Spring "of Virtue and true Science; Heir "of the Prophetic and Apoſtolic "Doctrines; Reſolver of the Pro- "blems of Faith; Revealer of the "Orthodox Articles; Key of the "Treaſures of Truth; the Light "to doubtful Allegories, ſtrength- "ened with the Grace of the ſu- "preme

Judge, not enduring this cuſtom, took occaſion when *Murad* once came before him to give in his evidence, to reject him as a Witneſs unworthy of Credit. The Sultan wondering at this ſtrange Proceeding, and asking the reaſon, was anſwer'd by the *Mufti*, that indeed he accounted his Teſtimony true and unexceptionable as imperial, but of no force in judgment, as coming from a Man who never us'd to be preſent at the common Prayers with the reſt of the *Muſulmans* (8). Whereupon *Murad* grieving for what was paſt, orders as an Attonement for his fault a ſpacious *Jami* to be built at *Adrianople*, over againſt the royal Palace, which at this day retains the name of *Muradiè* (9).

IV. The year 763 is memorable for the inſtitution of the military order of the *Janizaries*. *Ornus*, the *Beglerbeg*, of *Rumeli*, had now taken *Ipſala* and *Malgara*, laid waſte the neighbouring Territories with fire and ſword, and from thence brought away a numberleſs multitude of Captives. *Kara Halil Paſha* (10), the Prime Vizir takes occaſion

H. 763. A. C. 1362. Inſtitution of the *Janizaries*.

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" preme Aſſiſter and Legiſlator of " Mankind. May the moſt High " God perpetuate thy Virtues." Whatever inward reverence was once paid the *Mufti*, it is now become very little more than form. If he interprets the law, or gives ſentence contrary to the Sultan's pleaſure he is immediately diſplac'd, and a more pliant Perſon put in his room. The *Mufti* if convicted of Treaſon, and the like crimes, is put into a Mortar remaining for that purpoſe, in the priſon of the *Seven Towers* at *Conſtantinople*, and pounded to death.]

(8) *Muſulmans*] This word is a corruption of *Muſliman*, *Miſſiman*, or *Muſſuman*, as is alſo *Muſurman*, from whence *Buſurman*. It ſignifies one of pure and untainted faith, or as we ſhould ſay, *Orthodox*. From the word *Imàn* came all the obſervers of the *Mahometan* Worſhip, who follow the rites and ceremonies appointed by thoſe great *Turkiſh* Saints, *Imàm Azèm*, and *Imàm Shafi*. They who receive any new rites, or ſuch as are different from theſe, are call'd *Mezhèbi*, *Ritualiſts*, or *Hereticks*. *Kafir*, and Infidels as the *Perſians*, and *Rafazi*, which name ſignifies ſomething worſe than Infidel. Hence the *Muſulman Turks* ſay, that the divine clemency may be extended to other Infidels, namely, *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, but by no means to the *Rafazi*, and that their ſin is ſeventy times more heinous in the ſight of God than that of the others.

(9) *Muradiè*] That is, *Murad*'s Temple, as *Sulamaniè*, *Soliman*'s Temple, *Muhamediè*, *Muhammed*'s Temple, *&c.* It is the Prerogative of the Emperor alone to call any royal *Jami* by his own name, the Prime Vizir himſelf, though he ſhould build ever ſo large a *Jami*, not being allowed to call it by his name as *Muſtafiè*, *Muſtapha*'s Temple. However, there are ſome which retain to this day, the name of their Founders, as, *Daud Paſha Jamiſi*, and *Ali Paſha Jamiſi*. But in all theſe the word *Jamiſi* ought to be added, which is commonly omitted in the *Selatyn*, or royal ones. Nor is it lawful for the Emperors to give their names to any other Buildings than thoſe of the *Jami*. Hence it is that no Town, as far as I can remember, retains the name of its Founder, except That built by *Othman*, the firſt Emperor of the *Turks*, which is ſtill call'd *Othmanjik*, and will be farther mention'd hereafter.

(10) *Kara Halil Paſha*] *Halil* is the proper name of this *Paſha*. *Karà*, ſignifies *a black man*. For generally

occaſion from hence to ſay merrily, " tho' it is a common Saying a-
" mong us, that all Spoils belong to the Emperor, yet let the number
" of Captives be ever ſo great, they are all ingroſſed by private perſons,
" and none fall to the Emperor's ſhare. Wherefore I ſhould think it
" both juſt and profitable that ſome one of the Emperor's faithful *A-*
" *gavat* (11), ſhould be appointed at the Straits of *Callipolis* to ſeize
" for his uſe every fifth Captive, of whom the more beautiful and ro-
" buſt may ſerve at Court, and in the Army." What the Vizir ſaid in jeſt, is ſeriouſly conſider'd by the Emperor, who orders the Vizir to put his advice in execution. Accordingly an Edict being publiſh'd (12), a great number of Captives are brought together; inſtructed in the Art of War; and a brave Army form'd, which wanted only a name. At that time, *Haji Bektaſh* (13), a certain religious *Turk* was famous for

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nerally thoſe whoſe faces are blacker than ordinary, are wont to add this word to their name, as *Karà Mohammed*, *Karà Haſen*, *Karà Muſtapha Paſha*, &c. This *Halil* ſeems to be the ſame, that in the Chriſtian Writers is called *Chairaddin* and *Caratinus*, for there was no other of this name famous among the *Turks*, except *Soliman*'s celebrated Admiral, whom the Chriſtians uſually call *Hariadenus Barbaroſſa*.

(11) *Agavat*] vulgarly *Agalar*, is the plural derived from the ſingular *Aga*, which properly ſignifies *Lord* or *Maſter*, as any perſon is wont to be call'd out of reſpect. But this word is never uſed with regard to God, who when he is addreſſed to by the Title of Lord, is call'd, *Rebb*, a name never given to man. The word *Aga*, more eſpecially ſignifies the officers of the Court, or Port, and alſo ſome of the Army, as the *Janizar Agaſi*, or General of the *Janizaries*, *Kyſlar Agaſi*, or Superintendent of the Women, who is always a black Eunuch, *Spahilar Agaſi*, General of the *Spahi*, *Silahrad Agaſi*, of the Infantry.

(12) publiſhed] Sultan *Murad*'s law was, that every fifth Captive ſhould be taken to ſerve in the Army. This cuſtom in time being diſus'd, it was ordain'd that for every ſlave, brought into the City to be ſold, a Tax of five *Leonines* ſhould be collected, which tax from the former number of five, is ſtill call'd *Izpendz*, that is, *out of five*, (tho' ſome *Turks* now write it, *Iſpendz*) for *iz* in the *Perſian* language, ſignifies *out of*, and *pendz*, *five*. Afterwards when the Soldiery was to be increas'd, a new law was deviſ'd, whereby every tenth Son of the *Chriſtians* was to be inroll'd among the *Janizaries*. This law held to the time of *Murad* IV. when God taking pity on the wretched ſtate of the *Chriſtians*, it was entirely aboliſh'd. The *Moldavians* and *Walachians* were never ſubject to this decimation.

(13) *Haji Bektaſh*] The firſt Founder of an order of *Derviſes*, or Monks, among the *Turks*, call'd from him, *Bektaſhi*. His Tomb is held in great veneration, at a Village on the *European* ſide of the *Boſphorus*, call'd *Beſhiktaſh*, not far from *Galata*. The Monks of this order, tho' they may marry, and dwell in Cities and Towns; are bound by their Law to viſit remote lands, and to ſalute every one they meet with *Gazel* (or Love-Songs, applied by way of Allegory to the divine love) and *Eſma* (that is, with the invocation of the names of God, which with them, are reckon'd one hundred) and humbly to wiſh him all manner of proſperity, which they are wont to do by the word *Eivallah*, a ſolemn exclamation us'd by Wreſtlers, by which the conquer'd yields the palm to the conqueror, in order to ſhow that they acknowledge every

for his Miracles and Prophecies (14). (He was Founder of that order of *Derviſes* (15), which at this day are call'd *Bektaſhi*.) To this man the

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every one to be better and more excellent than themſelves. [*D' Herbelot* ſays, the *Muſulmans* reckon ninety-nine names of God, which with *Allah* make a hundred, and therefore their *Tesbisks* or *Beads* conſiſt uſually of a hundred; on each of which they invoke one of the names of God, and they have an antient Tradition aſſuring them, that the Perſon who frequently invokes theſe names, ſhall find the Gate of Paradiſe open, for which reaſon ſome are continually telling over their Beads.]

(14) Prophecies] The *Turks* entertain a very particular opinion of Miracles and Foreknowledge of future Events. The firſt, they think, is beſtowed on Prophets alone, without any preceding Merit, but the laſt may be attained by any one, by virtue of Good Works. Therefore when they aſſert, that *Mahomet* was the *Acbir Pergamber*, or laſt of the Prophets; they do not believe it poſſible for any man after him, to work a miracle. But the fore-knowledge of future events may, in their opinion, be acquir'd by any *Muſulman* in the conſtant practice of virtue, faſting, and humiliation; and thoſe who have arriv'd to this degree of virtue, are call'd *Veli*, and in the plural, *Eulià*, *bleſſed*, *holy*, *friends of God*, or *Veliullah*, *bleſſed of God*. They believe theſe men may be in two or more places at once; and tho' in their body they are at *Conſtantinople*, yet in their mind they may perceive whatever is doing at *Cairo*, or any where elſe; ſo that they have no occaſion for the phyſical motion of the Body; but enjoy, even in this life, the divine beatifick viſion. Theſe are commonly call'd, *Etiſh-myſhlerden*, that is, *among the Perfect*, or *the Attainers to the fulneſs of the divine favour*. *Iſaad Efendi*, a Man of great learning, continued for ſome time in this auſtere courſe, till at length he was reduc'd to ſuch a weak ſtate, that throwing aſide his Superſtition, he was forced to apply to a Phyſician for the recovery of his health. He was delivered from the Jaws of Death by the skill and diligence of *Sycinius* the moſt celebrated Phyſician of his age, at *Conſtantinople*.

(15) *Derviſes*] *Derviſe* is the common name of the *Turkiſh* Monks, tho' of various orders and inſtitutions. The moſt noted among them are the *Bektaſhi*, the *Mevelevi*, the *Kadri* and *Seyah*. Of the *Bektaſhi*, we have ſpoken in a foregoing note. The *Mevelevi*, ſo call'd from *Mevelana* their Founder, are us'd to turn round for two or three hours together with ſuch ſwiftneſs that you cannot ſee their faces. They are great Lovers of Muſick, both vocal and inſtrumental. For the laſt, they make uſe of a Pipe made of an *Indian* reed called *Nei*, the ſweeteſt of all muſical Inſtruments. In their Monaſteries they profeſs great humility and poverty, and if viſited, they make no diſtinction of perſons, but pay the ſame reſpect to men of all ranks, treating them alike. They firſt bring them Coffee to drink, and if the ways have been dirty, they alſo waſh the feet and ſandals of their Gueſt. When he goes away they devoutly accompany him, adding to almoſt every word or ſentence, *Eivallah*, and with their tongues expreſs the unfeigned humility of their profeſſion. The *Kadri* with a peculiar Superſtition emaciate their Bodies. For going quite naked, except their thighs, they join hands and dance for ſix hours, nay ſometimes a whole day, repeating with great vehemence, *Hù*, *Hù*, *Hù*, (one of the names of God) till at laſt like Madmen, they fall on the ground, foaming at the mouth, and running down with Sweat. Indeed the prime Vizir *Kupruli Achmed Paſha* thinking this Sect ſuperſtitious, and unbecoming the *Mahometan*

the Sultan ſends his new Army, deſiring him to give them a Banner (16), pray to God for their happy ſucceſs, and appoint them a Name. The *Shich* (17), when they were come to him, puts the Sleeve (18) of his Gown upon one of their Heads, and ſays, let them be call'd *Janizaries* (19), let their countenance be ever bright, their hand

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metan Religion, order'd them to be ſuppreſs'd. But after his death the Sect reviv'd, and is at preſent more numerous than ever, eſpecially at *Conſtantinople*. The *Seyab* are Wanderers, and tho' they have their Monaſteries, yet when once they depart from them they ſeldom return, but ſpend their whole life in travelling about. For their Superiors or Prelates impoſe upon them, when they are ſent out, ſuch a quantity of money or proviſion, forbidding them to come back till they have procur'd it, and ſent it to the Monaſtery. Wherefore a *Seyab* when he comes into a Town, cries with a loud voice, ſtanding in the Market-place, or the Hall of the *Jami*, *Ya Allah Senden beſh bin altùn iſterim*, *O God, give me I pray five thouſand Crowns*, or *a thouſand meaſures of Rice*, &c. And when he has receiv'd the Alms of the People, he removes to another Town, and ſo till he has collected the Sum impos'd upon him, he is forc'd to live in diſtant parts. Many *Indian* Monks are of this order, and wander over the whole *Mahometan* World, entertaining the People wherever they come with agreeable relations of all the curioſities they have ſeen or heard of in their Travels, that they may both inſtruct them in foreign matters, and excite them to be the more liberal. What a grievance theſe *Indian* Wanderers for this reaſon are to the *Othman* Empire, the Reader may perceive by what happen'd in my time at *Conſtantinople*, in the reign of *Soliman* II. There comes at that time, a certain *Indian* with the character rather of a Meſſenger than Ambaſſador, and being admitted to the prime Vizir *Kupruli Muſtapha*, delivers him letters from the *Great Mogul*, or (as the *Turks* call him) *Padiſhah* of *India*. Then he tells him by word of mouth, that his maſter hearing the *Othman* Empire was in a declining condition, and that the Enemies of the *Mahometan* law daily grew ſtronger, had order'd him out of zeal for his Religion, to acquaint the Vizir in his name, that he was ready to aſſiſt him with either money or forces as there ſhould be occaſion. To this, the Vizir is reported to anſwer, that he thank'd the Great Emperor of *India* for his friendſhip to the *Othmanidæ*, and ſhould endeavour to make a return for his Good-will. But that at preſent the *Othman* Empire, having reviv'd the Glory of her Arms by the conqueſt of *Alba Græca*, could be honour'd with no greater favour from his *Indian* Majeſty, than his commanding his *Beggars* (meaning the religious Mendicants I have been ſpeaking of) not to enter the borders of the *Othman* Dominions.

(16) Banner] The *Janizaries* bear in their Banners a two-edg'd Sword, bent like a ray of lightning, oppoſite to a creſcent: on their heads they wear a *Kichè*, or white covering, in form of a ſleeve. In other reſpects, they are dreſs'd like the reſt of the Infantry.

(17) *Shich*] or Prelate, like the *Archimandrita* in the *Greek* Monaſteries, or the *Abbot* in Abbies. For, with the *Turks*, not only the Superiors of the great and royal *Jami*, but alſo the Heads of the *Tekkè* of the *Derviſes*, are call'd *Shich*. Hence even the *Muſti*, who is inſtead of a Patriarch, is wont to be call'd, *Shich-uliſlam*, i. e. *Prelate of the Sav'd*, and *High-Prieſt*.

(18) Sleeve] The Hats of the *Janizaries* retain the ſame form to this day.

(19) *Janizaries*] or *Yengicheri*, the name of the Sultan's ordinary Militia,

hand victorious, their ſword keen, let their ſpear always hang over the Heads of their Enemy, and wherever they go, may they return, with a *white face* (20). Hence it is, theſe Soldiers have ever ſince retain'd that Name and Covering for the Head.

V. This advice was anſwered by the Event. For by their means in the year of the *Hegira* 766, not only *Batha* in *Aſia*, and in *Europe*, *Zagara* and *Gumurjina* are reduc'd to his Empire, but alſo the fame of the *Othman* Arms is render'd ſo great, that the next year *Andronicus Palæologus* the *Grecian* Emperor, deſir'd *Murad's* aid againſt the Prince of *Bulgaria*. *Murad* conſenting to his requeſt, ſends an Army under *Lala Shahyn* into *Europe*, who unexpectedly attacking the Enemy in a place call'd *Zermen*, eaſily puts them to flight. The ſame year in the ſtreet call'd *Capluje* at *Pruſa*, he orders to be built at the royal Expenſe, a large *Jami* or Temple, a *Medreſe* or College, with an *Imaret* or Hoſpital.

H. 766. A. C. 1365. *Servia* conquered.

VI. *Murad* having hitherto given very notable proofs of his warlike virtues, now ſhow'd he was no leſs vers'd in the arts of peace. Certain petty Princes of *Aſia* had often infeſted the *Othman* ſtate, and obſtructed the courſe of its victories. In order to divide theſe Princes, and when divided, gain them to his intereſt, and ſo open a way hereafter to greater Undertakings, *Murad* in the year 783, marries his Son *Bajazet* to a Daughter of *Germian Ogli* (21), with whom he receives *Kutahia*, *Egrigoz* and *Taushanlyk*. With the ſame prudence, he ſo manag'd that *Hamid Ogli* (22) offer'd of his own accord (as ſeveral others

Murad marries his Son *Bajazet*, and acquires *Hamid's* Dominions.

H. 783. A. C. 1381.

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litia, compounded of *Engi*, *new*, and *Cheri**, *Soldier*. Their uſual number is forty thouſand, and they have precedence of all the other Soldiery in honour and dignity. To Each of the *Novices* of this order, are allow'd three aſpers a day, two loaves, 200 drams of mutton, 100 of rice, thirty of butter. Theſe however are not given to the *Novice* himſelf, but are all at once delivered out of the ſtorehouſe of each *Oda* or *Chamber* [of which there are one hundred and ſixty two at *Conſtantinople*, built in a ſtately manner by the Sultans, where the *Janizaries* live as in a College] to the chief Cook who dreſſes them, and at dinner time ſets them before ſuch as are preſent. In vain do the abſent expect any thing after the time is elaps'd, according to *Soliman's* rule, *Let thoſe who keep their Oda be fed.* But of theſe things more largely hereafter.

(20) *White face*] The Terms *white* or *black face*, are common Terms of Praiſe, or Diſpraiſe among the *Turks*. A Maſter commending his Servant, ſays, *Aferin Yuzun ac olſun*, *well done*, *may thy face be white* or *ſhining*, and blaming him, ſays, *Yuzun cara olſun*, *may thy face be black*. But neither of theſe expreſſions is to be us'd by an Inferior to his Superior. Hence, for example, if a Soldier has a mind to praiſe his Captain, he muſt only cry, *Aferin*, *well done*, or *Eivallah*.

(21) *Germian Ogli*] Prince of *Phrygia major*, one of the *Perſian* Governours who revolted from his Sovereign at the time of *Jenbizchan's* Expedition.

(22) *Hamid Ogli*] He was alſo one of the *Perſian* Governours who in the

others had done) to hold as Fees of the *Othman* Empire, the following Cities, *Elvadz*, *Eniſhehir*, *Arſherib*, *Karagais* and *Seidiſhehri*.

H. 784
A. C. 1382. *Murad* takes *Bolina* by his Prayers.

VII. The affairs of *Aſia* being thus ſettled, the next year, 784, *Murad* aſſembles a great Army, and paſſes into *Europe* by the Straits of *Callipolis*, where he beſieges the Caſtle of *Bolina* fortified by Nature and Art; which not ſucceeding to his Wiſh by reaſon of the difficulty of the place and bravery of the Garriſon, he is ſaid moſt humbly to implore the aſſiſtance of Heaven to take ſo ſtrong a Caſtle. The ſame night, great part of the Wall is reported to fall down, and the Beſiegers to enter thro' the Breach and put all the Garriſon to the Sword. It is added that a great number of red Hats was found in the Magazine, which *Murad* diſtributed to his Soldiers, and caus'd others of the ſame colour to be made for his whole Army (23).

Macedonia and *Albania* invaded.
H. 788.
A. C. 1386.

VIII. This year by the conduct of *Lala ſhabyn*, *Iskenderie*, *Darme*, and the ſtrong Town of *Cavalla* with almoſt all *Arnaud*, is ſubjected to the *Othman* Empire. Moreover in the year 788, the Towns of *Zichne*, *Carapberia*, and *Monaſtyr* are taken. In a word,

H. 791.
A. C. 1389. The Battle of *Coſſova*, the occaſion of *Murad*'s Death.

IX. The *Othman* Power grew to that height under this Emperor, that its increaſe could not but be look'd upon with a jealous eye by its Neighbours. Wherefore in the year of the *Hegira* 791, a League, (of which *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia* was Head) is entered into by the *Walachians*, *Hungarians*, *Dalmatians*, *Triballians*, with thoſe of *Albania* that were not yet ſubdued, and with united forces, it is reſolved to cut down this aſpiring Tree before it takes too deep a root. *Murad* being

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ruins of that Monarchy, poſſeſs'd himſelf of part of *Aſia minor*, and gave his name to the Province, which at this day is call'd *Hamida* in the Maps. But this does not ſeem to be the antient name of that Province, but to be given by the *Turks* after they were poſſeſs'd of it. For it is cuſtomary with the *Turks*, to call the Poſſeſſions after the name of the Poſſeſſor. Thus *Servia* is call'd *Laſvilaieri*, from *Lazarus* then Prince of *Servia*. (and not from *Uladiſlaus*, whom *Meniuskius* will have to be *Las*) Thus *Moldavia* is call'd *Begdan*, from a Prince of that Name who firſt made it Tributary to the *Turks*. In like manner *Hamid* comes from *Hamid Ogli*.

(23) Red Hats] *Iskuf* ſeems to have been formerly a military covering for the Head, but is diſus'd at preſent by the *Turks*. For they make uſe now neither of Helmet or Breaſtplate, or other Armor, in a belief that tho' a Man were made of Adamant he could not evade or eſcape the law of Fate. Every one, in their opinion, bears on his forehead in characters not legible indeed by Man, but inſcrib'd by the finger of God, the appointed time of his death. Hence their common Sayings, *Baſhde yazilmyſh olan Gelmek Vadzibdur*, *what is written on the forehead muſt neceſſarily come to paſs*. *Acajak can damarda durmaz*, *the blood that is to flow out, remains not in the artery* (that is, what God has preordain'd muſt be done in its time) *Tacdir tedbiri bozar*, *Providence overrules all human purpoſes*.

prepared

prepared for this ſtorm leads forth his Army, and on the fourth day of *Ramazan* meets the Enemies in a place call'd *Coſſova* (24). Here a fierce and long doubtful battle is fought; but at laſt the Chriſtians, tho' they bravely ſuſtain'd the charge of the *Othman* Soldiers, are put to flight, *Lazarus* himſelf is taken, his Nobles are ſlain, and the Runaways long purſu'd by the light Horſe. The Sultan as he was walking, after the Victory, over the Field of battle and viewing the Dead, turns to the Vizir, and ſays, "It is ſtrange that among the Slain of the Ene-"my I do not ſee a ſingle old Man, but all beardleſs Youths." To this the Vizir anſwers, "Hence came their misfortune, their being "deſtitute of the Advice of the Aged was the very cauſe of their o-"verthrow; for to oppoſe the invincible Sword of the *Othmans* favours "not of the prudence of the Old, but the raſhneſs of the Young." The Sultan continuing the Diſcourſe, is reported to ſay, "It is ſtill "more ſtrange how I ſhou'd be deceiv'd by a viſion laſt night in "my ſleep, for methought I ſaw my ſelf ſlain by the hand of an "enemy." By chance a Chriſtian Soldier that conceal'd himſelf among the dead, perceiving it was the Sultan that was talking, with thoughts of revenging his Country ſuddenly ſtarts up and plunges a dagger in the Emperor's Belly (25). The *Triballian* is inſtantly cut in pieces, and the Sultan dying within two hours, his Body is carried by the Vizir and Baſhas to the royal Tent, and embalm'd (26). After which, the Great Men

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(24) *Coſſova*] is a Plain in *Servia*, where Sultan *Murad* was ſtabb'd by the hand of a *Triballian*.

(25) Moſt *Chriſtian* Writers ſay, this man was a Servant of *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia*, and call him *Miloſh Cabilovitz*. In *Chalcocondylas*, he is a *Triballian*. Now from the *Triballians* ſprung thoſe Nations which held *Bulgaria* and *Servia*. It has more the air of Romance than Hiſtory, what is related by that diſgrace to all Hiſtorians, *Orbinus Raguzæus*, that *Murad* was run thro' the Body in his own Tent by *Lazarus* Deſpot of *Servia*. For it can hardly be thought that the *Turks* ſhould be ſo imprudent as to admit one who the day before was a capital Enemy, and as he ſays, on horſeback, to the Tent of their Prince, or that the Chamberlains and other numberleſs Officers, who ſo religiouſly guard the Emperor's Perſon, ſhould be ſo negligent as to make no reſiſtance, if he intended any violence, nor give him any notice of his coming. To this may be added, that *Orbinus* is ſo openly partial in favour of his Nation, that in honour of it he frequently and without ſcruple tranſgreſſes the bounds of Truth; particularly his aſſerting the *Scythians*, *Italians*, *Sweeds*, *Germans*, *Gracians*, *Macedonians*, and *Alexander the Great* himſelf, to be all deriv'd from his *Sclavonians*, evidently diſcovers the Vanity of the Man, and demonſtrates that our *Turkiſh* account of *Murad*'s death, is much more probable than His.

(26) Embalm'd] The *Mahometan* Law ſtrictly forbids every Perſon, beſides the Emperor, to keep a dead Body in his Houſe till the ſecond day, or to remove them beyond the ſpace of three *Italian* miles. So, ſhould the prime Vizir die in a Journey, he is to be buried in the ſame place where he falls, or the next Town if within diſtance. But the Corpſe of the Emperor, ſhould he even die upon the utmoſt bounds of *India*, is by his Succeſſor to be embalm'd, and with

Men aſſemble about the choice of a new Emperor, and *Ildirim Bajazet*, *Murad*'s eldeſt Son, is unanimouſly declar'd Sultan.

*Yacub Chelebi** is ſtrangled, and *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia* is beheaded.

X. *Yacub Chelebi** (27) the younger Brother not being pleas'd with this proceeding, privately endeavours to raiſe a Sedition againſt *Bajazet*; but the thing being ſeaſonably diſcover'd, he is by the command of his Brother, and conſent of the Chief Men ſtrangled with the Bow-ſtring (28). *Lazarus* alſo Prince of *Servia* being conſider'd as the occaſion of *Murad*'s death, was by *Bajazet*'s order brought before him and beheaded.

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with the greateſt ſpeed to be convey-ed to its Sepulchre, in the *Jami*, built by himſelf, or for want of that, into ſome Sepulchre of his Anceſtors. This is an indiſpenſable Law amongſt them. If a private Perſon dies in the City, he is firſt waſh'd with warm water, after that, his Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Fundament being ſtopp'd with Cotton, he is plac'd on a Bier, and on the Shoulders of Men carry'd as quick as poſſible to the next *Jami*, in the yard of which he is immediately depoſited, Prayers having been firſt ſaid in the Hall of the Temple. Ask the *Turks* the reaſon of this haſte, and they tell you that as ſoon as the Soul diſlodges from the Body, it is remov'd by Angels to the place deſtin'd for the Sepulchre, and there detain'd by Them forty days in expectation of its body. That the Soul therefore may not long wait in vain, the Body is to be convey'd with all poſſible diſpatch. For this reaſon all mourning is forbid, except to the Mother, who may thrice lament the loſs of her Son, and to do more would be thought a great Sin.

27 *Chelebi**] Εὐγενὴς, Nobly deſcended. This was formerly the name of the Sultan's Sons before they came to the Empire, as *Yacub Chelebi**. *Muſa Chelebi**. But this not ſeeming lofty enough, was at laſt chang'd into *Effendi*, from the *Greek*, Αὐθέντης, which at this day is given to the chief of the *Turkiſh* Youth, either with the Addition of their name or without it, as *Shabzade Effendi*, Son of the Emperor *Effendi*, and with the notation of their Office it is given to Doctors and Judges, as *Iſtambol Effendi*, Judge of *Conſtantinople*, *Muſti Effendi*, *Cadilasker Effendi*, &c. But now almoſt all Merchants and Citizens of *Conſtantinople* ſubjoin *Chelebi* to their own names, as *Mehemed Chelebi**, &c. This appellation is likewiſe given to Youths of promiſing hopes, whoſe generous diſpoſition ſeems to diſcover the nobleneſs of the blood from whence they are ſprung. For the *Turks* do not meaſure Nobility from a ſeries of illuſtrious Anceſtors, as well becauſe all *Othmans* in their opinion are equally noble, as becauſe they think Honours are to be conferr'd not on thoſe who are nobly deſcended, but on Thoſe who are prudent, and by long experience have acquired by the culture of Virtues, a nobleneſs of mind. The Offspring of the Emperor therefore excepted, no Man has any right to claim a precedency or a diſtinction on account of his Anceſtors. *Ibrahim Chan ogli*, and eſpecially *Kupruli ogli* are exceptions to this rule, of whoſe race four Vizirs, illuſtrious for their heroic Actions, and chiefly their extenſive knowledge and uncorrupt juſtice, have acquir'd a high eſteem with the Vulgar. I ſhall deliver their Hiſtory at large in its proper place.

(28) Bow-ſtring] This Death is eſteem'd the moſt honorable with the *Turks*, and only indulg'd to the Great. But to have the Head ſtruck off is infamous, and ſtill more ſo, to be hang'd or impal'd, the ordinary puniſhment of Theives.

XI. After

XI. After this Victory purchas'd thus with the Emperor's blood, *Bajazet* diſmiſſes the Army, and ſends away his Father's Body to be buried at *Pruſa* in the Royal *Jami*, then following it himſelf conſecrates to his memory a moſt elegant Marble *Kubbe* or Monument (29): The *Turks* greatly extoll this Emperor. They repreſent him as a miror of juſtice, a Prince of invincible fortitude of Mind, ever regular in his devotions, and to love no converſation ſo much as that of the Learned. He is alſo prais'd for his remarkable abſtinence, ſo that he was never ſeen cloathed in any thing but *Soph* (30). He reigned thirty, and liv'd ſeventy one years. *Murad's* Burial and Character.

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(29) *Kubbe*] This is a Tower and Monument beautifully built, and plac'd over the Graves of Vizirs, and other Great Men. People of a middle ſtation have two ſtones always ſtanding upright, one at the head, the other at the feet. One of theſe ſtones has the name of the deceas'd elegantly writ, ſometimes in proſe ſometimes in verſe, to which is added a prayer of this, or the like Form, at the direction of the Heir, *Dam Alla buteala rahmeti*, *May God ſhew eternal mercy to him.* If a Man is buried, upon the top of the ſtone is a *Turkiſh Turbant*, if a Woman, another ſort of Ornament is plac'd there: The ſtone at the feet is the ſame in both.

(30) *Soph*] This is a fine Cloth made of Wool, as thin and light as can be. It is chiefly worn by Eccleſiaſticks, to whom their Law forbids the uſe of Silk, which is permitted only to the Emperor and his Chamberlains. Hence the Perſon that wears a Garment of *Soph*, is call'd *Sophi*.

During MURAD's Empire from 1360, to 1390, there reigned in *Europe*,

At *Conſtantinople.*	ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS, 1584-87. EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1387-1417.
In the *Weſt.*	CHARLES IV. Son to *John* King of *Bohemia*, 1346-78. WENCESLAUS, Son to *Charles*, 1378-99.
In *England.*	EDWARD III. 1326-77. RICHARD II. 1377-99.
In *France.*	CHARLES *the Wiſe*, or V. 1364-80. CHARLES *the Well beloved*, or VI. 1380-1422.

The End of the Reign of MURAD or AMURATH I.

The REIGN of *ILDIRIM BAJAZET* I. (1) Son of MURAD, AND Fourth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK I. CHAP. V.

I. Bajazet's *first Expeditions.* II. *Battle with the* Moldavians. III. *Victory of* Caraman ogli. IV. *His further Progress in* Asia *and* Europe. V. *Victory at* Nicopolis. VI. Bajazet *fortifies the Straits of* Nicomedia. VII. *Is perswaded by his Vizir to desist from* Constantinople. VIII. *Sends Ambassadors to the* Grecian *Emperor.* IX. *And makes Peace on condition of a certain Tribute.* X. *Builds a* Jami *at* Constantinople. XI. Tamerlane *invading* Asia. XII. *Refuses the offer of* Constantinople *made by* Paleologus. XIII. *Wages War with* Bajazet, *on the* Grecian *Emperor's account.* XVI. *Overcomes and takes him Prisoner.* XV. Bajazet's *Character,* XVI. *and Issue.*

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H. 792.
A. C 1390. *Bajazet's* first Expeditions.

I. MURAD being thus slain, is succeeded in the Empire by his Son *Bajazet,* who to shew that his Father's Virtues were not remov'd out of the World, but descended to him, the next year

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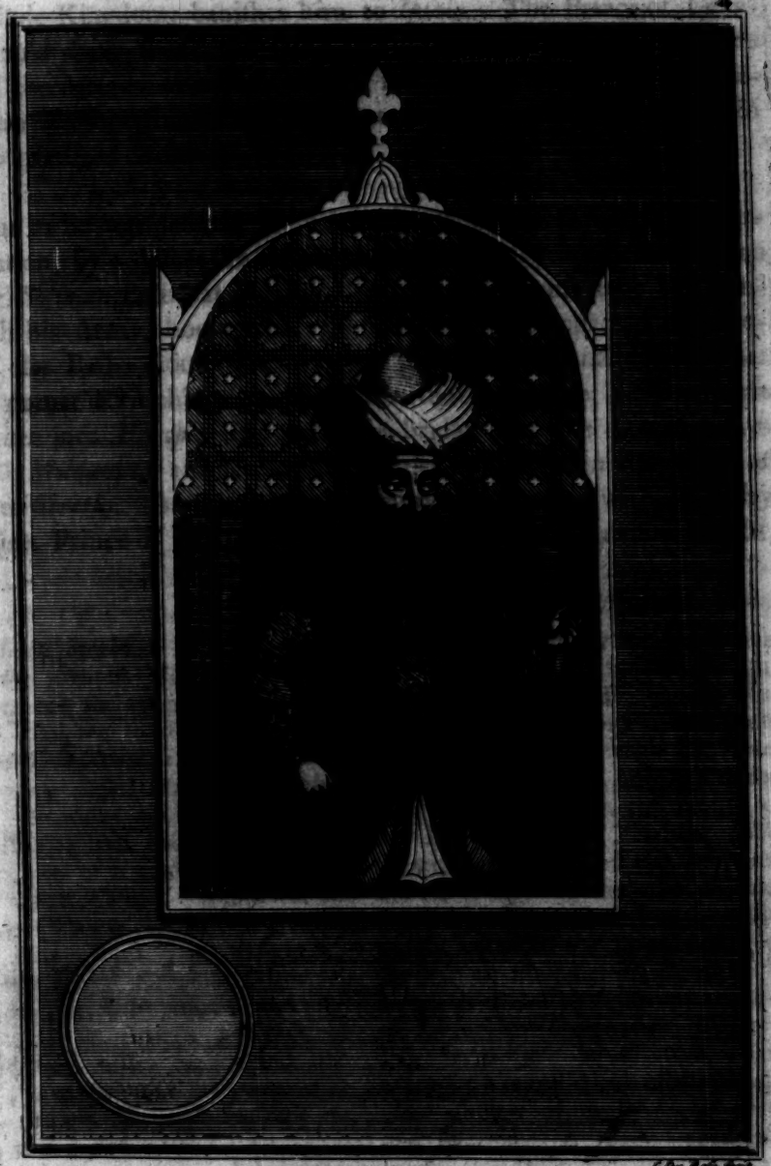
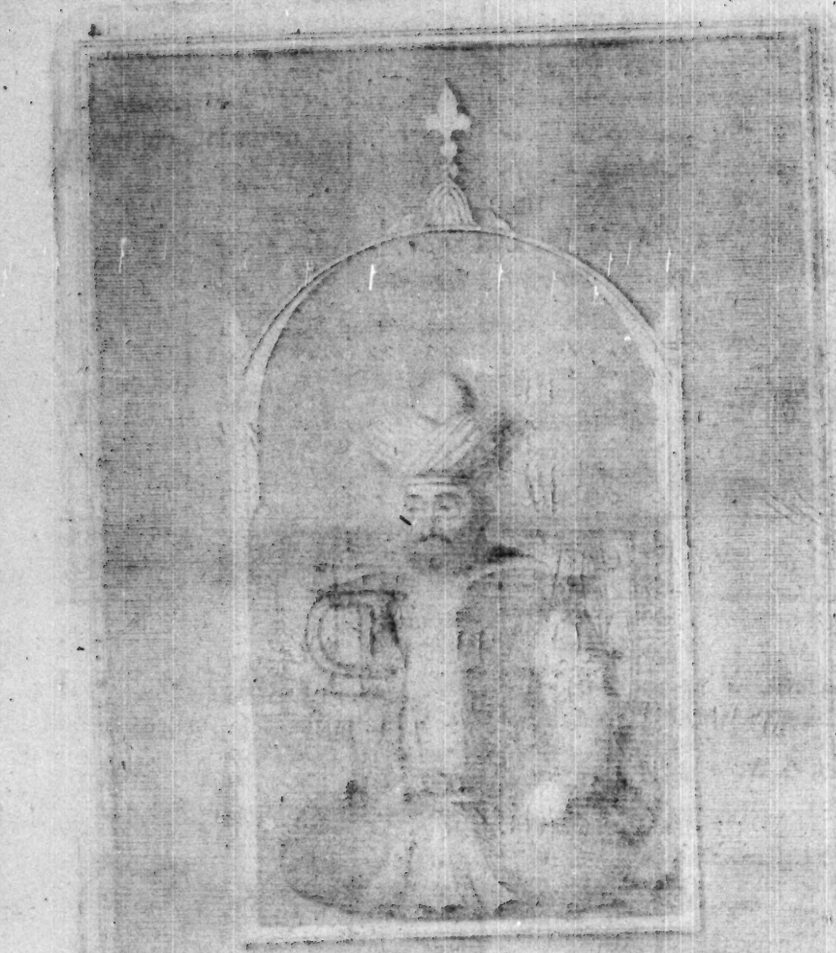
(1) [*Bajazet* is in *Turkish* spelt *Bayezid.*]

takes



BAJAZET. I.
Son of Murad, fourth Emperor of ye Turks
in the Year 1390.
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio.



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takes in *Europe*, *Caratova* and *Iſſeib*, and in *Aſia*, *Aidin*, *Sarichan*, *Kars*, and *Monteſhe*, and annexes them to his Empire. After this, a diſpute ariſing between him and his Father-in-law, *German ogli*, he thinks Princes ought to decide their quarrels rather by arms than words, and therefore attacks and vanquiſhes him, and then diſpoſſeſſing him of his whole Kingdom, baniſhes him to *Ipſala*. The Prince of *Caramania* wou'd have ſhar'd the ſame fate (who had married *Bajazet*'s Siſter) if the *Moldavian* expedition had not induc'd the politick Emperor to turn his thoughts to weightier matters, and put off his deſign to a more convenient ſeaſon.

II. But as he was deterr'd from attempting by his Generals ſo warlike a nation, by a defeat the *Moldavians* had two years before, given *Surasker Soliman* Baſha at *Hieraſus*, he reſolves to truſt none but himſelf with his Army, hoping that the obſtacles which check'd the Progreſs of the Baſha would give way to the royal Fortune. Wherefore having prepar'd all things neceſſary for the expedition, he tranſports his Forces into *Europe*, and making a bridge over the *Danube*, lays waſte all *Moldavia*, and incamps at *Razboe* a Village on the banks of the River *Siretus*. At the ſame place comes ſoon after with an Army *Iſtefan* (2), Prince of *Moldavia*. A fierce and doubtful Battle is fought, Battle with the *Moldavians*.

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(2) *Iſtefan*] *Stephanus* Prince of *Moldavia*, the greateſt Hero of his age. He overthrew the renown'd *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and wreſted from him the *Tranſilvanian Alps*, which at this day limit *Moldavia* to the Weſt. He added by ſeveral Victories, *Pocutia* and *Podolia* to his dominions, and in a pitch'd Battle with the *Poles* near *Cotnar*, famous for its generous Wines, he defeated their whole Army with great ſlaughter, and took fifteen thouſand Priſoners. Theſe he put into yokes, and oblig'd them to plough a Tract of Ground two miles long, and one broad, and to plant two Groves of Oaks, which for that reaſon are call'd at this day by the *Poles*, *Bucowina*, but by the Inhabitants *Dumbrava Roſhie* or *Red Groves*, becauſe planted and water'd with *Poliſh* Blood. He reduc'd all the Cities between *Leopolis* and *Moldavia*. He fought two Battles with *Bajazet Ildirim*; in the firſt he was Victor, and in the ſecond he routed Him with a memorable ſlaughter, which ſeven vaſt piles of *Turkiſh* Bodies erected after the Battle, witneſſed, by the Confeſſion of *Hezarfenn* himſelf, the faithful *Turkiſh* Hiſtorian. He ſubdued *Walachia* as far as *Bucureſtia*, and made *Vintilas* Governor of that Province. He held *Baſſarabia*, now call'd *Bujak*, the City *Kili* in the mouth of the *Danube*, as alſo *Akerman*, *Alba Græca*, or the *Oxia* of the Ancients, and renown'd for being the place of *Ovid*'s baniſhment; and in ſhort, he widely extended the Bounds of *Moldavia*, as ſhall be ſhewn more at large, if I live to finiſh my account of the antient and preſent *Moldavia*. In this poſture he left his affairs when he was call'd out of the World, after a reign of forty ſeven years, and five months. His Son *Bogdan* made *Moldavia* tributary to the *Turks*. Hence the *Moldavians* call'd formerly *Ak Iflac* or vulgarly *Ak vlach*, or the *white Walachians*, are now by the *Turks* call'd *Bogdani*. But the *Walachians* even to our days have retained the name of *Cara iflac*, or vulgarly, *Cara vlach*, or the *black Walachians*.

but

but at length the *Moldavians* are vanquiſh'd and diſpers'd. *Iſtefan* himſelf to ſave his life, flies to the City of *Nemz*, where he had plac'd his Mother with a ſtrong Garriſon, and arriving at break of day, commands the gates to be open'd. His Mother hearing of her Son's unexpected arrival, inſtantly repairs to the Walls, and denies him admittance, ſaying, "O Son! Since the time of thy birth I never ſaw thee "return from battle without victory. As thou art therefore unmindful "of thy former bravery, I had rather ſee thee periſh by the hand of an "Enemy, than be branded with the infamy of being ſav'd by a Woman. "Fly hence then, and return either Conqueror or never." *Iſtefan* ſtung with his Mother's reproaches, departs from the City, more ſwiftly than he came. In his way he meets a Trumpet, and bidding him ſound to Battle, draws together twelve thouſand *Moldavians*, who by flight had eſcap'd the Enemy's Sword. Theſe he conjures either to vanquiſh or die, and immediately falling upon the Enemies, diſpers'd over the Field and intent upon the Spoil, defeats and puts them to flight. Then with the ſame fortune at *Vaſhluy*, which is but twenty miles from *Jaſſis*, he takes the royal Tent, routs the *Turkiſh* Soldiers, and compells the Emperor, who before was the Terror of the World, frighted at ſo ſudden a change, to fly with a few attendants to *Adrianople*.

Victory of *Caraman ogli.*

III. Whilſt theſe things paſs'd in *Europe*, they kindled a much greater flame in *Aſia*. For *Caraman ogli* hearing *Bajazet*'s Army was deſtroy'd by the *Moldavians*, and believing he had a fair opportunity of cruſhing the *Othman* Power, aſſembles his forces, and in breach of his treaty with *Bajazet*, beſieges *Kutahia*, and deſtroys with fire and ſword the *Othman* dominions in *Aſia*. *Bajazet* whom adverſe fortune could not diſcourage, was inrag'd at the news. Wherefore raiſing with his Uſual ſpeed (3) an Army in *Europe*, he leads them into *Aſia*, and before his Arrival was ſo much as ſuſpected, meets the *Caramanian* forces divided into many Parties, attacks and overthrows them in the firſt charge. *Caraman ogli*, after the defeat of his Army flying with his Sons to the Town of *Acjami*, is taken by the Purſuers, brought before the Sultan, and by his command, beheaded. By this means all *Caramania* fell under the power of *Bajazet*, who to deſtroy all the

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(3) Uſual ſpeed] The *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians ſo extoll this Prince's expedition in aſſembling his troops, in executing his deſigns, and in vanquiſhing his enemies, that when they talk of the natural ſpeed of the *Tartars* in compariſon with his wonderful marches, they call the firſt, *the creeping of a Snail*. When he was believed to be engaged in his *Aſiatic* affairs he was ſuddenly ſeen in *Europe*, if the *Aſiatic* Princes provok'd him; whilſt in *Europe*, he appear'd in *Aſia* with his whole Army before his coming was heard of. He is ſaid to communicate his Counſels to no Man, nor to execute any difficult affair by means of any Friends. Whence he is juſtly and deſervedly call'd by the *Turks*, *Ildirim* or *Lightning*.

Seeds

Seeds of rebellion condemns *Caraman*'s two Sons to perpetual Impriſonment at *Pruſa*.

IV. Not content with this Victory, *Bajazet* takes in *Europe*, *Nigebo-li*, *Siliſtre* and *Uruſhchyk**, Towns on the *Danube*, and the next year in *Aſia* he compells to acknowledge his Sovereignty, *Amaſia*, *Tokad*, *Nikſar*, *Samſun* and *Janik*, which were ſubject to Sultan *Ahmet Burhan-Elledin* (4). After this, turning his thoughts again to the *European* affairs, he had no ſooner paſs'd the Straits of *Callipolis* with a great Army, but he heard a new war was kindled in *Aſia*. For *Kutrum* (5) *Bajazet* Prince of *Coſtamoni*, imagining the Emperor too deeply ingag'd in his *European* deſigns, to be able to return into *Aſia*, had invaded and laid waſte the *Turkiſh* Provinces of *Aſia minor*. *Bajazet* being inform'd of this, for fear he ſhould loſe his own, whilſt he is ſeeking the poſſeſſions of others, leaves *Europe* to his Generals, and with the greateſt part of his army, immediately comes into *Aſia*. There before he tried the fortune of War, he is told that the flame is extinguiſh'd by the death of its author, *Kutrum Bajazet*, who died of a diſtemper. His Son *Iſfindarbeg* inſtantly diſpatches Ambaſſadors to meet him, who beg pardon for his Father's offence, and confeſs the Deceaſed had acted very raſhly in turning his arms againſt the *Othmans*, and retarding the courſe of the Emperor's victories, promiſing in the Son's name that he would be the Emperor's future Vaſſal and Slave and confirm this promiſe with an oath. The preſent ſituation of the *Othmanic* affairs not admitting of ſevere Counſels, *Iſfindarbeg* is received into Friendſhip, and Garriſons plac'd in his Towns of *Coſtamoni*, *Tarakliborli* and *Othmanjik* (6). After which he inſtantly leads back his forces into *Europe*, and in the ſame Campain takes *Selanik* or *Theſſalonica*.

Bajazet's farther Progreſs in *Aſia* and *Europe*.

V. The expedition being ended, he returns to *Pruſa* in order to refreſh his weary Troops. Whilſt he is indulging himſelf, he is re-

Victory at *Nicopolis*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Elledin*] He ſeems to have been one of theſe *Perſian* Governors who in the time of *Jenghiz* ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke. For it does not appear that there was then any other Empires or Kingdoms in *Aſia* than thoſe of the *Græcian* and *Perſian*. His Principality was part of *Armenia major*.

(5) *Kutrum*] Perhaps one alſo of the *Perſian* Governors before mention'd. His Name ſeems to intimate that he was troubled with ſome diſtemper in his feet or joints like the Gout. For *Kutrum* in the *Turkiſh* language, ſignifies one maim'd, weaken'd in his Nerves or a Paralytic.

(6) *Othmanjik*] A City, according to *Busbequius*, in *Bithynia* beyond Mount *Olympus*, founded by *Othman* firſt Emperor of the *Turks*, and therefore very famous amongſt them. Nor is there any other City in the whole *Turkiſh* Empire beſides this, which retains the name of its Founder, tho' many were built by the order of the Sultans. But They give their names to the *Jami* only, as hath been obſerv'd.

recall'd by frequent meſſages from *Europe*, that *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungary*, having made a league with other *Chriſtian* Princes (7), and rais'd an army of a hundred thouſand Men, had enter'd the borders of the *Turkiſh* Empire, and was now beſieging *Nicopolis*. Whereupon *Bajazet* believing the leaſt delay dangerous to his affairs, aſſembles with the utmoſt ſpeed, his *Aſiatic* and *European* Forces, and tho' he had not above ſixty thouſand Men, paſſes into *Europe*, where he attacks with ſuch fury the Camp of the *Chriſtians* that they were defeated at the firſt charge with great ſlaughter. *Sigiſmund*'s Partners in the expedition were all taken or ſlain, only he himſelf eſcap'd firſt to *Conſtantinople* (8), and from thence by water into his own Kingdom: After the Victory *Bajazet* finds in the Enemy's Camp, many warlike engines, and a very great treaſure, with which he builds both at *Adrianople* and *Pruſa*, a noble *Jami* and *Madreſe*, and moreover orders a large *Daruſh-ſhifa* (9) to be erected.

Bajazet fortifies the Straits of *Nicomedia*. H. 797. A. C. 1395.

VI. *Bajazet* having now nothing to fear from the *Weſtern* Princes, turns all his forces againſt *Thrace*, where he takes a Caſtle ſituated on the *Euxine* Sea, about ſixty miles from *Conſtantinople*, and to deprive the *Europeans* of the means to paſs into *Aſia*, builds a new city, in a place call'd *Bogaz Keſen*, fortifies it very ſtrongly, and gives it the name of *Guzelhiſar* (10).

He is perſwaded by his Vizir to deſiſt from *Conſtantinople*.

VII. Having thus ſecur'd his borders on every ſide, the ſame year he incamps with a great Army under the very Walls of *Conſtantinople* without any oppoſition (11). Preparations being made for an aſſault

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(7) *Chriſtian* Princes] All *Chriſtians* are nam'd *Iſſevi*, by the Hiſtorians and in Letters, by way of compliment, as the Prince of *Moldavia*, *Kydvetul merai illil milletue Meſihie, um detul Kiuberai il tayfetil iſſevie*, i. e. "The "moſt excellent of the Princes of "the Sect of the *Meſſia*, the greateſt "of the Nations believing in *Je-* "*ſus*." Otherwiſe the opprobrious name of *Gaur*, Infidel, is beſtow'd on all Chriſtians; and *Kiafir* or Blaſphemer; and *Kiefere*, a blaſphemous Nation; as likewiſe in the plural, *Kiuffar* blaſphemous Men, and alſo *Naſrani*, *Nazarenes*, as *Junani* is given to the *Greeks*, and *Ibrani* to the *Jews* or *Hebrews*.

(8) *Conſtantinople*] It is the common tradition of all *Chriſtian* Writers, but chiefly of *Philip Lonicer* a diligent Collector of the *Turkiſh* affairs, that, after this ſhameful defeat, *Sigiſmund* retir'd to *Conſtantinople*, and after various turns in his affairs, got at laſt into his own Kingdom.

(9) *Daruſh-ſhifa*] The *Port of Health*, from *Dar*, *a Gate*, and *Shifa*, *a Remedy*. Theſe are beautiful Hoſpitals erected near the *Jami*, built by the Emperors, who have officers over them, and ſtipends allowed for the care of the ſick out of the revenues of the *Jami*.

(10) *Guzelhiſar*] or the *beautiful Caſtle*. It is now call'd *Bogazgiechid*, or the paſſage of the Straits between the Bay of the *Propontis*, and the *Nicæan* Mountains, now call'd *Izmid daglary*, from whence *Conſtantinople* is ſupply'd with materials for Building and Shipping.

(11) Without oppoſition] The *Chriſtians*

ſault, his *Prime Vizir*, diſſwades him from the ſiege, repreſenting in an elegant Speech, " that the *Othman* Empire, being now of ſo great " an extent that it gives law not only to all *Aſia*, but the beſt part of " *Europe*, cannot without envy be look'd upon by any *Chriſtian* Prince. " So many Provinces are added to his dominion that the *Othmanidæ* " need not dread the united forces of the whole World; but it is " to be fear'd that the late conquered Cities, the minds of the Inha- " bitants not being yet ſettled, may upon the leaſt occaſion ſhake off " their yoke to the irreparable detriment of the Empire. If to this " ſhall be added the news of the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, all the *Chri-* " *ſtian* Princes will undoubtedly join their forces and declaring war " with the *Muſulmans*, ſtrenuouſly endeavour to preſerve the *Greek* " Empire, the downfal of which would ſeem to threaten the inevi- " table deſtruction of the reſt of the States. For they are not ſo ſtupid " but they will ſee, when once the Seat of the *Greek* Empire is ta- " ken, there will be no oppoſing the rapid courſe of the *Othmanic* " Arms. Wherefore tho' he did not deſpair of taking the City, yet it " was his opinion, it ſhou'd be deferr'd, leaſt by graſping at too " much, there would be danger of loſing what had been hitherto ac- " quired with ſo great labours. However that ſome advantage may " be reap'd from the terror which the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* " are under, Ambaſſadors are to be ſent to the *Iſtambol Tekkuri* (12), " to impoſe on him what terms *Bajazet* ſhall pleaſe, which inſtead of " being rejected will, he ſuppoſes, be embrac'd as a bleſſing from hea- " ven, ſince he can ſcarce conceive any hopes of eſcaping his pre- " ſent danger."

VIII. *Bajazet* approving this advice, ſends Ambaſſadors into the City to the Emperor *Paleologus* with a letter to this effect: " By the di- " vine clemency, Our Empire, to which God has ſet no bounds, hath " reduc'd to its obedience, almoſt all *Aſia*, with many and large " Countries of *Europe*, excepting only thy City of *Conſtantinople*, for " beyond the Walls thou haſt nothing left. Hence, ſince thou thy

Ambaſſadors are ſent to the *Greek* Emperor.

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Chriſtians aſſign the raiſing of the Siege of *Conſtantinople* both to the intreaties of *Emanuel Paleologus*, and to the approaching expedition of *Tamerlane*. But as that expedition fell not out till ſeven years after, and as it is abſurd to imagine that the *Turkiſh* Emperor would be ſo eaſily diverted from his purpoſe by the intreaties of an Enemy, what we have related from the *Turkiſh* Annals ſeems neareſt to the truth.

(12) *Iſtambol Tekkuri*] *Iſtambol* ſeems to be corrupted either from the name of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, or from the vulgar phraſe, εἰς τὴν πόλιν. For the more learned *Turks*, and the Emperor himſelf in his Mandates, writes it *Conſtantanie*. *Tekkur*, if we may offer our conjecture, is corrupted from τοῦ κυρίου, but they ſometimes write, *Caiſar*, *Cæſar*. Beſides this, the name of *Tekkuri* is given to other *Chriſtian* Governors by the *Turks*, as *Selanik Tekkuri*, the Governor of *Theſſalonica*, *Gieliboli Tekkuri*, the Governor of *Callipolis*.

ſelf

" ſelf mayeſt eaſily conclude that a Crown cannot be worn without a " head, we amicably exhort, and admoniſh thee, (before thou trieſt " the unhappy fortune of War, and art a ſad Spectator of the ſlaugh- " ter of ſo many innocent men, and the inevitable deſtruction of the " City, of which thy obſtinacy and hard heart will be rightly judg'd " the ſole cauſe) to deliver up to us thy Capital on thy own terms. " If thou refuſe, we are ſure thou wilt, when too late, fruitleſly re- " pent the neglecting our admonitions." Thus much by letter, but he orders his Ambaſſadors, in caſe they ſhould find the *Greeks* averſe to the ſurrender of the City, to ſoften his demands, and conclude a peace for an Annual Tribute.

A Truce concluded for an Annual Tribute.

IX. The Ambaſſadors entering the City deliver the Letter to *Paleologus*, who more terrified than he ought, readily complies with *Bajazet*'s demands for the ſake of preſerving the City and Empire. A Truce therefore is made for ten years on theſe terms. *Paleologus* is to pay yearly ten thouſand *Filuri altun* (13) by way of tribute. The *Othmans* ſhall be allowed to build in *Conſtantinople* a *Jami* and *Mekkieme*, and appoint a *Cady*, whoſe juriſdiction ſhall be bounded in this manner: If a *Chriſtian* at *Conſtantinople* has a diſpute with a *Muſulman*, it ſhall be decided by the *Conſtantinopolitan* Patriarch; but if a *Mahometan* with a *Mahometan* it ſhall be tried by their own *Cady*. In like manner if conteſts ariſe between *Chriſtians* at *Adrianople*, they ſhall be ended by the Metropolitan of that City, but if between a *Chriſtian* and a *Muſulman*, by the *Ederne-molaſi* (14).

A *Jami* built at *Conſtantinople*.

X. The Truce being made on theſe conditions, the *Othmans* firſt erect a *Jami* call'd at this day *Daud Paſha* (15), and a *Mekkieme* (16), whilſt the Chriſtians yet reign at *Conſtantinople*.

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(13) *Filuri altun*] Is a peculiar appellation of the *Turkiſh* Ruſps, or the *Venetian* Golden Crowns, in value three hundred aſpers. But *filuri*, derives its name from the vulgar *Greek*, φλορι.

(14) *Ederne-molaſi*] The Eccleſiaſtical Judge of *Adrianople*. For *Ederne* is *Adrianople*, *Mola* is an eccleſiaſtical Judge, next to the *Iſtambol effendi* and the *Cadilaskers*, the *ſi*, has the power of the article ὁ, as if you ſhould ſay, ὁ μολὰς τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ πόλεως, ὁ ἀγὰς τῶν Ἰανιτζάρων. The *Mollahs* have many places of reſidence, but he of *Conſtantinople* only has the title of *Effendi* in honour of the City. Others have only the title of *Molla* without any addition, as *Myrs Mollaſi*, the *Mollah* of *Egypt*, *Biruſſa Mollaſi*, the *Mollah* of *Pruſa*, *Halep Mollaſi*, the *Mollah* of *Aleppo*.

(15) *Daud*] The *Hebrew* name *David*, but us'd by the *Turks*.

(16) *Mekkieme*] The *Prætorium* or Hall of Judgment, where Cauſes are heard and determined, from *Mukkiem*, *ſtrong* and *confirm'd*, or from *Hiukin*, the *Sentence* or *Decree*. There are more than twenty of theſe *Mekkieme* at *Conſtantinople*, of which the chief is That call'd *Mekkiemei Mehemed Paſha*, from its Founder, of the ſame name, and one of the prime Vizirs.

XI. The

XI. The Rites of the *Mahometan* Religion, and the Enſigns of the *Othman* Empire, being thus introduc'd into the very Capital of the *Greeks*, it ſeem'd as if the imperial line would ſoon be extinct, and all the Provinces in ſubjection to the *Greeks* be poſſeſs'd by *Bajazet* with their Metropolis. But whilſt he was meditating theſe things, the ſame fortune that had rais'd him, began to pull him down. For when *Bajazet* had ſettled his affairs in *Europe* to his wiſh, and was now aſpiring to the Empire of the World, *Tamerlane* (17) from a low rank being made King of the *Scythians*, aſſembled a numerous Army of eaſtern *Tartars*, and overran the *Aſiatic* Provinces that were ſubject as well to the *Perſians* as the *Turks*. *Tamerlane* invades *Aſia*,

XII. To *Tamerlane* Ambaſſadors had been ſent by *Paleologus* in his diſtreſs, repreſenting the injuries offer'd him by *Bajazet* and imploring his aſſiſtance for which he promis'd to hold his Empire of him (18) *Tamerlane* is reported to anſwer, that he would indeed protect and defend him from his enemies, but made it a point of conſcience to deſire another man's property. O unparallell'd generoſity tho' in a *Barbarian!* and rejects the offer of *Conſtantinople*;

XIII. Indeed this ſeems to be one of the reaſons why *Tamerlane* turn'd his thoughts and arms againſt *Bajazet*. The *Turks* themſelves relate that in the year of the *Hejira* 800, *Ahmed Halamir*, (19) Chan of *Bagdad*, makes war with *Bajazet*, and why? H. 890. A. C. 1397.

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(17) *Tamerlane*] He was born of the *Chagata* orda* or Tribe, and indeed by his birth, was a *Barbarian*, but his manners were polite and civiliz'd. *Temurleng* (corruptly *Tamerlane*) in the *Perſian* language, ſignifies one lame in his thigh, which tradition ſays, was his caſe. A proof of this is a ſtory told of him by the *Turks*. Amongſt other *Perſian* Priſoners (ſay they) a Painter being led to execution deſir'd *Temurleng* that he would not ſuffer the whole art of painting to die with Him; for he could eaſily evince the excellency of that art to belong to himſelf. *Temurleng* having heard his requeſt, order'd him to draw his picture: The Painter obſerving that Prince to be lame of his right thigh and blind of his left eye, drew him with his right leg bent or inclining, his left eye ſhut and a bow apply'd to the other, as if he had been ſhooting at game. *Temurleng* admiring the ingenuity of the Painter pardon'd and ſet him at liberty.

(18) of him] Wonderful certainly was the Magnanimity of the *Barbarian*, and his anſwer worthy to be tranſmitted in letters of Gold. *Paleologus* offers his City and Empire; *Temurleng* takes both under his protection but refuſes the Empire with this generous anſwer, "That it was "not right to change ſo ancient an "Empire, and to put a Family ſo "eminently illuſtrious as to have "reach'd the *Tartars* themſelves by "its fame, under the yoke of a ſo-"reign ſway;" It was this greatneſs of mind, which put him upon fighting ſuch bloody Battles, and raiſing ſuch a mighty army, which if compared to thoſe of *Darius* or *Xerxes* will be found to be equal if not ſuperior.

(19) *Ahmed Halamir*] He was one

Bagdad, who was under the Sultan of *Egypt*, revolts from him on account perhaps of ſome injuries received, and turns to *Bajazet*, who by his conduct wreſts from the *Egyptian*, *Ilbiſtan*, *Malatia*, *Diyurge* and *Nebbi*, and annexes them to his Empire. In his return from this expedition he enters the Province of *Azerbejan* (20) ſubject to *Tabrinbeg* (21), and vanquiſhing the Satrapas or Governor of that Province lays on him a heavy annual Tribute. However, *Ildirim Bajazet* either thro' clemency or on account of the Tribute, reſtores the Province to *Tabrinbeg*. Shortly after, *Bajazet* ſuſpecting this Prince's fidelity, tho' he paid that year's Tribute, carries away to *Pruſa* his Wife and two Sons in hoſtage, or as others (who are of leſs authority with the *Turks*) ſay that being enamour'd of the Woman takes her by force from her Husband's embraces. *Tabrinbeg* not bearing either the adultery or injury, immediately goes from *Bajazet*, and flying to his friend and protector *Tamerlane*, complains of the injury done him, and ſo raiſes a fierce war againſt *Bajazet*.

Vanquiſhes and takes him priſoner. H. 804. A. C. 1401.

XIV. *Tamerlane* therefore urged by the intreaties of this man or of *Paleologus* or of both, leads a ſtrong Army of *Scythians* in the year 804, againſt *Bajazet*, by whom he is met near *Pruſa* (22) a noble

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of the *Perſian* Satrapæ ſo often mentioned before. The name *Halamir* imports in the *Arabic* language, as much as *preſent* or *perpetual Lord*. Both *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Hiſtoriographers agree that from his time the ſeat of the *Perſian* Empire was remov'd from *Babylon*, to *Revan*, and from thence to *Iſpahan*. The preſent *Babylon* (or *Bagdad* of the *Turks*) ſtands not on the Eaſtern bank of the *Euphrates* where ſo many ruins, beſides the conſent of Hiſtorians ſhew the ſeat of the old, but over againſt it, on the Weſtern bank looking towards *Europe*. In the *Eaſt Indies* is yet to be ſeen a certain ſmall Tower call'd by the *Turks*, *Kuzcabakiſi* or *the Tower of Birds*.

(20) *Azerbejan*] See Note p. 4.

(21) *Tabrinbeg*] He was one of the *Perſian* Governours who ſhook off the yoke of the *Perſian* Empire, weaken'd by the incurſions of the *Tartars*.

(22) near *Pruſa*] Moſt *Chriſtian* Writers tells us that this battle was fought upon the banks of the *Euphrates*. But the unanimous conſent of all the *Turkiſh* Writers that *Tamerlane* immediately after the Battle enter'd *Pruſa* the *Metropolis* of *Bithynia*, clearly proves it to have been fought in the plains of that place. But their diſtance from *Meſopotamia* is well known to Geographers. This opinion of ours is farther confirm'd by the ſame Hiſtorians ſaying, that before the engagement *Tamerlane* pitch'd his Tents near *Jenishebir* the *Neapolis* of *Aſia minor*, and there with the *Turkiſh Æſop*, *Naſruddin Hoja* ſpent three days, who ſo delighted him with his *Fables* that he left the City free and untouched. For the ſake of the curious I ſhall by way of digreſſion, extract ſome particulars of this Man from a Book written in the *Turkiſh* language. The Citizens of *Jenishebir* (where liv'd *Naſruddin*) prepar'd to defend their City, when they heard *Tamerlane* was coming againſt it. *Naſruddin* earneſtly diſſwaded them, and offers to go himſelf Embaſſador to *Tamerlane*. As he is leaving his houſe, he is in ſome ſuſpence what Preſent would be moſt proper to appeaſe an Enemy, and render him benevolent to himſelf and his Fel-

fruit

noble City of *Bithynia*. A fierce battle is fought with equal bravery but with unequal ſucceſs. There fell on both ſides above three hundred and forty thouſand Men. At laſt after a long conflict the *Turks* are vanquiſh'd, *Bajazet*'s eldeſt Son *Muſtapha*, who had behav'd with great bravery, is ſlain, the Sultan himſelf is taken, and being ſhut up in an iron cage, as a notable inſtance of the ſport of fortune, ends his days. The Conqueror *Tamerlane* preſently after the victory enters *Pruſa*, and forces the reſt of the *Aſiatic* Countries to ſubmit to his yoke. Thus the Mighty who think themſelves ſuperior to fortune, are at once reduc'd by her to the moſt wretched eſtate.

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low-citizens. At laſthe reſolved upon fruit, but ſays he, Advice is good in times of neceſſity; I will therefore conſult my Wife. Accordingly, ſays he to her, "which will be moſt "grateful to *Tamerlane*, figs or "quinces? Quinces, replies ſhe, as "being larger, more beautiful, and "therefore in my opinion likely to "prove more acceptable. Whereupon ſays he, "how good ſoever advice "may be in dubious affairs, a Wo-"man's advice is never good, and "therefore I will preſent figs and "not quinces." Having gather'd the figs he haſtens to *Tamerlane* who being told that the famous *Naſruddin Hoja* was arriv'd in his Camp, as Ambaſſador, orders him to be introduc'd, bare-headed, and obſerving his baldneſs, commands his figs to be thrown at his head. His ſervants punctually executing his order, *Naſruddin* at every blow, cries out, very compoſedly, *God be praiſed*. *Tamerlane* curious to know the reaſon of this expreſſion, is anſwer'd by him, "I thank God that I followed "not my Wife's counſel, for had "I, as ſhe advis'd, brought quinces "inſtead of figs, my head muſt "have been broken." The ſame *Naſruddin* growing afterwards more familiar with *Tamerlane* makes him a preſent of ten early and freſh gather'd cucumbers, for which he receives from him ten crowns in gold. Some days after, when cucumbers were more plenty by the advance of the ſeaſon, he fills a cart with them, and drives it to *Tamerlane*. The Porter refuſes him admittance 'till he had a promiſe of going halves with him, remembring the former preſent for the ten cucumbers. *Naſruddin* being introduc'd to *Tamerlane*, is ask'd the reaſon of his coming, and telling him he had now brought a much larger preſent of cucumbers than before. *Tamerlane* orders him a baſtinado for every cucumber. The number is found to be five hundred. *Naſruddin* receives half the baſtinadoes very patiently, but then cries out he has his full ſhare, and hop'd the King would do juſtice to his Porter. The King asking what he meant? I agreed, ſays he, with your porter, that he ſhould receive half of my expected preſent for introducing me. The porter being call'd, and owning the agreement is forc'd to receive the remainder of the baſtinadoes. Some time after *Naſruddin* being encouraged by *Tamerlane* to ask boldly what he would have of him, as aſſured of no denial, he only ask'd ten Golden Crowns to erect a building memorable to all poſterity. The money being given him, he immediately erects a Stone gate in the middle of the field, and faſten'd it with locks and bolts. Being asked to what purpoſe ſo extraordinary a Gate, he anſwers, the fame of this Gate ſhall be no leſs tranſmitted to lateſt poſterity than *Tamerlane*'s victories, and whilſt the monument of *Naſruddin*'s actions ſhall move the laughter of thoſe that viſit it, *Tamerlane*'s exploits ſhall draw tears from the remoteſt regions.

XV. This

Bajazet's Character.

XV. This Sultan memorable for his good and bad fortune reign'd fourteen years, three months, and liv'd fifty eight. He was of an invincible mind, a politick obſerver of times and ſeaſons. In expeditions, in raiſing of Armies and marching them to diſtant places, *Bajazet* never had his equal for diſpatch. Hence he acquir'd the firname of *Ildirim* or *Lightning*. Prone to anger, the failing of great minds, but the firſt emotions being quickly appeas'd, mercy prevail'd. So great a lover of Architecture that *Moſchs*, *Jami*, *Medreſe* and *Imaret* are ſaid to be erected by him every year of his reign. He is reported to have been very regardful of the ſtudious and religious. He was the firſt of the *Othman* Emperors that wag'd naval wars, having built about three hundred long veſſels for that purpoſe (23), and perhaps would have acquir'd the dominion of the Sea, if he had not unhappily, in open war, enter'd theliſts with *Tamerlane*.

His Iſſue.

XVI. Concerning his Sons (24), under the corrupted names of *Erdogul*,

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(23) for that purpoſe] *Chriſtian* Writers tell us that *Murad*, Father of *Bajazet* firſt introduc'd the uſe of Ships among the *Turks*. The *Turks* on the contrary, ſay it was *Bajazet*, and tell us that his Anceſtors when they croſs'd the Straits of *Callipolis* did it on rafts, or in hir'd Ships. I rather incline to believe them than foreign Writers.

(24) his Sons] *George Phranza* Maſter of the wardrobe to the *Greek* Emperor has given us a ſtill more confus'd account of the ſons of *Bajazet*. He was indeed a contemporary Writer, but he may eaſily be allow'd to miſtake in the *Turkiſh* affairs, who ſo frequently contradicts himſelf in the *Græcian*, that is, in thoſe of his own country. Nor ſhould we faſten this reproach upon him, did not he himſelf acquaint us in the concluſion of his Hiſtory that he compos'd it now worn out with years, a baniſh'd man, and conſequently from his own memory, and not from Memoirs or publick Records. Beſides that his Books have been corrupted and interpolated by ſome more recent hand, is at leaſt very ſuſpicious to me, when I reflect that in B. I. Ch. 31. he mentions *Bogdania* as then a Province, and tributary to the *Turks* in the time of *Muhammed*, when it is by all agreed, that Country (or *Moldavia* as it was then call'd) made a voluntary ſurrender to *Soliman* I, and from that time was known firſt to the *Turks* by the name of *Bogdania* from its Prince *Bogdan*. Not with leſs reaſon are theſe accounts ſuſpected of forgery which gives us the civil wars of the Sons of *Bajazet* with Circumſtances equally unknown to *Turkiſh* and *Chriſtian* Writers. He gives us five Sons of *Bajezid*, *Moſes*, *Juſuph*, *Jeſſe*, *Muſulman* and *Mebemed*. The four laſt of theſe, he tells us, paſs'd into *Europe*, *Moſes* being taken in the battle fought with *Tamerlane*, *Juſuph* (continues he) became a *Chriſtian*; *Jeſſe* was at firſt proſperous, and fell upon the *Hungarians* and *Servians*, but engaging with his brother *Muſulman* [perhaps *Soliman*] in a battle in the fields of *Cappadocia*, he was defeated, and, being taken in his flight put to death by his brother. *Tamerlane* oppos'd *Muſa* to his brother *Muſulman*, which *Muſa* paſſing into *Europe*, by the aſſiſtance of the deſpot of *Servia* ſubdued all the *Europæan* Provinces in ſubjection to the *Othmans*. *Muſulman* return'd by *Conſtantinople* into *Europe*, and engaging with his brother *Muſa* was defeated, and put to death by him. After

dogul, *Iſſa*, *Calepin*, *Cyricelebis* and *Cibelin* (25); many things are related by the *Chriſtian* Writers, which both the courſe of the Hiſtory and the teſtimony of the *Turkiſh* Authors demonſtrate to be fictions. For theſe unanimouſly aſcribe to *Bajazet* four Sons, *Muſtapha* (26), who fell in the battle with the *Tartars*, *Soliman*, *Muſa*, and *Mahomet*. Tho' three of theſe, namely, *Soliman Chelebi**, *Muſa Chelebi**, and *Mahomet* ſway'd the *Turkiſh* Scepter, only *Mahomet* is reckoned among the *Othman* Emperors as will be ſhown at large in the ſequel.

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After this, *Orchan* Son of *Muſulman* was call'd into *Europe* by *Manuel Paleologus* Emperor of *Conſtantinople*; and put in Arms againſt *Muſa*, but a little after betray'd by his Vizir *Sampan*, and depriv'd of his eyes. *Muſa* brought a fleet againſt *Conſtantinople*, but being beaten at ſea, he deſiſted from that war. *Mehemed* firſt skulk'd about and got his living by manual labours, but being afterwards aided by the Prince of *Cappadocia*, he proclaim'd war againſt his brother *Muſa*, and defeated by him in two engagements, he again renew'd the war by the aſſiſtance of the Princes of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and corrupting the officers of *Muſa* at laſt obtain'd the victory. *Moſes* was taken in his flight, and kill'd by one of his own Generals. Such is the narrative given us by *George Phranza*, all which ſucceſſive actions he crowds into three years and two months, with an abſurdity obvious to all who have any tincture of Chronology, without my expoſing him any farther.

(26) *Calepin*, *Cyricelebis* and *Celebin*] ſeem all corruptions from the *Turkiſh* word *Chelebi**, which, as I before took notice, the chief of the *Turkiſh* youths ſubſcribed formerly to their own names, as *Soliman Chelebi**, &c. The word *Cyricelebis* ſeems to be a corruption of the vulgar *Greek* word, Κυρίτζης (a diminitive of Κύριος or *Lord*) ſince *Phranza* gives *Mahomet* I. the appellation of *Cyritzis*, B. I. Ch. 82.

(27) *Muſtapha*] eldeſt ſon of *Bajazet*, and ſlain in the battle with *Tamerlane* by the confeſſion of both *Chriſtian* and *Turkiſh* Writers. His Body ſought with the greateſt care after the engagement, could no where be found, nor did he ever afterwards appear either amongſt the priſoners or elſewhere. This procur'd him the epithet of *Nabedid* or the *loſt*. Some *Chriſtian* Writers call him *Erdogul*, for what reaſon I know not. Certain at leaſt it is that only four ſons of *Bajazet* are nam'd in the courſe of the Hiſtory, but no *Erdogul*.

There reign'd in *Europe*, Cotemporary with BAJAZET.

At *Conſtantinople*.	JOHANNES PALEOLOGUS, 1341-88. EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1388-1418.
In the *Weſt*.	WENCESLAUS, 1378-99. ROBERTUS of *Bavaria*, 1399-1410.
In *England*.	RICHARD II. 1377-1399. HENRY IV. 1399-1412.
In *France*.	CHARLES VI. 1380-1422.

The End of the Reign of BAJAZET.

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INTERREGNUM Under
SOLIMAN CHELEBI *
Son of ILDIRIM BAJAZET.

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

I. Soliman *ſaluted Emperor by the* Europæans. II. *affronts* Tamerlane's *Ambaſſadors.* III. Tamerlane *makes* Muſa Chelebi* *Emperor of* Aſia, IV. *who is expell'd by* Soliman, V. *and not receiv'd by* Iſfindarbeg. VI. Soliman *diſregards an Ambaſſy from his Brother* Mahomet. VII. Muſa Chelebi* *is again maſter of* Adrianople. VIII. *is put to flight by* Soliman. IX. *who gives himſelf up to his pleaſures.* X. *He is at laſt betrayed by his friends and ſlain.* XI. Soliman's *life and manners.*

Soliman is ſaluted Emperor.

I. THE great *Bajazet* being thus taken and inclos'd in a cage, and and his eldeſt Son *Muſtapha* kill'd in the battle with the *Tartars*, his ſecond Son *Soliman Chelebi** (1), who with his Father's prime Vizir *Ali Baſha* had eſcap'd by flight, ſeeks refuge againſt his ill fortune at *Nicæa.* When he had recover'd himſelf, he croſſes the *Propontis*

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Soliman Chelebi**] The names of *Calepin*, *Cyricelebis* and *Cibelin*, given to this Prince by *Chriſtian* Writers, are neither *Turkiſh* proper names, nor ſignify any thing etymologically, unleſs they are corruptions from the word *Chelebi** as was before ſhown. But that our *Soliman* is deſign'd by theſe names, is manifeſt from this, that *Calepin*, eſcaping out of the battle againſt *Tamerlane*, was ſaluted King by his Subjects at *Adrianople*, which can agree with none but him. But altho' *Soliman* and his Brother rul'd the *Turkiſh* affairs eleven years, yet neither of them are rank'd amongſt the Emperors, or diſtinguiſh'd with the title of *Padiſhah* the uſual name of the *Sultan.* The reaſon of this is, that neither of them had the Empire entire to himſelf, but one govern'd in *Aſia*, the other in *Europe*; and both falling by mutual ſlaughters and fratricide, *Mahomet* ſeized the whole Empire, and was call'd the fifth King or Emperor.

Propontis and with a few Courtiers comes to *Adrianople*, where he is ſaluted Emperor by the remains of the *Europæan* Army.

II. Whereupon *Tamerlane* after the victory (2) entering *Pruſa*, ſends Ambaſſadors with a Letter to *Soliman*, telling him, " he is ſorry for " his father *Ildirim*'s fortune, which was not only unexpected but " ſcarce to be conceived. However theſe and the like things are by " God deſtin'd for Men blinded with pride, and ſo elated that they " deem juſt and lawful whatever is ſuggeſted by their Wills. He " himſelf indeed has hitherto been ſo fortunate that it is hardly poſ- " ſible for the mind of man to imagine a greater proſperity than His ; " but now taught by his enemy's example, he is willing of his own " accord to give a check to his good fortune before he is forc'd to ſet " bounds to it. Wherefore (provided they wou'd only acknowledge " the Conqueror's clemency,) he wou'd inſtead of an enemy be a " friend, nay a father, to *Bajazet*'s family. For he is ſatisfied with " his Conqueſts, and will never rely on the allurements of inconſtant " fortune." However prevalent with others, the flattering promiſes of a Conqueror might be, they made no impreſſion on *Soliman* who remember'd he was ſprung from a Father more us'd to give than receive law. And therefore he unworthily treats the Ambaſſadors, and ſending a proud anſwer (3) to *Tamerlane*, becomes by his unſeaſonable arrogance the occaſion of his own calamity.

Affronts *Tamerlane*'s Ambaſſadors.

III. For *Tamerlane*, when he heard *Soliman*'s anſwer, thinking favours were not to be forc'd upon the unwilling, ſends for (4) his Brother *Muſa Chelebi** and generouſly conferring the Empire on him, " Receive, (ſays he) thy father's Inheritance, for 'tis not *Kingdoms*, " but a *Kingly Mind* that I ſeek (5)". Thus *Muſa Chelebi**, when regardful of *Tamerlane's* promiſes he had departed the next day from the *Aſiatic* forces, who were ſav'd by fortune and the Conqueror's bounty, being created Sultan obtain'd the Empire of *Aſia* (6).

Muſa made Emperor of *Aſia* by *Tamerlane*.

IV. But

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) after the victory] This clearly proves that the Battle was fought not in *Meſopotamia* but *Bithynia* as was before obſerv'd.

(3) a proud anſwer] The tenor of theſe letters is not given us by the *Turkiſh* Writers, but they own that *Tamerlane* was juſtly offended with *Soliman*.

(4) ſends for] Some *Chriſtian* Writers ſay that *Muſa* taken with his Father in the battle againſt *Tamerlane*, was immediately ſet at liberty and advanc'd to the Empire. Which account we dare the leſs charge with falſity, becauſe it is certain, the *Turkiſh* Writers carefully palliate, and, if poſſible, bury in profound ſilence every circumſtance which ſeems to caſt any odious reflexion on the *Othman* Race.

(5) I ſeek] a Saying worthy of eternal praiſes, and tho' coming from the mouth of a *Barbarian*, yet no way barbarous. Nor ſince *Alexander the Great* who reſtor'd his kingdom to *Porus*, after he had vanquiſh'd him, do we any where meet with an inſtance of ſuch uncommon generoſity in giving away Kingdoms.

(6) Empire of *Aſia*] The *Chriſtian* Writers who mention *Muſa* (as *Phranza* B. I. Ch. 30.) make the Commencement of his reign, not in *Aſia*

But expell'd by *Soliman.*

IV. But his Brother's Ambition ſuffer'd him not to enjoy his Empire in peace. For *Soliman*, the moment he hears his Brother *Muſa* was made Sultan in *Aſia* by *Tamerlane*, aſſembles the *Europæan* forces (who had not ſuffer'd ſo much by the late ſlaughter) paſſes into *Aſia*, and marches directly to *Pruſa*. *Muſa Chelebi** being much inferior in ſtrength (for the *Aſiatic* Army could not in ſo ſhort a time be renew'd) is ſeiz'd with a panick fear, abandons his royal ſeat, and flying to *Caraman ogli* (7), ſtays with him ſome time. But not thinking

ANNOTATIONS.

Aſia but *Europe*, and give to *Muſul*the *Aſiatic* Empire. But as theſe Writers confound not only the Deeds but the Names of thoſe Brothers inſomuch that it cannot be gueſs'd who is meant by *Muſa*, *Iſa*, *Jeſſe*, *Kaſem*, *Ertucal*, *Calepin*, *Cibelin*, *Cyricelebis*, *Muſulman*, *Juſuph* and *Mehemed*, no body will blame us if in ſuch obſcurity of Chronology and Hiſtory, we prefer the accounts of the *Turks* to all others, as ſupported with greater perſpicuity and probability.

(7) *Caraman ogli*] The King of *Caramania* a Country of *Aſia minor* known by that name at this day. It contains the greater part of the old *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*. *Caraman*, the *Perſian* Governor here before the Invaſion of *Jengbizchan*, gave his name to the Province and its Kings, and was the firſt who uſurp'd an abſolute ſway over it, after the *Perſian* Kingdom was ſubverted by the *Tartars*, and was the moſt powerful of the Allies next to *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*. On this occaſion we cannot but take notice that *Nicephorus Gregoras*, *George Phranza*, and other *Chriſtian* Annaliſts very wrongfully refer the diviſion of the *Perſian* Provinces to the time of *Othman*, and give us tedious catalogues of theſe diviſions, which it is by no means worth while to tranſcribe. The *Turks* themſelves, who, aſſuredly, omit nothing which can be pick'd up, with the leaſt ſhadow of probability, to do honour to the *Othman* Race, deny not that the *Caramanian* Kingdom is much more antient than their own, and coæval with That of *Iconium*, out of whoſe ruins the *Othman* Empire aroſe. Moreover if (as they will have it who place this diviſion in *Othman*'s time) only that part of *Bithynia* which was ſubject to the *Perſian* (a country certainly of no great extent) fell to his ſhare, how could he in ſo ſhort a time wreſt from the *Greek* Emperors, then not ſo weaken'd, and engag'd in no foreign wars, *Nice*, *Nicomedia*, *Pruſa* and other well fortified Cities of *Aſia*, and at the ſame time carry on a war with his Neighbours and Collegues? But to ſay nothing of the other abſurdities of this Scheme, the ſeries of the Oriental Hiſtory refutes all their Fables. In the time of *Jenghiſchan* there were no other Kingdoms between the *Ægean* Sea and the *Indies*, but Thoſe of the *Romans* and *Perſians*, and of the latter great part was ſwallowed up by his arms. The Seat therefore of the *Perſian* Kingdom and theſe Provinces which extend eaſtward being overrun by the *Jenghiſchan* [*Scythians*, the Provinces which lay weſtward muſt neceſſarily have ſubmitted either to the *Jenghiſchan*, or the *Greek* Emperors, or been govern'd by their own Satrapæ. But ſince neither the one nor the other was done, nor indeed could be from the ſhortneſs of the time which the *Tartars* held *Perſia*, we muſt neceſſarily come to the *Turkiſh* accounts, and believe that the Satrapæ or Governour of thoſe Provinces, taking the advantage of theſe tumults and confuſions, ſeiz'd every man his own Province, and aſſum'd the regal title. To purſue theſe things more largely is not within our deſign, who only deſire to furniſh Thoſe with an Introduction, who ſhall at any time be deſirous to deduce more accurately the Oriental Hiſtory from its Fountain.

himſelf

himself safe, he resolves to go to *Isfindarbeg* (8), in expectation of escaping by that means falling into his brother's hands.

V. But even in this, *Musa* finds fortune averse to his endeavours, for *Isfindarbeg*, inform'd of *Musa*'s coming and intention, sends Ambassadors to him on the Borders of his Dominions, desiring him not to enter his Territories, or if he has enter'd them, instantly to depart, for he is afraid, *Soliman* will thence take occasion to overrun his whole Kingdom. Upon this, *Musa Chelebi** being in great anxiety and not knowing which way to turn, accidentally lights on a little boat near *Nicæa*, and in it passes thro' the *Propontis* into *Europe*. *Isfindarbeg* hearing of *Soliman*'s approach, acquaints him by Ambassadors, that according to his order he had forbid *Musa* to enter his borders or to see his face, by which he hop'd he had merited a confirmation of their Treaty of Friendship and Peace. *Soliman* receiving the Ambassadors very graciously, confirms the Treaty, and dismissing them, returns to *Prusa*, where contemning his Brother's attempts, he gives himself up entirely to gluttony and drunkenness (9).

He is not receiv'd by *Isfindarbeg*.

VI. Every thing succeeded to *Soliman*'s wish. His Brother *Mahomet* (10) Prince of *Amasia*, the only Person he had to fear after *Musa*'s flight, sends ambassadors to *Prusa* to salute him as Emperor in his name, and offer him noble Presents. *Soliman*, as he could not govern himself in prosperity, speaks very sharply to the Ambassadors and sends them

Soliman disregards an Ambassy from his Brother *Mahomet*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) *Isfindarbeg*] The quality and condition of this Prince is much controverted, whether he was one of these *Persian* Satrapæ so often mention'd, or a *Christian* and *Toparch* of *Castamon*, and the neighbouring Places. His Father has the *Turkish* name given him of *Kutrum Bayezid*; but his own name has no meaning in either the *Turkish*, *Persian* or *Arabian* Tongues. For these People never join two consonants together in the beginning of a word, except in such words as are of foreign extraction, as *Istambol*, *Constantinople*, and the like. I should believe him the Father or Grandfather of that *Sfentiar*, who, according to *George Phranza*, lost *Sinopium* to *Muhammed* II. in the Year of Christ 1462, of the *Hegira* 866, especially since *Castamonium*, of which he was acknowledg'd Sovereign by the *Turks*, lies in the Neighbourhood of *Sinopium*, if the destruction of *Isfindarbeg*'s dominion under *Muhammed* I. in the year of the *Hegira*, 814, was not related by the *Turkish* Annals. What is to be determined in, such an ambiguous affair, is left to the Reader's judgment.

(9) Drunkenness] The *Turks* only acknowledge three of their Emperors addicted to Wine and Drunkenness, this *Soliman* first, next Sultan *Selim*, who from thence obtained the name of *Mest*, or *drunkard* and thirdly, Sultan *Murad* Conqueror of *Babylan*: They boast of the rest as perfectly sober and rigid observers of the Law, which is likewise taken notice of in the publick Monuments.

(10) *Mahomet*] The *Turks* say that *Soliman Chelebi** and *Muhammed Chelebi** were brothers by the same mother; but that *Musa Chelebi** was indeed the Son of *Bajazet*, but by another Venter; *Muhammed* in revenge of his Brother *Soliman*'s murder unjustly committed by *Musa* made war upon him, overcame and put him to death.

away without any anſwer, which alienated from him his Brother's affection and prov'd extremely prejudicial to him in his following Calamity.

Muſa becomes maſter of *Adrianople.*

VII. Mean while *Muſa Chelebi**, having after *Iſindarbeg*'s refuſing to admit him wander'd thro' ſeveral Countries of *Europe*, ſtops at laſt in *Walachia*. There aſſembling a great number of Soldiers of his Party and aſſiſted with *Walachian* forces he re-enters the *Turkiſh* Empire and paſſing the *Danube* without oppoſition, becomes Maſter of the royal City of *Adrianople*.

He is put to flight by *Soliman.*
H. 809.
A. C 1406.

VIII. *Soliman* when he hears this, rouzing himſelf as it were out of ſleep, aſſembles in the Year 809 the *Aſiatic* Army, and paſſes into *Europe*. Neither here does *Muſa* dare to try the chance of War, but either out of a natural timorouſneſs (11) or diſtruſt of fortune, chuſes rather to fly than ſtand a battle, and ſo returns to *Walachia*.

Soliman gives himſelf up to his pleaſures.

IX. *Soliman* arrogantly aſcribes theſe good Succeſſes to his Bravery and Prudence, and not to the favour of Fortune. So thinking himſelf out of her reach, he drowns himſelf in Luxury and Drunkenneſs, adding the *European* to the *Aſiatic* vices. Military diſcipline, by which the *Othman* Empire roſe to ſuch a height, is neglected, Honours are conferr'd on Wine-ſellers and Panders, in a word, the Court has the appearance of a Brothel-Houſe rather than a School of Virtues, which cou'd not but alienate from him the Minds of the Generals and Great Men.

He is betray'd by his Friends and ſlain.

X. *Muſa Chelebi**, who ſtill remain'd among the *Walachians*, thinking he ought to turn his Brother's Intemperance to his advantage, privately ſends meſſengers with letters to exaſperate the Great Men, who, offended at *Soliman*'s Actions, are eaſily perſwaded to revolt, whilſt he, buried in luxury knows nothing of it. Whereupon *Muſa* re-aſſembles an Army and with long marches comes to *Adrianople*. There he finds his Brother unprepar'd and ignorant of what paſs'd abroad, who when he could neither draw his forces together, nor any other way repel the unexpected enemy, reſolves as the only courſe in his deſperate ſtate to ſave his life by flight, and implore the aſſiſtance of the *Greek* Emperor at *Conſtantinople*. Accordingly he almoſt ſeem'd to have eſcap'd the Enemy's ſword and to be out of danger, having got twenty miles on his journey before he was purſued. But he whom fortune wou'd have ſav'd, is betray'd by his favorite vice. For thoughtleſs of his affairs, when according to cuſtom he made himſelf drunk at every houſe, and in his cups deſpis'd his Brother's power, he is taken in a Bath (in a certain Village (12) between *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*) and

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Timorouſneſs] It is matter of aſtoniſhment to the *Turks* that *Soliman* immers'd in every vice was ſo ſucceſsful in his affairs whilſt *Muſa*, endow'd with ſo many virtues, was very unfortunate in war, ſo that either out of puſillanimity or caution, he never durſt come to a pitch'd battle.

(12) Village] Its name is not extant in any Annals. Nevertheleſs it ſeems to have been *Chorlo** the *Tyrilois* of the Ancients, or ſome Village in the neigbour-

and ſlain by one of *Muſa*'s Soldiers (13). His Body is brought to his Brother, who tho' glad of his rival's death, orders it to be buried at the Sepulchre of his Grandfather *Murad*, call'd *Chodavendkiar*.

His Character.

XI. *Soliman* governed the *Turkiſh* Affairs ſeven Years and ten Months. He was a young Man far exceeding all the reſt both in good and bad qualities, a valiant and moſt fortunate General, of an invincible mind, a Prince of great clemency and generoſity, on the contrary, when he came to relax, and imagin'd he had nothing to fear, he degenerated into vice, and ſunk into luxury, by which means, he was not only deſerted by his conſtant companion Fortune, but forfeited the deep-rooted affection of his People and Great Men, and turn'd it to *Muſa*. This was the cauſe that with his proſperity he quickly loſt both his life and reputation, and ſullied with his Vices (14) the *Othman* race which had been render'd illuſtrious by his Virtues.

ANNOTATIONS.

neighbourhood of it, becauſe that is twenty two miles from *Conſtantinople*, and equally diſtant from *Adrianople*.

(13) Soldiers] Some *Chriſtian* Writers relate that *Soliman*, or, as they call him, *Cyricelebi*, intent upon an expedition againſt the *Deſpot* of *Servia* departed this life. But they ſeem to confound him with his Brother *Muſa*, who wag'd war againſt *Sigiſmund* King of *Hungary* and the *Servians*. We therefore deem the *Turkiſh* account neareſt the truth.

(14) Vices] The *Turks* only acknowledge five of their Emperors to have been remarkably addicted to vice, namely, the three before-mentioned in this Chapter, with *Muſtapha* I. who unfit to govern, was twice advanc'd to the Throne, and twice depos'd, and *Ibrahim*, boundleſs in his luſt, and for that reaſon after a ſhort reign depos'd and ſtrangled. Of all the reſt, the *Turks* make honourable mention, and boaſt of their virtues as ſuperior to all deſcription: and even in thoſe whom they ſpeak reproachfully of, they ſay that it is the vices, not the Emperors, that they blame.

The End of the *Interregnum* under SOLIMAN.

12 AP 58

INTER-

INTERREGNUM Under *MUSA CHELEBI** Son of SULTAN BAJAZET.

BOOK II. CHAP. II.

I. Muſa *in* Europe, II. *and* Mahomet *in* Aſia *created Emperors,* III. *divide the Empire between them.* IV. Muſa *advances towards the* Morea. V. *Routs the* Hungarians. VI. Mahomet *turns his Arms againſt* Muſa, VII. *and drives him into* Servia. VIII. Muſa *aſſiſted by the* Servians *takes* Adrianople, IX. *againſt whom* Mahomet *leads his Army.* X. *He is honourably receiv'd by the* Greek *Emperor,* XI. *and is ſaluted Emperor by the* Europæans. XII. *He conquers takes and kills his Brother.* XIII. *Why call'd an* Interregnum ?

Muſa is ſaluted Emperor in *Europe,*

I. *MUSA CHELEBI** after having undergone many hardſhips, thro' various Scenes of Fortune and Battles fought with great ardor arrives at a Crown, and on his brother *Soliman*'s death is ſaluted Emperor at *Adrianople* by the whole *Europæan* Army.

and *Mahomet* in *Aſia.*

II. Whilſt theſe things are tranſacting in *Europe*, *Mahomet* Lord of *Amaſia*, *Soliman*'s uterine brother, but *Muſa*'s by another mother (1), hearing of *Soliman*'s murder, aſſembles in order to revenge the fratricide, as many forces as he can, and ſeizes *Pruſa*, where he is created

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Another mother.] That he was Brother of *Soliman Chelebi** and Son of *Bajazet* by another Venter is out of all diſpute. Here indeed is introduced by foreign Writers *Orchan* Son of *Calepin* or *Soliman*, and ſaid to be ſlain by his Uncle *Moiſes* [or *Muſa Chelebi**] at the river *Hebrus* which waſhes *Adrianople*. But the falſity of theſe Stories is ſufficiently expos'd by the teſtimonies of the domeſtic Writers, who know nothing of any *Orchan* Son of theſe Parents. They tell us that *Muſa Chelebi** was taken Priſoner by a Soldier of *Muhammed*'s of the regiment called *Seraje*, and put to death by the order of his brother, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Emperor

Emperor by his Army. But being taught by the example of his unfortunate brother, he applies himſelf to ſettle the *Aſiatic* affairs before he publiſhed his reſolution to dethrone *Muſa*. For ſince *Tamerlane's* Expedition, *Aſia* weaken'd by the *Tartars*, had been invaded by ſo many and ſuch ſtrong bands of robbers and infeſted with conſtant incurſions, that her former wounds could by no means be heal'd. Theſe plunderers *Mahomet Chelebi** vigorouſly attacks, routs, kills and takes, and ſo with great fame reſtores peace to *Aſia*.

III. His Exploits reaching *Adrianople* ſtruck ſuch terror into *Muſa Chelebi** that inſtead of claiming his father's whole Empire as he had reſolv'd, he was now afraid of loſing what he poſſeſſed, and durſt not contend with his brother. Wherefore to divert *Mahomet* from any thoughts of revenging his brother's murder, he offers by Ambaſſadors to reſign to him all *Aſia* and promiſes to be contented with the *Europæan* dominions. They divide the Empire.

IV. And that he might remove from his brother all ſuſpicion, he turns in the year 814 his arms againſt the Chriſtians, and finding the fortune of war, which he had ever dreaded, more favorable, takes in the *Morea* the Towns of *Peraverd* and *Matrune*, where having plac'd garriſons he ſends his army into winter quarters. *Muſa* invades the *Morea*; H. 814. Ch. 1411.

V. *Muſa*, exalted with the ſucceſs of this year's expedition, attempts greater things the next year and aſſembling a ſtronger Army, marches againſt the *Hungarians* (2), govern'd at that time by King *Sigiſmund*. Theſe near the City *Samandria* ſituated not far from the *Danube*, he attacks and defeats in ſuch manner that ſcarce a man is left to carry news of the ſlaughter. It is ſaid, nothing incumber'd the enemy ſo much as the immenſe riches they brought with them. For ſuch a quantity of gold and ſilver is reported to be found in their tents after the victory, that the Janizaries meaſured the money in Bowls and Hats, and the reſt of the ſpoils ſupplied the charge of building a large Temple (3) called *Jami Atyk*, the foundations whereof were laid the ſame year. Routs the *Hungarians*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Hungarians*] *Philip Lonicerus* (with almoſt all the *Chriſtian* Writers) aſcribes this expedition to *Cyricelebi* or *Soliman*, Tom. I. p. 28. He tells us that *Cyricelebi* rais'd forces ſufficient to infeſt the neighbouring *Bulgarians*, *Servians* and *Macedonians*, in a tumultuous Incurſion: That to check his attempts *Sigiſmond* King of *Hungary* aſſiſted by the *Bulgarians* and *Bohemians*, led out a numerous Army againſt him, and engag'd him in a bloody battle at *Columbacium*, a Town of the *Servians* near *Samandria*, not far from the *Iſter*, in the year of *Chriſt* 1409. This Battle the *Turks* aſſign to the year of their *Hegira* 815 or 1412 of *Chriſt*. But ſince the *Turkiſh* Annals expreſsly aſcribe this expedition to *Muſa Chelebi**, this error alſo ſeems to be owing to the confuſion of Names.

(3) a large Temple] This likewiſe confirms our opinion. For an *Inſcription* on the gate of this *Moſch*, call'd at this day *Jami Atyk*, or the *Old Jami*, teſtifies that it was begun by *Muſa Chelebi** out of the ſpoils taken in that battle, and dedicated to God as a perpetual Monument of his Victory.

Mahomet turns his Arms againſt *Muſa*,

VI. Hitherto fortune had ſmil'd on *Muſa*, but was ſoon going to frown on him. For to no other cauſe can be aſcrib'd the calamity which befell *Muſa Chelebi**, otherwiſe a Prince of an excellent diſpoſition, great juſtice and moderation. About this time, his Prime Vizir *Korſhab Muluk* (4) and the famous General *Ornusbeg* (5) without any provocation revolt to *Mahomet* and by private letters ſignify to him "that the *Othman* Empire ſomething weaken'd by civil diſſenſions "wou'd not bear to be govern'd by two Heads (6), and that the whole "Army ſeeing *Muſa*'s timorous nature, were of opinion the Empire "ſhould be confer'd on him alone. If therefore he would haſten into "*Europe* with his forces they promis'd to deliver to him not only the "whole Army, but his father's Throne."

and drives him into *Servia*.

VII. *Mahomet Chelebi** at the receipt of theſe letters inſtantly prepares to paſs into *Rumelia*. On the other hand, *Muſa* incourag'd by his late ſucceſſes, diligently aſſembles his Army, in order to ſecure the Straits of *Callipolis* before his brother's arrival. But finding his Generals only made a ſhow of fighting, and that nothing was done as he deſired, perceiving moreover the treachery of his Men, in the very heat of the battle, privately withdraws out of the field, and eſcapes into *Lazvilaieti* †. *Mahomet*, prevented by the Seaſon from proceeding any farther and eſtabliſhing his Empire, returns with his army to winter at *Pruſa*.

† Or *Servia*.

Muſa aſſiſted by the *Servians* takes *Adrianople*.

VIII. *Muſa Chelebi** aſſiſted by his old friend the Prince of *Servia* (7)

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Korſhab Muluk*] *Muluk* ſeems to be his proper name. *Kor Shah* in the *Perſian* language ſignifies a *blind* or *one-ey'd Prince*. Hence it may be concluded, that he was a *Perſian*, tho' it is not certain.

(5) *Ornusbeg*] Or as others read, *Evrenus* †. Foreign Writers give a fabulous account of this name, which ſee in the Preface. It ſeems to be no *Turkiſh* name, but corrupted from the *Latin Honorius*, which it is known was the name of a *Greek* Emperor. If this were prov'd, we muſt believe that *Ornus* was once either himſelf a *Chriſtian*, or born of *Chriſtian* Parents, who abjuring his Religion, embrac'd the *Mahometan* Superſtition. However this be, the *Turkiſh* Annals are full of his Heroic Actions.

(6) By two Heads] They had no good reaſon for their revolt from *Muſa Chelebi**, a juſt and merciful Prince. They pretended therefore a ſingular concern for the ſafety of the *Othman* Empire, whoſe ruin they, as good and faithful Counſellors, were to provide againſt, by electing the moſt worthy of the Brothers, and ſo putting an end to the Schiſm. But what Traytor will ever want a colour for his perfidy before he reduces it to action?

(7) Prince of *Servia*] The *Turkiſh* Writers ſeldom give us the names of *Chriſtian* Princes in their Narrations, but commonly ſignify them by their Dominions, as, *Majar Kyrali* King of *Hungary*. *Nemche** *Kyrali* King of *Germany*. *Rum Tekkuri* Emperor of the *Greeks*, &c. But it is gathered from *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians that this was *George*, *Deſpot* of *Servia*, whoſe two Sons *Murad* II, depriv'd afterwards of their Eyes, having married the Daughter before.

[† The *Engliſh* Reader may perhaps wonder how *Ornus* can be read *Evrenus*, but it muſt be obſerv'd that this word in *Turkiſh* begins with an *Elif* and *Vav*, which may expreſs either *o* or *ev*, conſequently by inſerting an *e* after the *r*, *Ornus* becomes *Evrenus*.]

with

with warlike Stores and Forces, returns the ſame winter, into his Empire, and becomes maſter of *Adrianople* deſtitute of a garriſon. There he finds *Korſhah* and *Ornusbeg*, deſignedly left by *Mahomet* in *Europe*, and either becauſe he ſaw they could not effect their intentions, or out of his merciful temper, pardons and receives them into favour.

IX. But what has eſtabliſh'd the Kingdoms of other Princes, prov'd his deſtruction, whilſt he unſeaſonably ſhows Mercy to the ungrateful, and *Muſa* by a repeated example has demonſtrated, that an enemy is ſooner to be truſted than a newly reconcil'd friend. For theſe Generals, unmindful of the favours beſtowed on them, and perhaps ſpurr'd on by the fear of future puniſhments, invite *Mahomet* again to ſeize the Empire, who coming from *Nicæa* with a greater Army, paſſes the *Boſphorus* by the *Greek* Empetor's permiſſion (8) under the very Walls of *Conſtantinople* (9). against whom *Mahomet* leads his Army.

X. The ſame day he enters *Conſtantinople*, and is receiv'd by the Emperor in a very honorable manner, and preſented with rich preſents worthy the Giver and Receiver. After which, on the third day, he purſues his march to *Adrianople*. He is honorably received by the *Greek* Emperor,

XI. He had ſcarce been two days (10) from *Conſtantinople*, when he is met by *Shah Muluk* and *Ornusbeg*, who had withdrawn in the night from *Adrianople*. They immediately fall proſtrate at his feet, and ſaluted Emperor by the *Europæans*.

Annotations.

(8) Emperour's permiſſion] His name is not expreſs'd by the *Turks*, who only call him *Iſtambol Kaiſari*. But it may be inferr'd from the time, that it was *Manuel Palæologus*.

(9) Walls of *Conſtantinople*] The paſſage of this *Muhammed Chelebi** thro' *Conſtantinople*, and the honours pay'd him there are not mentioned by any *Greek* or *Latin* Writer, except *George Phranza*, who after his cuſtom confounds this *Muhammed Chelebi** with *Soliman*. What credit the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians deſerve is left to the Reader to judge.

(10) Two days] It was either the Town of *Epibatæ*, twelve hours diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, and the Seat of the great General *Apocaucus*, the moſt implacable enemy of *John Cantacuzenus*, or *Sylebria*, about the ſame place, and two hours nearer to *Conſtantinople*, in which are ſeen at this day pompous ruins of Palaces, which *Gregoras* ſays belong'd to *John Cantacuzenus*. In theſe ruins, under a great heap of Stones, I found on a piece of Porphyry a foot and a half ſquare, ingraven the Statue of a Woman ſitting upon a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, crown'd with Laurel, her hair flowing as if thrown back by the wind, a Palm in her right hand, and in her left the reins of the horſes, with this Inſcription, δῦς ἀφιεροῦται Ὀλυμπ. ξδ. The name is unhappily loſt, either by age, or in the heap of the ruins, her noſe and right ear are mutilated, all the other parts are entire. The Antiquity of the Stone was ſufficiently manifeſted by the notation of the 64th *Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before *Chriſt*. I preſerved that Monument in my *Palace* in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* on the *Boſphorus*, built in a place the moſt agreeable that can be imagined. But I hear that ſince my departure, it fell with the whole Palace, and the other Monuments into the hands of the Daughter of *Sultan Ahmed*.

and

and kiſſing, according to cuſtom, the ground (11), ſalute him Emperor in the name of the *Europæan* Army.

He conquers and takes his Brothers.

XII. *Muſa Chelebi** deſerted by his own people, and deſtitute of counſels and forces, thinks of repairing to his old Sanctuary *Servia*. But he is ſcarce out of the Suburbs with a few attendants, when he is ſurprized by *Mahomet*, who was come before with a ſelect band of Soldiers. Deſpair rendering him valiant, ſince he finds he muſt conquer or die, he draws up his people and fights with great bravery, Valour however giving way to numbers, when he ſees his attendants vanquiſh'd and diſpers'd, he himſelf alſo takes to flight, with intent to proſecute his deſign. But not far from the City he is overtaken by a horſeman of the Regiment call'd *Seraje* (12), and brought alive to his brother, who inſtantly puts him to death, he having adminiſtred the *Turkiſh* affairs in *Europe* three years and six months (13). *Mahomet*

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Kiſſing the ground] No mortal is thought worthy to kiſs the hand of the Emperor. So that if the Prime Viſir comes into his Preſence, either going to or returning from an Expedition, thrice bending his right knee, he puts his right hand to the ground, and then applies it to his mouth and forehead. He does the ſame when he withdraws. It is likewiſe the cuſtom to walk not with a ſlow, but with a ſwift pace in preſence of the Emperor. For a ſlow pace ſhews ſomething of Majeſty, which is thought to have too much preſumption in ſo ſublime a Preſence.

(12) *Seraje*] It was the firſt and oldeſt Regiment or Legion of Horſe amongſt the *Arabians* and *Turks*, from which the word *Saracen* ſeems to be corrupted. For of any *Arabian* Nation by that name there is no mention in their Annals, nor has *Saracen* either in the *Arabic*, *Perſian* or *Turkiſh* Languages any meaning. Into the place of *Seraje* the *Spahi* have ſucceeded, as into that of the *Segban*, or ancient Foot the *Janiſaries*. To this day the Foot under the *Baſha's* are call'd *Segban*, the Horſe *Seraje*. But this word is derived from the *Perſian Seranjam*, i. e. *oppos'd to danger*, or *over whoſe head danger hangs*, compounded of *Ser*, the *Head*, and *enjam*, *Danger*, or any *unfortunate accident*. As *baſhime gelan Seranjam*, *Danger*, or ſome *unhappy event* which hangs over my head. There is at this day another body of *Turkiſh* forces call'd *Serden Gechdi**, or the *forlorn Hope*, whoſe Inſtitutions ſhall be ſpoke to hereafter. *Segban* is likewiſe a *Perſian* word, and ſignifies *Keeper of the Dogs*. For *Seg* in the *Perſian* Language is a *Dog*, *ban*, *a Keeper*; as *Bagiban*, *Keeper of the Vines*, *Rubban*, *Keeper of good Ways*, by which name they denote the *Greek* Monks, as *Rubban Zabiduzabid pereſt*, a *ſuperſtitious (or abſtemious) Monk*, and obſerver of Superſtition.

(13) Six months] The number of the years aſſign'd by *Chriſtian* Writers to theſe three Sons of *Bajazet* agrees not at all with the *Turkiſh* account. The *Chriſtians* ſay that *Soliman* reign'd ſix years, *Orchan*, *Muſa* the pretended Uncle of *Orchan*, and *Mahomet* fourteen together. But the *Turks* aſſign ſeven years and ten months to *Soliman*, three years ſix months to *Muſa*, and to *Mahomet* alone, eight years ten months, which added together make twenty years two months. It is evident that the *Chriſtians* relying on no authority, have given to *Mahomet* that time in which his brothers alſo reign'd. The computation of *Phranza*, who aſſigns only three years to the civil diſſentions of the brothers, has been already taken notice of.

amply

amply rewards (14) the Soldier's diligence, makes him one of his Counſellors, and at laſt advances him to the Prime Vizirſhip. This man became afterwards a famous General among the *Turks*, and erected a noble *Medreſe* at *Callipolis*.

XIII. Before we proceed, it will be proper to obſerve that neither of theſe Princes whoſe Lives we have been relating, is acknowledged for Emperor by the *Turks*, but that whole ſpace is called an *Interregnum*. The reaſon they alledge is, that neither *Soliman Chelebi**, nor *Muſa Chelebi**, ever poſſeſs'd the whole *Othman* Empire, but whilſt one rul'd in *Europe*, the other always reign'd in *Aſia*. Wherefore neither do they reckon the three foregoing years, in which *Muſa Chelebi** was yet alive, to *Mahomet*'s (15) reign, but fix the beginning of it to the year of the *Hegira* 816, in which *Muſa Chelebi** as we ſaid, was put to death by his brother's command. Why call'd an *Interregnum*? H. 816. Ch. 1413.

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) Amply rewards] As a reward, they ſay, he was admitted amongſt the privy counſellors called *Muſahib*, and afterwards advanc'd to Prime Vizir. There is at this day at *Callipolis* in the Cittadel a fine building ſaid to be from him, called *Bagazbiſar*, as likewiſe a Market place at *Conſtantinople* called *Seraje Paſha*, which ſeems to have deriv'd its name from him or his Son: For there is no other eminent Baſha of that name amongſt the *Turks*.

(15) *Mahomet*] It muſt be obſerv'd, that during the life of *Mahomet*, *Muſa* took the appellation of *Chelebi** only, but after his death he was call'd Sultan. The eleven years and four months in which his brothers held the Sceptre, are only an *Interregnum* with the *Turks*.

The End of the *Interregnum* under MUSA CHELEBI*.

The REIGN of
MAHOMET I.
Son of BAJAZET,
AND
Fifth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK II. CHAP. III.

I. Mahomet *created Emperor of* Asia. II. *Clears his Dominions of Robbers.* III. Musa *being killed, he obtains the whole Empire.* IV. *Attacks* Caraman ogli. V. *Makes Peace with him.* VI. *Attacks him again, guilty of breach of faith, and forgives him.* VII. *Subdues* Isfindarbeg. VIII. *Makes the* Walachians *tributary.* IX. *A false* Mustapha *appears in* Asia, X. *who is vanquish'd and hang'd.* XI. Mahomet's *death conceal'd by* Ibrahim Chan. XII. *His Character.*

Mahomet created Emperor of *Asia.*

I. THO' we have related in the foregoing Chapter, *Mahomet*'s (1) actions whilst his Brothers were alive, a recapitulation will be necessary for the better carrying on the thread of the History. The common saying, that *whilst two are contending for a thing a third comes and runs away with it*, was verified by this Emperor. For whilst his elder Brothers excited by ambition and an immoderate thirst of dominion, were fighting for the Kingdom, and by civil dissensions wasting their forces, with which, had they been friends, they might not only

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ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mahomet*] The first Emperor of the *Turks* of this name. It is a doubt amongst some *Christian* Writers whether he was the Son of *Bajazet*, or his Grandson by *Soliman*; but since the *Turkish* Writers almost unanimously make him the Son of *Bajazet*, the thing seems to me out of all dispute. Of his first name *Muhammed Chelebi** I have spoke in another place.

have

C. Du Bosc sculp.

MAHOMET. I.
Son of Bajazet, fifth Emperor of ye Turks,
in the Year 1413.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

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have defended their borders but enlarged their Empire, he remain'd quiet in *Amaſia* of which he was Prince, intent only upon clearing his Provinces of the plundering *Tartars*, and reſtoring peace and tranquillity to his People. For the ſake of which, when he heard his eldeſt Brother *Soliman* was eſcap'd out of the battle by means of *Alipaſha*, *Bajazet*'s prime Vizir, and created Emperor at *Adrianople*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to congratulate him and promiſe in his name all faithfulneſs and ſubjection. But afterwards being told that *Soliman* was taken by *Muſa* and kill'd, he reſolves to expiate fratricide with fratricide (2) and leaving the Arts of peace which he had hitherto exercis'd, ſeizes *Pruſa*, where in 813 he is declar'd Emperor by his People.

II. Things ſucceeded thus proſperouſly, it was by many thought adviſeable to carry war into *Europe*, but the politick *Mahomet* was of another opinion. For tho' by the good Succeſs, he had hitherto been attended with, he knew his ſubjects to be well-affected to him, yet he eaſily ſaw, if he ſhould now attack his brother *Muſa*, it would both incourage the plundering *Tartars* not yet quite expell'd, and render the future war more difficult with an enemy prepar'd to receive him. On the other hand, if he conceal'd his intention, and deferr'd his deſigns till a more convenient ſeaſon, he ſhou'd more eaſily ſubdue both his *Aſiatic* and *European* Enemies. Wherefore the ſame year he obtain'd the Empire, he unexpectedly ſurprizes, takes and beheads *Cara deulet Shah* (3) the only ſurviving leader of the *Tamerlanian Tartars*, who relying on the Emperor's abſence, was deſtroying with fire and ſword the Countries about *Amaſia*. The reſt of the Plunderers are kill'd and diſpers'd, ſo that in a ſhort time, peace is reſtor'd to his dominions.

Clears his Dominions of Robbers.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) Fratricide] Altho' the *Turks* allow that their Emperor may kill every day fourteen of his Subjects with impunity and without impeachment of Tyranny, becauſe (ſay they) He does many things by divine impulſe, the reaſon of which is not permitted them to know: Yet Fratricide and Parricide under whatever pretences committed have never been approved by them. And in the two firſt ages of the *Othman* Empire, they think the Brothers and Kinſmen of their Emperors were never juſtly put to death by Them, unleſs for rebellions in their *Sanjacs*, or when it was done with the conſent of their Nobles. But in the third age theſe *Sanjacs* were taken away by *Soliman*, memorable for his fruitleſs ſiege of *Vienna*, and it was ordained by law, that the Emperor's relations, ſhould not be kill'd, but to prevent conſpiracies, cloſely confin'd. Altho' after that law by the connivance of Fathers or Brothers ſome of the Sons of Sultans retain'd their *Sanjac*; yet now all that diſtribution of Apannages has entirely ceas'd, and the Sons of the Sultans, according to the humour of the Prince upon the Throne, are more ſtrictly confin'd as *Soliman* II, and *Ahmed* II, or with leſs rigor as under *Muſtapha*, the preſent Sultan *Ahmed* III. The place of their confinement is the imperial Palace.

(3) *Cara deulet Shah*] A name compounded of *cara*, *black*, and *deulet*, *happy*, (which at this day is us'd by the *Tartars* not the *Turks*,) and *Shah* King or Lord.

III. *Aſia*

He kills *Muſa*, and is ſole Emperor. H. 816. A. C. 1413.

III. *Aſia* being thus in tranquillity, at the inſtigation of his Great Men, he paſſes into *Europe* in the year 816, and having taken and put to death his brother *Muſa*, is proclaim'd at *Adrianople* Emperor of all the *Alothman* dominions, in the 39th year of his age. At the ſame time he orders the *Eskijami* founded in that City by *Muſa*, to be finiſh'd.

He is attack'd by *Caraman ogli*,

IV. Whilſt *Mahomet* is thus employ'd in *Europe*, an unexpected flame is kindled in *Aſia*. For *Caraman ogli* thinking himſelf able to cruſh the *Othman* Power (which he had always look'd upon with a jealous eye) whilſt the Emperor is buſied in his *Europæan* wars, aſſembles his forces, and laying waſte all *Bithynia*, encamps under *Pruſa*, burns the Suburbs, and cloſely beſieges the City itſelf one and thirty days. *Mahomet* hearing this, paſſes his army into *Aſia* by the Straits of *Callipolis* to chaſtize his inſolence, and to that end ſtrengthens his forces with thoſe of *Sabbeg* and *German ogli*.

who ſues for peace,

V. But the perfidious *Caraman ogli* could hardly withſtand the fame, much leſs the ſword of *Mahomet*. For being inform'd of his coming, he inſtantly departs from *Pruſa*, and chuſing to hazard his honor rather than his life, puts on the *Neckerchief* (4), and humbly entering the Emperor's Camp, confeſſes his fault on his knees and begs pardon. The Emperor's clemency ſuffer'd him not to refuſe it, and therefore receiving him into favour on certain conditions, he returns to *Pruſa*, where he the next year orders to be erected, a large *Jami*, *Imaret* and *Madrèſe*, with a very ſpacious *Chan* (or Exchange for the uſe of merchants) being reſolv'd to inlarge by peace the Empire obtain'd by war.

which he breaks, and is vanquiſh'd and pardon'd.

VI. But *Caraman*'s perfidiouſneſs, did not yet ſuffer the Emperor to be quiet. For hearing that *Mahomet*'s victorious forces were diſmiſs'd, he breaks the treaty without cauſe, and invades the *Othman* Empire. *Mahomet* full of Indignation, inſtantly meets him with a ſelect Party, and attacking him, puts him to flight, tho' he fought with great bravery. *Caraman* with his Son are taken priſoners, and being

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(4) *Neckerchief*] A *Turkiſh* Phraſe ſignifying Surrender, or a Petition for grace and favour, called *Aman*, from whence the ſaying *bogazine Mahrama taktdi*, *he put on the neckerchief*, i. e. he declar'd himſelf his future Subject. The law exempts ſuch from puniſhment according to the præſcript of the ſentence or *Fetua*, *Egilan baſh kiſil mez*, *let not the bended head be ſtruck off*, unleſs where the number of Priſoners is ſo large that danger may be feared from Them, or where the irruption of an enemy prevents their being carried off. In either of theſe caſes they may be kill'd with impunity to leſſen the number of *Chriſtians*. Thus if any *Muſulman* has married a captive *Chriſtian* Woman, he may not lie with her out of the limits of the Empire, as well becauſe while he is on hoſtile ground, the event is yet uncertain, as becauſe if by any accident ſhe ſhould make her eſcape before ſhe is brought to-bed, there is danger that the child will be brought up in the Chriſtian Religion, which with them paſſes for a mortal Sin.

brought

brought before the Emperor, he is thus reproach'd by him for his breach of faith: "I, says he, no less just than victorious, will and "command Thee, unjust and vanquish'd to be slay'd: for it is incon-"sistent with the imperial Honor to return like for like to Wicked and "profligate Men. It was thy part to commit the treachery suggested "by thy mind, and it is mine to act agreeably to my Majesty and Mag-"nanimity (5). Thus reprimanded he dismisses him, and restores him his Provinces, only placing Garrisons in *Sterniçar*, *Nukseçar*, *Eniçhehri*, *Sediçhehri*, *Numad*, *Saidut* and *Ain*.

who is taken and hanged.

VII. *Caraman* being thus kept in awe, *Mahomet* thinking it proper to chastize *Iſfendarbeg* Prince of *Caſtamoni*, his Ally in the Conſpiracy, turns his Arms againſt him, and takes the principal and beſt fortified Towns of the Countries of *Caſtamoni* and *Janik*. The next year with a greater Army, he ſubjects to his dominion *Buri*, *Tige*, *Toſia*, *Kaſſr-kureſs* with *Changyri** where *Iſfendarbeg* reſided, and diſtributes that Prince's great Treaſures among the Soldiers (6). At the ſame time he builds a ſtately Palace at *Amaſia* (7).

Iſfendarbeg vanquiſh'd and put to death.

H. 824. A. C. 1421.

VIII. After weakening all his Enemies in *Aſia*, *Mahomet* aſſembles his *Europæan* and *Aſiatic* forces, and departs from *Pruſa* to *Adrianople*. From thence he marches againſt the *Walachians*, routs their Army, lays waſte great part of the Province, takes *Severin* (8), where is a bridge ſaid to be built by *Trajan*, and the Caſtles *Sakcbe** and *Cale* (9),

Mahomet makes the *Walachians* tributary.

H. 820. A. C. 1418.

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(5) Magnanimity] It will perhaps be aſtoniſhing to ſome to find ſo much clemency, and a mind ſo truly royal in a *Barbarian* Prince: but it has long paſs'd into a Proverb, *that* Greece *is no longer in* Greece, and *that as many* Barbarians greecize, *as* Greeks barbarize. For I call not them *Greeks* who are born in *Greece*, but thoſe who have transferred the *Grecian* Learning and Inſtitutions to themſelves. It is juſtly ſaid by *Iſocrates* in one of his Panegyricks, *I had rather call them* Græcians *who are Partakers of our Diſcipline, than thoſe who only ſhare with us the ſame common birth and nature.*

(6) among the Soldiers.] It is cuſtomary with the *Turkiſh* Emperors to promiſe their Soldiers all the Goods of the Enemy unleſs the City is taken by ſurrender, the Walls only and the Government of it reſerv'd to Themſelves. It is not to be expreſſed what fire this gives to Men naturally greedy of Plunder and Rapine.

(7) at *Amaſia*] He ſeems to have erected this Palace at *Amaſia* not to fix the Seat of his Empire there, but only for a place of retirement and diverſion. The Seat of the Sultans never was there, it having been only as Apennage (as they call it) for younger Princes.

(8) *Severin*] A Tower now decay'd by time, and retaining its name perhaps from ſome *Roman* Preſect, or other Prince of the ſame name its Founder. In the place where it is now ſeen, *Trajan*, when he march'd againſt the *Scythians* threw a Stone Bridge over the *Danube* of admirable Workmanſhip, whoſe Foundations appear at this day in the bottom of the River. I ſhall enlarge more upon this in my deſcription of *Moldavia*.

(9) *Cale*] No City of this name is now to be met with in theſe Regions. But as it is plac'd between *Sakcbe** and *Girgiow* Towns upon the *Danube*, the firſt bordering upon *Walachia*, the latter upon *Moldavia*, I imagine the Town *Taia* or the Caſtle *Tulcbe** to be intended by it.

situate on the other side the *Danube*, and fortifies *Girgiow* with new Works and a good Garrison, so that the *Walachians* could not any more pass the *Danube*. Pent up in this manner, and press'd by the sword of the Enemy and the want of warlike Stores, despairing also to preserve their liberty, they purchase their safety with the promise of an annual tribute (10), for the performance whereof the Sons of the Prince and of three Great Men are given to the Emperor in hostage. After which he returns to *Adrianople*.

A false *Mustapha* appears in *Asia*.

IX. The fruits of these victories obtain'd with so much blood and labour were like to be wrested from *Mahomet*, by the fraudulent hand of an Impostor (11). At this time were rais'd in *Asia* great tumults by a man of low fortune belonging to the family of a certain petty Prince, *Peder Ulleayn* (12). *Mustapha*, eldest Son of *Bajazet* fell, (as we have related) in the battle with *Tamerlane*; but it was said to be uncertain whether he was carried away captive, or slain with the sword of the Enemy. The Person above-mention'd falsely assum'd the name of Prince *Mustapha*, and being assisted by the advice of *Peder Ulleayn*, gather'd together a numerous band of profligate Men, with whom he laid waste *Zagara* (13), and the neighbouring Countries. The next Spring attempting greater things, he besieg'd *Nicæa*, and perswaded the Inhabitants to join in the Rebellion.

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(10) annual tribute) It cannot be denied that the *Walachians* are subject to the *Turks* by right of Arms, and therefore the Salt-pits and Customs were not long ago used to be sold out of the Imperial Exchequer. But the annual Tribute being increased under Prince *Matthew* to 40000 Imperial Crowns, they were restor'd to the Principality. But the *Moldavians* who voluntarily put themselves under the Protection of the *Turks*, as low as the time of one *Peter* Surnam'd *Kares* only made a *Bairam Pisheshi*, or, as we should say, an *Easter Offering* of 4000 gold crowns, twenty falcons, and forty bred mares. In his time the *Turks* demanding rigorously the *Jeziye* or *Haraj*, or a great Sum of money in the name of a Tribute, *Peter*'s answer was, that he cou'd indeed resign the Principality, but to change a Present into a Tribute, or make any addition to the money to be offered to the Emperor was out of his power. But when in the extremity of his affairs he had retir'd into *Transilvania*, the *Turks* obtain'd their demands, and appointing a Successor to Him, so enlarg'd them by degrees that the unhappy *Moldavians*, besides 75000 Imperial crowns, are oblig'd to pay 50000 *Leonines* in lieu of the *Jeziye Mali*, or the *Easter-Offering*.

(11) Impostor] He is not the Impostor *Mustapha*, whom the *Christian* Writers make to have rebell'd in the time of *Murad* II, encourag'd by assistance from the *Greek* Emperor. For this made his appearance in *Rumelia*, otherwise call'd *Romania*, the other in *Asia*, being a *Plebeian* and subject of one of the *Persian Reguli* or petty Sovereigns.

(12) *Peder Ulleayn*] Seems to be one of the petty Sovereigns who revolted from the *Persians* in the time of *Jengbizcham*.

(13) *Zagara*] A Town of *Asia minor* different from that placed near *Philippolis* in *Europe*, and call'd the *Eski Zagara* or old *Zagara*.

X. This

X. This Sedition daily increasing, seem'd to threaten great mischiefs to the *Othman* Empire; especially as *Peder Ulleyni*, its deceiver, was seen to reverence his Servant as his Lord. Wherefore the Emperor thinking it of the utmost importance to the Ottoman state to stifle the rebellion in its birth, immediately leads his forces from *Adrianople* into *Asia*, and finds the Impostor still intent on the Siege of *Nicea*. The Counterfeit *Mustapha* raising the Siege boldly marches with his Followers against *Mahomet*, but at the first Charge is vanquish'd by the Imperial Army, and put to flight. Part are slain, and part taken, among whom the Impostor with his Lord *Semidine oglí* (14), attones for his crime on the Gallows. who is taken and hanged.

XI. The rebellion being thus quell'd, *Mahomet* in the year 824, takes *Eski Gelibolí* (15), *Tarsia*, and *Herge*. Returning from this Expedition he is seiz'd with a flux, of which he died. He had appointed by Will his eldest Son *Murad* for Successor. But as *Murad* was then waging war with part of the Army in *Rumelia* (16), the prime Vizir *Mahomet's* death is conceal'd. H. 824. Ch. 1421.

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(14) *Semidine oglí*] A Patronymic of the forementionn'd *Peder Ulleyn*, and is the same as *Son of Semadine*.

(15) *Eski Gelibolí*] The ancient *Gallipolis* seems to have been a Fortress placed at the Hellespont, and now either destroyed or lost under a new and barbarous name.

(16) *Rumelia*] The meaning of this word amongst the *Turks* has been explain'd above in Ch. IV. Here it will not be improper to give a more exact account of this name. The *Chalifes* of the *Arabians* (or as they are commonly call'd by *Christians*, of the *Saracens*) whilst they remain'd about the *Euphrates*, and had not extended their limits thro' *Natolia*, call'd all those Countries which belong'd to the *Roman-Greek* Empire *Rum-yli* (i. e.) *Part of the Romans*, probably because the *Greeks*, the Possessors, call'd themselves *ρωμαιους* or *romans*, as their Successors do at this day. To this my opinion, besides the consent and testimony of domestic Writers, is added a corroborative Proof from the name of the City *Erzirum*, which City, (in *Armenia major*) as a Bulwark long withstood the sacrilegious Invaders, and diverted their rage from the rest of the *Asiatic* Provinces many years. For it is compounded of the *Arabian Erz*, *Land* and *Rum*, *Rome*, as if you shou'd say, the Land or Territory of the *Romans*. But after They had (finding an opportunity from the Wars which the *Greek* Emperors wag'd with the *Latins*) reduc'd all *Natolia* to their obedience, with the diminution of the *Roman* Empire, the Apellation of it was likewise reduc'd, and at length confin'd to that part of *Europe* which is subject to the Empire of the *Othmans*. However with the *Turkish* Geographers it is customary to call all *Europe* by the name of *Rum*; for instance, *Rumden anadolye gechme*, i. e. *to pass out of* Europe *into* Asia. So on the contrary, *Anadoldan Rume*, *out of* Asia *into* Europe. From hence a fivefold signification of this word *Rum-yli*, or, as it is call'd, *Rumelia* has arose. With Geographers it is taken for all *Europe*. In the more ancient *Arabian* Historians it comprehends all those Provinces which lie from *Erzirum* westward, sometimes *Europe* so much of it as is subject to the *Othman* Empire, sometimes also *Greece* properly so call'd without *Peloponnesus*, but rarely *Greece* and *Peloponnesus* together. And that this is the meaning of it here, I am perswaded from the agreement of the *Turkish* and *Christian* Historians, that *Murad* (his Father yet

Vizir *Ibrahim Chan* (17) conceals the Emperor's death one and forty days, transacting affairs as if by his order. Afterwards on *Murad*'s return, he delivers up to him the Army and Kingdom. Whereupon being saluted Emperor by All he sends his father's body to *Prusa* to be buried in the *Jami* he had founded.

His Character. XII. *Mahomet* lived fifty seven, and reigned eight years and ten months (18), a Sultan, great in War and Peace, and fam'd for Justice and

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yet living) made an expedition into the *Morea*, tho' with what success both are silent.

(17) *Ibrahim Chan*] The *Turks* call him their *Ulysses*. Wherefore also Sultan *Murad* II, gave him the Appellation of *Chan*, never bestow'd on any but the Princes of *Persia* and *Tartary*, for his concealing the death of the Emperor forty one days in such manner that not one of the Lords of the Court had the least intimation of it, whilst himself directed every thing. The same name is given to his Descendents at this day, being call'd *Ibrahim chan ogli*, a Race the most illustrious, powerful and wealthy in the whole *Turkish* Empire. You will scarce find a City of any account in those Countries which obey'd the *Turkish* Empire in the days of *Ibrahim chan*, but what glories in him as the Founder of its *Jami*, and Revenues belonging thereto. And indeed so many and so magnificent are the Structures of this Race, that it is not easy to conceive where their Founders cou'd find money for so vast an expence. The Posterity of this *Ibrahim*, have no legitimate Wives, in the opinion that no blood is worthy of their own, and therefore like the Sultans, they chuse to themselves Concubines out of the Captives as well for Offspring as Pleasure. By the precept of their great Ancestor, they court no offices civil or military, nor enjoy any besides the *Teviiet* or inspection of the *Jami* founded by themselves and Ancestors, on pretence indeed that it is unworthy of their descent, but in reality, because they fear lest being advanc'd to the degree of Vizir they should experience the fate so common to the Vizirs, and be depriv'd at once of their Wealth and Dignity. Nor can the Sultans themselves compel them into any public Offices, from which They were exempted by the peculiar indulgence of Sultan *Murad* II, an Indulgence afterwards confirm'd by *Soliman Canuni* in honour of *Ibrahim Chan*, and in force to this day. But if any necessity of the empire calls upon them, they voluntarily send a supply of forces into the Camp, levy'd and arm'd at their own expence. They have the greatest honours paid them by the Sultan, who makes them two annual visits, eats with them at a costly entertainment, and allows them more frequent access to his Person than any others. When they enter, it is customary with the Sultan to rise a little from his Seat, and to their Salutation of *Selamunalykum* (*peace be with thee*) to answer, *Alykum es-Selam* (*peace be also with you.*) Then, as they are standing with a submissive silence, the Sultan says to them, *Saffa geldinuz*, or *Chosh geldinuz*, *you are welcome.* Sometimes he bids them sit down, and talks with them of ordinary affairs which he does only with the Mufti, or, rarely, with the prime Vizir. Of this Race I knew one *Ibrahim beg* a man of few words, grave, and of a majestick carriage. Twice or thrice in the year I was visited by him in my Palace on the *Bosporus*, and when he took leave of me, he always said, with a low voice, *Eyucal! may you continue in health!* At his entrance, the Salutation was *Chair ola*, *may it be well with you!* for to give the Salutation of peace to *Christians* in the usual form of *Selamunalykum* is a crime with them. Hence *Christian* Princes may easily imagine how infirm is the Peace they can promise themselves from the *Turks*.

(18) ten months] This is to be remembred in order to settle the confus'd

and Clemency. He is chiefly extoll'd for raising the *Othman* Empire from the low condition it was reduc'd to by the *Tamerlanian* slaughter, and the more destructive quarrel of his Brothers (19). Neither did he retrieve it only from ruin, but left it both enlarg'd and establish'd to his Son and Successor.

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fus'd calculation of the *Christian* Historians. See more concerning it, in the Note at the end of Book II. Ch. II.

(19) his Brothers] The *Christian* and *Turkish* Historians agree that, after the terrible blow given to *Bajazet* by *Tamerlane*, the *Turkish* Affairs were reduc'd to that low ebb, that, could but their discord have united the *Christian* Princes, the *Othman* Power might have been, if not wholly destroyed, at least easily expelled out of *Europe*. But since the Judgments of God are beyond the fathom of our reason, we had better in silence adore, than bring them under our Censure.

During the INTERREGNUM and *Mahomet*'s Empire, there reign'd in *Europe*,

At *Constantinople*, EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1387-1421.

In the *West*, SIGISMUND King of *Hungary*, 1410-37.

In *England*, { HENRY IV. 1399-1412. / HENRY V. 1412-22.

In *France*, CHARLES VI. 1381-1422.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET I.

The REIGN of MURAD II. Son of MAHOMET, AND Sixth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK II. CHAP. IV.

H. 825. A. C 1422. A false *Muſtapha* appears.

I. MAHOMET, as I have ſaid, dying in the year of the *Hejira* 825, was ſucceeded by a Son worthy of ſo great a Father, *Murad* II. in the eighteenth year of his age. In theſe his younger years he gave a no leſs ſignal than difficult proof of his Virtues. An obſcure Perſon (different from the other Impoſtor) (1) impudently aſſumed the name of *Muſtapha* Son of *Bajazet*, who periſhed by an unknown fate in the battle with *Tamerlane*. This Man firſt lurking about *Selanik*, ſoon gain'd ſo great a reputation by his name, that he perſwaded not only the common People but the *Europæan* Soldiers, with many Officers, that he was the very Perſon he pretended to be. So when he had allur'd to his Party almoſt all *Rumelia*, and aſſembled a conſiderable army, he paſſed thro' the Straits of *Callipolis* (with the connivance (2), as 'tis ſaid of the *Greek* Emperor) into *Aſia*, in order to ſeize *Pruſa* the Seat of the *Othman* Empire.

Theſſalonica.

II. *Murad*,

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(1) different from the other] This was an *European*, and made his firſt appearance in *Theſſaly*, a diſtinct Perſon from that *Aſiatic* mentioned before. The *Chriſtians* pardonably take him for the true *Muſtapha*, as they could at that time have no Intelligence of the *Turkiſh* Affairs but from the *Greeks*, who to avert the laſt danger would probably have embraced even a Beggar for a King.

(2) with the connivance] I ſhould take this for a Calumny of the *Turks* upon the *Grecians* for a pretence of War againſt them, did not *Phranza* (Book I. Ch. XXXIX. and XL.) tell

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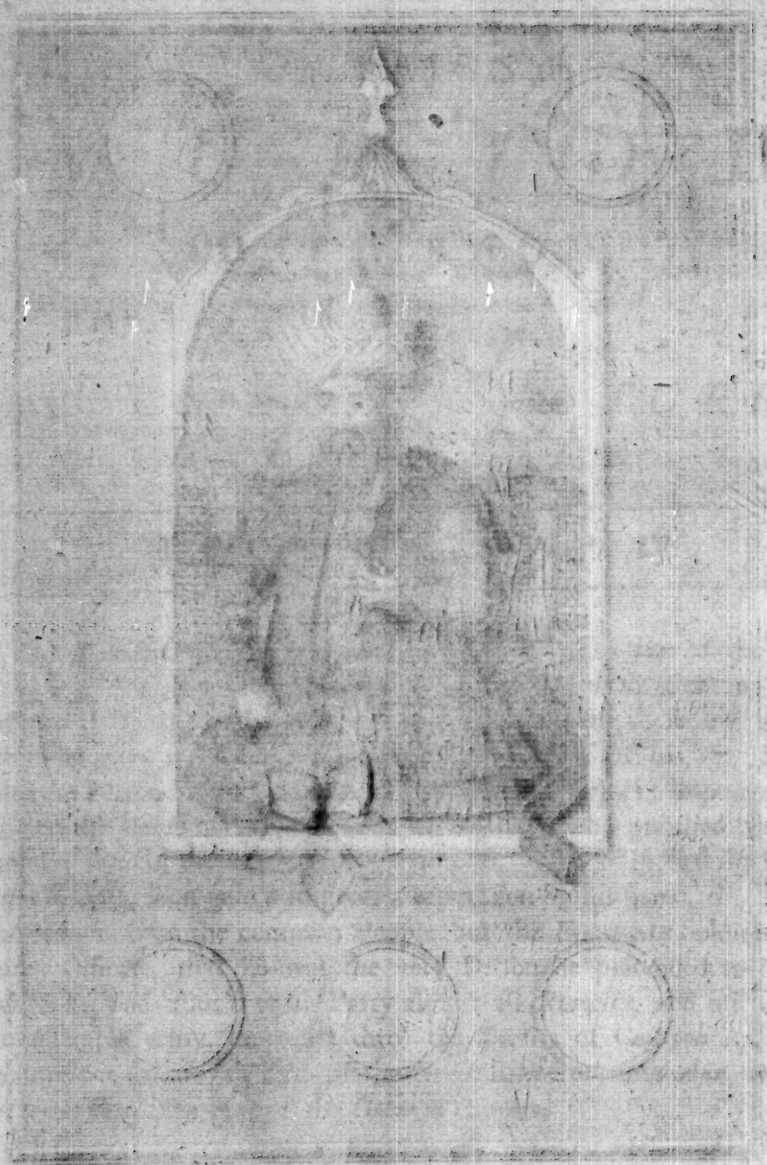
us

MURAD or AMURATH II.
Son of Mahomet, sixt Emperor of the Turks
in the Year 1422
From an Original in the Seraglio



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II. *Murad*, taught by his Father's example, ſends the prime Vizir *Bajazet* into *Aſia* (3) with choſen Troops to ſtifle the flame in its birth. But the Vizir was not crown'd with the ſame ſucceſs as had attended *Mahomet*. For the counterfeit *Muſtapha* with his army bravely meets *Bajazet*, and joining battle, vanquiſhes and kills the Vizir, and routs his forces deſtitute of a General. He defeats *Murad*'s Vizir.

III. The ſad news of this defeat being brought into *Europe*, *Murad* not at all diſcourag'd, ſays, " This misfortune has not befallen me by " the virtue of theſe Impoſtors or by my Vizir's fault, (whom I have " often experienc'd to be both a brave Soldier and excellent General) " but by ſome juſt tho' unknown indignation of God againſt his Peo- " ple, which, if we would have our affairs to proſper, muſt firſt be " appeas'd by true repentance, hearty prayers, and fervent tears (4); " and then I ſhall think my ſelf ſure of Victory, and of being reveng'd " on *Murad* appeaſes God by *Seid Bechar*,

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us that *Muſtapha* (whom he ſuppoſes to have been the real Son of *Bajazet*) was brought by *John Paleologus* out of *Peloponneſus* to *Callipolis*, and ſet over the Weſtern Parts of the Empire, tho' *Murad* earneſtly deſired the *Greeks* not to lend him any aſſiſtance.

(3) into *Aſia*] *Phranza* in the place above mentioned gives us this Relation inverted. For he ſays, that the Battle fought by *Muſtapha* with *Bajazet*, *Murad*'s Vizir, (an expert, ſays he, and able Warriof) was near *Adrianople*, but that *Muſtapha* after the Victory moved into *Aſia* againſt *Amurath*, by whom being defeated he returned into the Weſt, and was purſued, overtaken, and killed by *Murad*, with the aſſiſtance of ſome *Genoeſe* Veſſels. But as it is undeniable that *Muhammed* I. dy'd at *Adrianople*, and that *Murad* II his Son returning out of *Rumelia*, there firſt aſſum'd the Enſigns of the Empire, I had rather accuſe *Phranza*, than the *Turkiſh* Writers, of an overſight in this Affair.

(4) tears] The *Turks* aſcribe every Victory not to Multitude, Valour, or human Induſtry, but ſolely to divine Providence; and therefore they always ſeek a juſt Ground of War, that they may not ſeem to take Arms againſt the Will of God. But they call thoſe Wars juſt, (and only thoſe) which are undertaken for the Propagation of the *Mahometan* Religion: On the contrary, unjuſt Wars with them are ſuch as are enter'd into for the enlarging the Bounds of their Empire, or the Royal Revenue. From whence it may be eaſily imagined that they can never want a juſt pretence for a War. Thus their Opinion was dextrouſly laid hold of by *Kuprili Muſtapha Baſha*, prime Vizir to Sultan *Soliman* II, Uncle of the preſent Emperor *Ahmed*. For when the *Turkiſh* Soldiers, ſtruck with former diſaſters, refus'd the Service, he in a Council gave this Opinion; " That the Victories of the *Germans*, " and their own Defeats, were ow- " ing not to the Valour of the Ene- " my, but to the Sins of the *Muſul- " mans*; therefore the Gold and Sil- " ver Furniture of the Emperor was " to be ſold, and the Militia to re- " ceive their Pay out of the Money " ariſing from the Sale; and by a " Proclamation of the Emperor it " was to be declared, that he under- " took the War againſt the *Germans* " for no other Cauſe but merely the " Propagation of the Faith; and " therefore they who were obedient " to the Laws of the *Coran* ought to " follow him, not as forc'd into the " Service, but as Volunteers; for if " he had only 12000 true Obſervers " of the *Coran*, he aſſuredly pro- " miſed himſelf a ſpeedy recovery of " whatever had been wreſted from " the

" on our Enemies." He concluded with this common *Turkiſh* Saying, *Virminje Maabud ne eile ſun Mahmud?* i. e. *When the Creator oppoſes, what can the Creature do?* (5) At that time flouriſh'd among the *Turks* for virtue and holineſs *Seid Bechar*, who in the common opinion of the *Othmans* could obtain of God whatever he pray'd for. To this man, living in a Cell, far from the allurements of the World, *Murad* humbly directs his ſteps, and having declared the news of the defeat, he adds, " The increaſe and victories of our Enemies are a ſufficient " argument to me that our Nation by innumerable tranſgreſſions of the " Law have incurred the wrath of the eternal and omnipotent God. My " own ſins hinder me from expiating their offences and begging par- " don; for when I conſider my own unworthineſs, I readily confeſs, I " neither can nor dare ſtand before the divine Majeſty. Wherefore I " ſee a neceſſity of thy mediation, by means of which I may approach " the throne of mercy, appeaſe the ſpirit of our moſt holy prophet, " and render him propitious to my ſelf and the whole army of *Mu-* " *ſulmans*." *Seid Bechar* yielding to *Murad*'s requeſt, is by way of extaſy (pardon the fable) ſnatch'd up the following night into heaven, where he ſees the pure and immaculate ſpirit of *Mahomet* (6), and thrice

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" the Empire by the *Germans*." And accordingly in the firſt Expedition he retook *Sbebirkioi*, *Niſſa*, *Semendria*, and *Alba Græca*, but in a ſecond he loſt near *Salankemen* almoſt the whole Army, with his Life and Reputation.

Creature do?] The *Turks* aſcribe this Saying to Sultan *Murad* II, by which is meant that, without God Man labours in vain. *Maabud* is one of the 1001 Names of God (for ſo many the *Turks* give him) and ſignifies his having a Care of his Servants and Worſhippers. *Mahmud* is a proper Name and has regard to *Maabud*, ſo that the Proverb may be literally render'd, *Maabud* not giving, what will *Mahmud* do?

(6) ſpirit of *Mahomet*] Satan (who apes the divine Works and Myſteries) while by the *Mahometan* Religion he was deſirous to overthrow the Doctrine of *Chriſt*'s twofold Nature, invented ſomething like it with regard to *Mahomet*, but ſo fabulous, that it ſeems a greater Paradox than that Doctrine even to human Reaſon which more eaſily fathoms other Fables than the Abyſs of divine Myſteries. For who can without laughter hear what his Biographers ſay concerning the Spirit of this falſe Prophet, and which his Followers aſſert with no leſs Warmth than we do *Chriſt*'s Divinity. They pretend that ſeventeen thouſand years before God decreed the Creation of the World, he planted in the ſame place, where the World now is, Paradiſe, and in the middle of it a lofty Tree called *Tuba*, in whoſe Branches he lodg'd the *Taus* or *Peacock*, and put into its Heart the Spirit of *Mahomet*, to be there carefully preſerved. At length, when he had determined to create this viſible World (which according to them will be the laſt,) and to give it to Man for his Habitation, he took ſomething out of the Spirit of *Mahomet*, and with it animated the firſt Man called *Adem*, and placing him in Paradiſe, caution'd him againſt eating of *Wheat*. *Adem*, when he rang'd the Garden at full Liberty, and unmindful of the divine Precept, fell to eating of Wheat, immediately perceived, he had ſwallowed ſomething deadly, but however felt the Spirit of *Mahomet* living within him, and knew it would prove the Cauſe of a future Reſurrection. After this *Adem* dy'd, and was inſenſible

thrice kiſſing (7) the duſt of his feet, humbly beſeeches him to obtain of God by his powerful prayers, victory for *Murad* over his profligate enemies. To this petition repeated three times, *Mahomet* at length anſwers: "for my ſake (ſays he) the divine Majeſty has heard *Murad*'s "prayers, and therefore tell him, God will be with him and give him "victory." Early the next morning, *Seid Bechar* in obedience to the Prophet's command, ſends *Murad* word of the welcome meſſage he had received, who tranſported with joy, pays a ſecond viſit to the Saint. Whereupon *Seid Bechar* with his own hands girds the Sultan with a ſword (8), ſaying, "Go on and proſper, moſt auguſt Emperor, for "victory attends you."

IV. *Murad*, incourag'd by the words of the Saint, returns God thanks, and leads his army with great marches againſt the counterfeit *Muſtapha*. Mean while the Impoſtor had aſſembled his forces near *Ulubad*, where having broke down the bridge, he undauntedly waited the coming of *Murad*. The Emperor arriving, encamps on the other ſide of the River, in expectation of the promiſed aſſiſtance from Heaven, and perhaps to extinguiſh by delay the firſt heat of ſedition which is uſually very great. This method ſucceeded to his wiſh. For when both Armies had remain'd ſix days without motion, and the Generals anxious of the event, had continued in their poſts, on the ſeventh, the Impoſtor was ſeized with a violent bleeding at the noſe which laſting three days, made him ſo weak that his life was almoſt deſpair'd of. This extraordinary and unexpected accident cauſed the enemy's army

and miraculouſly vanquiſhes the Impoſtor.

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ſible as well of his Birth as of the Death of his Poſterity, till *Mahomet* was born, when the particle of *Mahomet*'s Spirit leap'd within him, and as by Sympathy, declar'd to him and his Poſterity eternal Salvation, and the bleſſing of a Reſurrection. Whereupon *Adem* broke out into Thankſgiving, and ſaid——After ſo many Ages my Poſterity have at laſt brought forth my only true and genuine Son, who is that laſt Prophet for whom God created the World and me——After *Mahomet*'s Death (or as the *Turks* ſay, his *Hejret* or *Flight* out of this World) his pure and immaculate Spirit was tranſlated to Heaven, and there enjoys the beatific Viſion of God.

(7) kiſſing] The *Turks*, tho' they are of Opinion that the Dead, even the very Saints, give no aſſiſtance to the Living (from whence the Hereticks of our Age have ſuck'd their Poiſon) yet grant that *Mahomet*'s Soul hears and conveys the Prayers of Men to the Throne of God, and believe this Privilege to be peculiar to him amongſt all the Creatures; in this they ſeem to agree with the Orthodox.

(8) with a ſword] From that time it is a ſort of Law with the *Turks*, for the Emperor the ſecond Day after his Advancement to the Throne, if he is at *Conſtantinople*, to viſit with great Solemnity, the Monument *Eyubenſari*, (of which more hereafter) ſtanding in the Suburbs called *Eyub*, and there to be girded with a Sword *Sheikh Tekke*, or the Prelate of the Monaſtery, who concludes the Solemnity with theſe Words: *Yuri nuſret Senundur*, *Go, Victory is yours, only yours from God*. But if the Emperor is at *Adrianople*, or elſewhere, he is obliged to perform this Solemnity at his return to *Conſtantinople*, as if he was enjoin'd it by ſome divine Law.

to imagine God was come to blaſt the counterfeit *Muſtapha*'s deſigns. Accordingly the Impoſtor's followers dreading the divine wrath, deſert him in the night and fly for their lives. He himſelf follows quickly after, but not with the ſame ſpeed, by reaſon of his weakneſs cauſed by loſs of blood. *Murad* hearing what had happen'd, immediately purſues the run-aways, and taking the counterfeit *Muſtapha* extremely ill in the Town of *Cara Agadz*, commands him to be inſtantly beheaded.

Caramen ogli ſlain,

V. The Impoſtor being thus miraculouſly deſtroy'd, it remained to quench the ſparks of this flame which were flown into the neighbouring countries. For when *Bajazet*, *Murad*'s Vizir was vanquiſh'd by the counterfeit *Muſtapha*'s forces, *Caraman ogli Mehemed beg* thinking the *Othman* affairs in a deſperate ſtate, reſolved to ſeize at leaſt ſome part of *Murad*'s dominions. Wherefore aſſembling as large an army as he could, he beſieges *Andalia*, in hopes that being deſtitute of relief it would quickly ſurrender. But the garriſon, whilſt they are bravely defending their walls, accidently kill *Mehemed beg* himſelf with a cannon-ball. The *Caramanians* terrified by this diſaſter, and deſpairing to take the town, chuſe another General of the ſame name, and with great precipitation raiſe the Siege.

and his Ally *Othman beg.*

VI. *Gamze beg* Governor of *Andalia*, ſeeing the enemies retiring in diſorder, couragiouſly ſallies out to purſue them. *Othman beg* Sovereign of *Tekke* (9) was come, perhaps the evening before, to *Caraman*'s aſſiſtance, but at the ſame time, was ſeized with an acute diſtemper (10) and deſerted by his men. *Gamze beg* in taking the enemy's camp, finds this Prince breathing his laſt, and cutting off his head ſends it to *Murad* in token of his victory, to compleat which he moreover adds all *Othman beg*'s dominions to the *Othmannic* Empire.

Muſtapha rebels,

VII. To celebrate this noble victory obtain'd without hazard or toil, *Murad* returns in triumph to *Adrianople*. There whilſt he is thinking to cultivate the arts of peace, and ſettle the ſtate of the Empire, which the times had not yet ſuffer'd him to do, he is again diſturb'd by civil diſſention. For his younger brother *Muſtapha* (11) a youth, allur'd

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(9) of *Tekke*] It is known that this Country belongs to *Aſia Minor*, and lies not far from *Kutahia* (probably ſo called from ſome *Tekke* there) but its ancient Name does not occur. As to *Othman beg* he ſeems to be one of the Poſterity of thoſe *Perſian* Satrapæ ſo often mentioned.

(10) with an acute diſtemper] The *Turks* will have this to be a Miracle in confirmation of the promiſe of their Lawgiver, and the Prediction of *Sheikh Seid Becbar*. So ſtrangely are Men prepoſſeſſed with any prevailing Superſtition.

(11) brother *Muſtapha*] The ſame whom *Phranza*, Book I. Chap. XL. calls *Muſtaphopulus* Brother of *Amera*, and who, he ſays, came into *Conſtantinople* after the Siege was raiſed by *Murad*. But I cannot comprehend his meaning, when he there ſays, that the *Turks* which came out of *Aſia*, full of admiration aſſerted that he was like the Founder of their Religion *Mahomet*, and might by his Looks

allur'd by the deceitful counſels of the *Greeks*, and perhaps incited by an unſeaſonable thirſt of dominion, rebels in *Aſia*, ſeizes *Nicea* weakly garriſon'd, and being amply ſupplied with all neceſſaries by the *Greeks*, ſtrongly fortifies it as the ſeat of the future war.

VIII. *Murad* to ſtifle this rebellion in time, leads a great army into *Aſia*. *Muſtapha Chelebi** as he did not dare to meet his brother in the field (for beſides the *Greek* ſoldiers he was join'd only by a few plunderers) ſhuts himſelf up in *Nicæa*. But walls prove no ſafeguard to him. *Murad* aſſembling his forces cloſely beſieges and valiantly aſſaults the town, and on the 25th day takes it with his brother, whom he immediately orders to be ſtrangled in his preſence. and is taken and put to Death.

IX. To repair the wound given by this execution to the *Ottoman* race, *Murad* in the year 827 marries the daughter of *Laz ogli* (12) betrothed to him before, a Lady excelling all of her time in beauty, and the *Helena* of the *Servians*. *Murad* eſpouſes *Laz ogli*'s Daughter. H. 827. Ch. 1424.

X. The next year 828 afforded *Murad* a ſingular occaſion to diſplay his virtue and enlarge his dominions. The growth of the *Ottoman* Empire had been long looked upon with an evil eye by *Iſphandeg* Prince of *Sipbab* (13), who fearing to be dethron'd, was meditating to weaken it by his utmoſt endeavours. That it would be in vain to attack ſo warlike a Nation, the unfortunate attempts of his Predeceſſors had convinc'd him, and whether it was to be deſtroy'd by policy, he had reſolv'd to try. Wherefore he had not only made peace with *Murad*, but alſo a league, and to remove all cauſe of ſuſpicion, given him his Son *Caſſimbeg* in hoſtage. Nay, he had obſerved the agreement, whilſt he knew a numberleſs army was ready upon the leaſt motion. But hearing *Murad* had taken a Wife, diſbanded his army, and laid aſide all thoughts of war, he imagin'd he had a fair opportunity to effect his purpoſes, and therefore like a lurking Tyger, with forces he had long been preparing, he ruſhes forth and cruelly deſtroys with fire and ſword the neighbouring Cities *Tarakly* and *Burni*, to compel the unwilling to obedience, and terrify perhaps the Inhabitants from making a Defence.

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Looks alone be known to be Emperor. For not to inſiſt that ſuch Expreſſions could hardly be ſpoken by the *Turks* who have no Picture of *Mahomet*, the Words themſelves agree much better with the counterfeit *Muſtapha*, whom they allow to have ſo exactly reſembled the *Muſtapha* whoſe Name he aſſumed, that they who had before been about him as well as his Guards, affirmed that he was the ſame. I am apt therefore to believe that *Phranza* impair'd in his Memory by age, cares, and calamities, when he began to write his Hiſtory, aſcrib'd what he had heard in his youth concerning the counterfeit *Muſtapha*, to the other *Muſtapha* Brother to *Murad*.

(12) *Laz ogli*] of the Family of *Lazarus*, *Deſpot* of *Servia*, from whom likewiſe all *Servia* has received the Name of *Lazogli Vilaieti*, or *the Land of Lazarus*.

(13) *Sipbab*] A Country in *Aſia Minor*.

XI. *Murad*

on his Submiſſion is pardon'd.

XI. *Murad* upon news of this rebellion, inſtantly aſſembles his forces and paſſes from *Europe* into *Aſia*. When he came to *Balova*, he is met by the Nobles of *Siphah*, deteſting the daring and raſh enterprize of their Prince, and humbly imploring him to depoſe *Iſfindarbeg* and make his Son, whom he had in hoſtage, their Governor. When *Iſfindarbeg* hears of this unforeſeen proceeding, not knowing what to do, he alſo comes to *Murad*, begs pardon, and offers both his ſecond Son in hoſtage and his only Daughter, of incomparable beauty, in marriage to the Emperor; with which the Sultan being appeas'd, promiſes to forgive his paſt offence.

Murad's expeditions in *Aſia* and *Europe*.

H. 830
A. C. 1426

XII. In his return from this expedition, he takes the famous City of *Izmir*, a place of great trade at this day, and ſubdues not only that Town but the adjacent Countries *Monteſhe* (14), *Aidin* (15), and *Saricban* (16), with all the dominions belonging to *Hamid ogli* (17). The Eaſt being thus quieted, in the year 830 he turns his arms againſt the *Venetians*, lays waſte the Iſland of *Janta* (18), takes the Caſtle of *Giogerjinlik* (19), and with great ſpoils collected from the adjacent Countries on the Continent, returns victorious to *Adrianople*. The ſame year, near *Ergene* (a marſhy place half-way between *Conſtantanie* and *Ederne*) he orders to be built at a vaſt expence a Bridge of ſquare ſtone, with ſeventy-two arches, and on the Weſt-ſide, a *Jami*, *Bath*, *Imaret* and *Chan*.

Gierman ogli ſubjects his dominions to *Murad*.

H. 831
A. C. 1427.

XIII. In the year 831, *Gierman ogli* (ſo often mention'd) taught by the examples of his neighbours, whilſt he reflected on his former narrow eſcape, thought it ſafer to calm the Lion's rage with a peaceable Ceſſion than have to do with his Talons. Wherefore he comes with profound reſpect to *Murad*'s Court, and voluntarily delivers to him the keys of all his Towns. *Murad* gives him a very honorable reception, loads him with royal Preſents, and makes him perpetual Sanjack of *Ipſalam*.

Murad invades *Greece*.

† *Athens*.

XIV. After this, in order to ſubdue what yet remain'd in *Greece*, under the dominion of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, he aſſembles both his *Aſiatic* and *Europæan* forces, and leads them into *Greece*. As he met with no oppoſition, he takes *Selanik*, *Atine* † and *Karline*, and with a great number of Captives and Cattle returns with his victorious army to *Ederne*.

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(14) *Monteſhe*] A Country known to Geographers by this Name.

(15) *Aidin*] A Town of the Province of *Monteſhe*.

(16) *Saricban*] Or *Citron-Inn*, a Town of the ſame Country, and the Country it ſelf.

(17) *Hamid ogli*] See Note, p. 41.

(18) *Janta*] An Iſle of the *Adriatic* Sea ſubject to the *Venetians*, now called *Zante*, and formerly *Zacynthus*.

(19) *Giogerjinlik*] A Fort on the Borders of the *Morea* whoſe ancient Name is forgot. It ſignifies Etymologically a *Pigeon-Houſe*.

XV. The

XV. The next year 832, *Greece* being ſubdu'd, he marries *Iſfendarbeg*'s daughter, betroth'd to him four years before, of whom after ſix years was born the great *Mahomet*, vanquiſher of *Conſtantinople*, and ſcourge of Chriſtendom.

marries *Iſfendarbeg's* daughter.
H. 832.
A. C. 1428.

XVI. At the time of this Hero's birth in the year of the *Hejira* 838, *Caraman ogli* (20) rebels in *Aſia*, as if with deſign to cruſh in his infancy the Conqueror of one half of the world. *Murad* immediately leads his forces into *Aſia*, and at the firſt aſſault takes *Akſhebri* (21) and *Conia*. *Caramanius Ibrahim beg* finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt the Imperial Army, goes to *Menla Gamze* (22), a Monk of great fame for virtue and ſanctity, and intreats him to make his peace with the Emperor. The Monk readily undertook the office, and by his piety, reverenc'd by all the Muſulmans, or eloquence, (in which he is ſaid to have excelled) ſo wrought on *Murad*, that forgetting the injuries done him, he freely pardon'd *Caramanius* and reſtored him to his former ſtate.

Caramangli rebels.
H. 838.
A. C. 1434.

XVII. The *Aſiatic* affairs being ſettled, in the year 839, a new enemy ariſes in *Europe*, *Morakraly* brother of the *Greek* Emperor (23). As this man was beſieging *Giogerjinlik*, a Town on the borders of the *Morea*, *Caſſim Baſha*, *Beglerbeg* (24) of *Rumelia*, with a ſelect band of

Murad defeats the Prince of the *Morea*.

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(20) *Caraman ogli*] The ſame Prince of *Caramania* who ſurrended his Country to Sultan *Murad*, and married his eldeſt Siſter. But how he came to fly out of *Rumelia* into *Aſia* is not known.

(21) *Akſhebri*] Or *White-Town* in *Aſia Minor*.

(22) *Menla*, or *Mola Gamze*] At that time the moſt celebrated Saint amongſt the *Turks*, whoſe Cell even to this Day is in *Caramania*, religiouſly viſited by them.

(23) *Morakraly*] He ſeems to have been the Deſpot *Demetrius*, who about that time, according to *Phranza* govern'd the greateſt part of the *Morea*. He is called Brother of the *Grecian* Emperor from the affinity he had with him.

(24) *Beglerbeg*] What the Word ſignifies etimologically has already been ſhewn. But it muſt be obſerved, that tho' all Baſhaſhips where Governors are honour'd with three *Tugs*, are called *Beglerbeglies*, yet by way of eminence only three Baſhas have at this Day the Title of *Beglerbeg*, namely, of *Rumelia* who reſides at *Sophia*, of *Anadol* who lives at *Kiutahia*, and of *Damaſcus*; formerly alſo the Baſha of *Buda*. The reſt, tho' their Flatterers ſometimes give them the Appellation of *Beglerbeg*, yet at Court have no higher Title than that of *Deſdur-mukerrem*, i. e. *Plenipotentiaries*. That Word is derived from *Dura*, by which a Character expreſſing the Imperial Name is ſignified; to bear which and to propoſe in the Emperor's Name Mandates in their Juriſdictions is allowed to theſe alone next to the Vizir. Such is their Authority in the *Othman* Empire, that, as long as they bear that Name, if they go from the Metropolis into the Provinces allotted to them, or are ſent from one Province into another, in their Journey (without the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, where alone they have no Juriſdiction) they have a Power over all their inferiors, of whatever Province, equal with that of the prime Vizir. They can at pleaſure hang, behead, or puniſh with any other Death, the Guilty, nor can the Baſha of the Place give them any Obſtruction. His redreſs is only complaint to the Court againſt any abuſe of Power in theſe Plenipotentiaries.

European ſoldiers unexpectedly attacked him and put him to flight. The Conqueror having taken and ſlain moſt of his enemies, return'd laden with the ſpoils of their Camp.

War with the *Hungarians.*

XVIII. Mean while, a fierce war breaks out with the King of *Hungary.* Battles are fought with doubtful and various fortune (25): ſometimes the *Hungarians*, and more often the *Turks*, are defeated. At laſt the brave General of the war *Michal ogli Albeg* (26), aſſembling a ſtronger army, like an inundation over-runs the richer Provinces of *Hungary*; carries away captive the Inhabitants, little expecting ſuch an incurſion; and with great booty and fame returns to *Adrianople*, in which City Sultan *Murad* orders to be built in the year 840, a ſtately *Jami* (27) and *Imaret*, Structures worthy an Emperor.

H. 840.
A. C. 1436.

Belgrade beſieged in vain.

XIX. Whilſt theſe things are tranſacting, the *Hungarians* taking *Ali beg*'s departure for a flight, ruſh again into the *Turkiſh* dominions, deſtroying all with fire and ſword. *Murad* to check their boldneſs and keep them more in awe, paſſes the *Danube* near *Vidin*, and lays waſte the country wherever his forces could march. At length he beſieges the great Bulwark of *Hungary*, *Belgrade* (28), in order to ſecure his own People from the inroads of the *Hungarians* and to weaken his enemies by continual incurſions; but fortune did not favour his deſigns. For the brave defenſe of the beſieged, and the approach of Winter force him to raiſe the Siege when he ſeemed to be very near taking the City. But in his return he ſubdues *Sophia* (29), with ſome other Towns of *Bulgaria.*

Valak ogli is diſpoſeſs'd,

XX. *Murad* was however vexed at his diſappointment before *Belgrade*, and aſcrib'd it not ſo much to the valour of the enemy as to treachery. *Valak ogli* was nearly allied to the Sultan in blood and friend-

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(25) various fortune] The *Chriſtian* Annals aſcribe glorious Victories in thoſe Days to *John Huniades* General of the *Hungarians.*

(26) *Michal ogli*] Of this Family I have ſpoken in the Preface. His Irruption into *Hungary*, and the Calamities thence brought upon the *Chriſtians*, are paſſed over in ſilence by *Chriſtian* Writers.

(27) *Jami*] A large Moſch commonly known at this Day by the Name of *Eski Jami* or *the old Moſch*, it is the largeſt of all thoſe of *Adrianople*, and ſtands near the Place where the Vizir holds his Court.

(28) *Belgrade*] *Alba Græca*, formerly *Taurunum*, univerſally known and now limiting the *Turkiſh* Empire on the ſide of *Hungary*. Whether the *Turkiſh* Loſſes in the Siege of this City were ſo great as the *Chriſtians* relate, may juſtly be doubted by him, who reflects that after the raiſing of the Siege, the *Turks* in their return aſſaulted and took *Sophia* and other Towns in the ſame Country, perhaps *Niſſa*, *Scopia*, *Novomont*, or *Shebirkioi*) by the Confeſſion of the *Chriſtians* themſelves. They indeed ſay, that theſe Places were taken before the Siege of *Alba Græca*, but the *Turks* ſay afterwards.

(29) *Sophia*] The Metropolis of *Bulgaria*, and Reſidence of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, a City without Walls. It ſeems to derive its Name from a Church built like *Sancta Sophia* at *Conſtantinople*, tho' not of the ſame largeneſs, and now turned into a *Jami.*

ſhip

ſhip (30), and had always ſo behav'd that it would have ſeemed a ſin to queſtion his fidelity. But upon a cloſer enquiry, it appear'd that he had not only diſcovered the *Othman* counſels to the King of *Hungary*, but alſo done his utmoſt to prevent the taking of *Belgrade*. Wherefore to puniſh ſo unexpected a treachery, the Emperor commands the eyes of his two Sons, whom he had in hoſtage, to be put out, marches himſelf with an army into *Servia*, takes the City of *Semendre* on the *Danube*, ſeizes the territory of *Zerin ogli* (31), and thus diſpoſſeſſing the Prince, ſubjects all *Servia* to his dominion.

XXI. *Valak ogli* happy only in eſcaping by flight the due reward of his treachery, applies to the King of *Hungary* (32), excites him againſt the *Turks*, and breaks off a treaty of peace; by which means, as if fortune had conſpir'd againſt all his places of refuge, he became the occaſion not only of the following ſlaughters, but alſo of that King's death. and flies to the King of *Hungary*.

XXII. In the year 844, the Moſch called *Eski Jami* (33) begun at *Adrianople* by *Muſa Chelebi**, is finiſh'd. The next year *Caraman ogli Ibrahimbeg*, inveterate enemy of the *Othman* Empire, kindled a new war. For breaking the conditions of peace, he had lately confirm'd by oath, he enters with an army the *Aſiatic* Provinces deſtitute of a defenſe, and miſerably lays them waſte. At the firſt notice of this affair *Murad* flies into *Aſia*, aſſembles an army at *Pruſa*, and that the ſtate might not in the mean while ſuffer farther damage, ſends before ſome choſen forces he had brought with him. Theſe are met in their march by *Caraman*'s wife the Emperor's elder ſiſter (34) (given him formerly in marriage for the ſtricter band of their alliance,) who bids them halt and lay aſide warlike thoughts, promiſing to be arbiter of peace, and to end the war to her brother's ſatisfaction. Accordingly ſhe goes to her brother, ſets forth in an elegant ſpeech her husband's offence, begs pardon with tears, adding, her husband ſhould bind himſelf by oath, never to act in the leaſt againſt the *Othman* Empire, nor his ſoldiers on any account, juſt or unjuſt, ever ſet foot in the Emperor's dominions, and *Caraman ogli* rebels, but is pardon'd. H. 845. A. C. 1441.

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(30) blood and friendſhip] *Chriſtian* Writers alſo relate, that *George*, Deſpot of *Servia*, gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Murad* for a Confirmation of the Peace. And as theſe are more accurate in giving the Names of Princes than the *Turks*, I ſee no reaſon for queſtioning it, eſpecially ſince they add, that the Sons of *George*, after the rupture between their Father and *Murad*, were depriv'd of their Eyes, which is acknowledg'd alſo by the *Turks*.

(31) territory of *Zerin ogli*] With the *Turks*, the Country along the River *Save* from its conflux with the *Danube* as far as *Peterwaradin*, is known by this Name.

(32) King of *Hungary*] This was *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary* and *Poland*, more known by the *Varneſian* Slaughter than any other action.

(33) *Eski Jami*] Etymologically the old Moſch, of which, *See* Note above (27)

(34) elder ſiſter] The time of this Marriage is not aſcertain'd, but it ſeems to have been after the ſurrender of the *Caramanian* Prince, in the Year of the *Hejira* 831.

that

that ſhe would be the pledge of thoſe conditions. Her eloquence, and his brotherly affection entirely reconcile the angry Emperor. Wherefore on theſe terms *Murad* receives him into friendſhip, and confirming the former league by an *Abd-name* (35), returns into *Europe*.

Murad reſigns the Empire. H. 847. A. C. 1443.

XXIII. The Empire being now in profound peace, its enemies reduc'd, and a treaty concluded with the *Hungarians* (36), *Murad* tired with cares and expeditions, voluntarily reſigns, in the year 847, the Empire to his Son *Mahomet*, and retires to *Magneſia* (37) with deſign to lead a private life.

Caraman excites the King of *Hungary* to league againſt *Murad*.

XXIV. When this was known, *Caraman ogli* who but the year before had by the interceſſion of *Murad*'s ſiſter, obtain'd his pardon, thinking it a proper time to be reveng'd, meditates again the deſtruction of the *Othman* Empire. So diſcovering the treachery which he had long harbour'd in his boſom, he privately ſends a letter to the King of *Hungary*, ſaying, "*Murad*, that old deſtroyer of the world, has abdicated the "Empire, and reſign'd his ſcepter to his Son *Mahomet*, a youth un- "qualified by his age and underſtanding for the adminiſtration of civil "or military affairs. Wherefore if you ever intend to revenge the in- "juries you have receiv'd, a fairer opportunity will never offer. For "if I on the *Aſiatic*, and you on the *Europæan* ſide, invade at the ſame "time the *Othman* dominions, we ſhall doubtleſs very quickly rout out "the whole *Othman* race, and reſtore the injur'd and diſpoſſeſs'd Princes "to their former happineſs."

Invaſion of the *Hungarians*, &c.

XXV. The King of *Hungary*, who had lately, with his hand on the Goſpels, ſworn by the immortal body of *Chriſt* to obſerve the conditions of the peace, would not have readily liſten'd to this advice, if he had not been perverted by the authority of the Pope of *Rum* (38). At his inſtigation therefore and abſolution from his oath, he aſſembles an army

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(35) *Abd-name*] an *Arabian* Word compounded of *Abd*, a *Covenant* or *Condition*, and *Namè*, a *Letter*. By this Name the Letters are ſignified which foreign Ambaſſadors, after a Peace obtain'd, procure from the Sultan, to their reſpective Princes, containing the Terms of the Peace (which the *Arabians* call *Mevad*) and ratified with the *Dura*, or Character of the Imperial Name.

(36) with the *Hungarians*] Shamefully broke by *Ladiſlaus*, as ſhall be related in a following Note out of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians.

(37) *Magneſia*] No *Chriſtian* Writer, whom I have ſeen, mentions this firſt Abdication of Sultan *Murad*. With the *Turks* it is clear that the *Varneſian* War happen'd under *Mahomet* II, of which *Murad* was only General, not being then Emperor, and that he, the War being finiſh'd, retired a ſecond Time to *Magneſia*, and *Mahomet* from the Year of the *Hejira* 847, reign'd to the Year 850, when *Murad* being recalled by the Nobility, *Mahomet* by reaſon of his Youth, was ſent to *Magneſia* to live privately till the Death of his Father, which the Series of this Hiſtory will more amply declare.

(38) of the Pope of *Rum*] The unſeaſonable Zeal of this Man has been ſufficiently deplored by the *Chriſtians*. But the common *Turks* (not the more learned) believe the Pope to be immortal, and in proof of their Opinion relate a Fable, That a Pope being wounded in the Face with a Sword by

army and being joined by the *Bohemian* †, *Polonian*, *Latin*, *Bulgarian* † *Chechi*°. *Valak ogli*'s auxiliaries, who had all conſpir'd the deſtruction of the *Othman* Empire, he leads them into the *Muſulman* dominions.

XXVI. So great armies conſiſting of ſuch warlike nations, inſpir'd the *Chriſtians* with as much courage as they ſtruck the *Muſulmans* with terror. Their fear was increaſed by the youth and unexperience of their Emperor, and therefore they unanimouſly reſolve in counſel to recal *Murad* to the Empire. Whereupon Ambaſſadors with *Mahomet*'s conſent are diſpatch'd to *Murad*, beſeeching him to reſume the reins of the Government, and defend the State with his counſels and ſword, ſo terrible to the enemies. *Murad* rejects this ambaſſy, ſaying, "You "have both an Empire and Emperor, do whatever you ſhall deem for "your welfare and advantage: but envy me not the quiet and peace-"able life which after ſo much toil endur'd for your ſakes, I think, "I have deſerv'd." The Ambaſſadors returning a ſecond time and urging him more vehemently, he at length conſents, and with the utmoſt ſpeed paſſes thro' *Callipolis* into *Europe*. *Murad* reſumes the Empire.

XXVII. At *Adrianople* having conſulted with his Son and Great Men about the ſtate of affairs, he takes upon him (tho' unwillingly and after many intreaties) the office of General. To diſcharge which the more happily, he leads out his army the third day, and with long marches proceeds towards *Varna* (39), where he was inform'd the *Hungarian* King The battle of *Varna*.

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by *Amavia* the Caliph, the Scar of the Wound has been obſerv'd by Captives in the Popes of the preſent Age. Thus a credulous Nation believes what is reported even to their own diſhonour.

(39) *Varna*] It is a Tradition of the *Turks* that *Murad* calling a general Council at *Adrianople* before the Battle of *Varna*, ſpoke thus, "We "(ſays he) believe the *Haziret Iſa* "(the Holy *Jeſus*) to be, as indeed "he is, the *Ruh Ullah* (the Spirit of "God) born of a Virgin Mother; "a Prophet highly beloved of God, "yet alive, but preſerv'd from the "malice and rage of the *Jews* and "convey'd into the third Heaven, "to reprove them for their trea-"chery, and the *Nazrani* (the *Chri-"ſtians*) for having corrupted his "Goſpel, and for exhibiting him "(whom we acknowledge to have "been a very great Prophet, but "mortal and appointed to die three "Days before the End of the World) "as the Son of God begotten from "Eternity, and of the ſame Majeſty "and Power with the World's Crea-"tor. Moreover, amongſt their o-"ther Superſtitions, they firmly be-"lieve ſome Myſteries as they call "them, for inſtance, that *Iſa Meſih* "(*Jeſus Chriſt*) has endued his Prieſts "with a Power of converting as of-"ten as they pleaſe, Bread and Wine "into his real Body. Upon this "Myſtery, and upon the *Injil Sherif* "(the Holy Goſpel) they lately ſwore "a Peace with me; wherefore it is "not to be doubted that God whoſe "Goſpel they have bely'd, whoſe "Myſteries they have trampled up-"on, will certainly puniſh them." It is moreover related, that in the very Engagement *Murad* ordered the Writing which he had received from the King of *Hungary* in Confirmation of the Peace, to be hung from the Point of a Spear and carried through the Ranks by an unarm'd Perſon, crying out, "Let the *Gaurler* (Infidels) come "on againſt their God and Sacra-"ments; and if their belief of theſe "Things be certain, let them, O juſt "God,

King lay incamp'd. That his ſpeed might not be retarded by the Foot, he goes before with the Horſe, and in three days coming in ſight of the *Hungarian* Camp, immediately falls upon the enemies, but not with the ſucceſs he expected. For the right wing, deſtitute of Infantry, being unable to withſtand the firſt ſhock are put in diſorder and purſued above a mile. But this prov'd the ſafety of both the Sultan and his Empire. For the young King of *Hungary* excelling the reſt in valour, whilſt he is reſolved to complete the Victory which he now thought his own, in the heat of the battle challenges *Murad* to ſingle combat (40). *Murad* accidentally meeting him, pierces his Horſe with a *Jirid* (41), whereupon the King falling to the ground, the Janizaries (who were now arriv'd) inſtantly cut off his head, and putting it on the

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" God, who cauſes thy Sun to riſe up-
" on the Good and the Bad, declare
" themſelves their own Avengers,
" and the Puniſhers of their own Ig-
" nominy."

(40) ſingle combat] Whether the *Turks* forg'd this in honour of their Emperor, or the *Chriſtians* are ſilent concerning it in order to conceal the raſhneſs of *Ladiſlaus*, is left to the determination of the Reader. I am however more inclined to believe the *Turks*, becauſe our *Chriſtians*, and particularly *Phranza*, Book II. Ch. XIX. tell us, that the King penetrating as far as the Tent of *Amera*, fell there, his Horſe being firſt wounded by a Janizary named *Ghanuzzi*.

(41) *Jirid*] A ſort of light ſtiffive Javelin much uſed by the *Turks*. They who are expert in the uſe of it carry three of theſe Javelins in a Caſe hung from the right ſide their Horſe, with which they hit the Mark with an exactneſs ſcarce to be match'd by the moſt skilful Gunners. Of this I ſhall give an Inſtance which, had I not been an Eye-witneſs I ſhould hardly have believed. In the laſt year of the former War before the Forces departed from *Zenta*, ſome of the Emperor's Chamberlains exerciſed this Sport before him on a Plain near *Philippolis*. The Javelins they uſed were not pointed but blunt at the End. One *Mehemed Aga* a *Circaſſian*, and Maſter of the Stables, (a Place of great Dignity with the *Turks*) was among them. One of the Company hit him, unawares upon the Back with a *Jirid* ſent with great force. *Mehemed* aſham'd, and perhaps enrag'd with the ſmart, gave the reins to his Horſe of the *Ægyptian* breed, and furiouſly purſued the flying Enemy, who ſenſible that if he rid directly on he could not eſcape his purſuer, turn'd his Horſe to the right, when *Mehemed* with a Javelin ſent after him, blunt as it was, pierc'd the Jaws of his Horſe, and threw both Horſe and Rider to the Ground. The Emperor ſeeing it, forbad *Mehemed* uſing that exerciſe. I ſaw the ſame Man in oſtentation of his Strength ſtrike an ordinary and pointleſs *Jirid* through the outer Gate of a Monaſtery in *Moldavia*, made of Planks three Inches thick. The *Turks* accuſtom their Bodies to this exerciſe in the following manner. They begin with the Iron *Jirid* (or *Lobut* as 'tis call'd) weighing 12 *Occa's*, (an *Occa's* is four hundred Drams) They fix the Thumb of their left Hand in their Girdle, and with their Feet in a right Line, throw the Javelin at a Heap of Mud as long as their Strength laſts, and ſometimes hold out even to ſeven hundred Throws; they afterwards take a wooden Javelin, twice as large as an ordinary one, and when they have fix'd it two thouſand times in the Mud, they then come to the common Javelin, which in reſpect to the Iron one ſeems a Feather; and thus continual practice makes them able Darters.

point

point of a Spear, ſhow it to the enemy, crying out, *Behold the head of your King!* At the ſame time they rally the ſcatter'd Horſe, and the fight being renew'd, they break at the firſt charge, their enemies ranks and diſperſe them. The *Chriſtians* make ſome ſtands, but night coming on (42) and wanting a Leader, they are entirely routed. Some few eſcape in the dark, and the reſt are all ſlain, or made captives. *Murad* leads back to *Adrianople* his army not much leſſen'd, and laden with the ſpoils of the enemies camp.

Murad reſigns again.

XXVIII. The glory acquir'd by this expedition would have been perhaps to others an inducement to greater undertakings, but to *Murad* it was an inſtance of the uncertainty of human power. He had ſeen the *Hungarian* King, ſurrounded with ſo many armies, reverenc'd by ſo many nations, when he thought himſelf ſure of victory, fall by one ſtroke of fortune, and his victorious forces put to rout. From whence he infer'd what might poſſibly be his own fate, after having enjoy'd ſo long a proſperity. Wherefore purſuing his former purpoſe he again delivers the ſcepter to his Son, and reſolves upon a private life at *Magneſia*.

He is again recall'd by reaſon of a Sedition of the Janizaries. H. 850. Ch. 1446.

XXIX. But neither there is he ſuffered to be quiet. In the year 850 the Janizaries, inſtruments formerly of many victories over their enemies, now of the ruin of their fellow citizens, raiſe a great ſedition on ſome ſlight occaſion. Hence it came to paſs, (as it uſually happens in civil diſſentions,) the houſes of the citizens as well as of foreigners are plunder'd, all perſons that come in their way, without diſtinction of age or ſex, are robb'd or murder'd, as if thoſe who ought to defend the citizens had conſpir'd to their deſtruction. Scarce any other cauſe of this rebellion could be aſſign'd but the Emperor's youth or too great clemency, on which relying theſe plunderers thought they might do what they pleaſed. Wherefore the great men to put a ſtop to this miſchief ſend to *Murad*, intreating him by letter, "To take upon him "again the Government, for his Son *Mahomet* is young and not of "ſufficient authority to appeaſe theſe tumults, wherefore they hope he "will have pity on the *Othman* State, and not ſuffer an Empire he had "ſo well eſtabliſh'd and enlarg'd to periſh like a ſhip without a pilot, "nor the riches of the citizens acquir'd with ſo much labour, to be "ſeized by the rapacious hand of the Janizaries. In a word, ſo great "is their reliance on his prudence and approv'd management, that they "hope not only the peace of the Empire will be reſtor'd, but render'd "much more illuſtrious under his conduct." *Murad* touch'd with the

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(42) but night coming on] 'Tis related that thoſe who thought to eſcape thro' unknown ways, and in the dark, fell unexpectedly upon Mount *Chengie** (the old *Hæmus*) and there were taken by the Country People in Couples and Leaſhes like ſo many wild Beaſts, but of the Princes and Generals of the Army, ſcarce *Huniades* himſelf eſcap'd; concerning whom, *See* the large Accounts of the *Chriſtian* Writers.

preſent

preſent danger, remounts the throne (43) at *Adrianople*, and ſends his ſon to *Magneſia*,

He ſubdues *Greece* and *Epirus*, and expells *Scanderbeg*. H. 851. A. C. 1447.

XXX. *Murad* being again at the helm, eaſily appeaſes the civil diſſenſions, and the next year turns his arms againſt the rebellious *Caſtriot*, *Iskenderbeg* (44), and not only drives him out of his kingdom and lays waſte all *Greece* and *Arnaud* (45), but alſo takes by aſſault in the *Morea*, *Balibadri* and *Akchebiſar** (46). Moreover becauſe *Iskenderbeg* had without reaſon deſerted the *Mahometan* religion, and treacherouſly broken his faith, he converts all the Churches of *Arnaud* into *Jami* and Moſchs, and orders all the *Epirots* either to be circumcis'd, or expiate his treachery with death *. By this means all *Arnaud* was in a ſhort time initiated in the *Mahometan* faith.

Defeats the *Hungarians* at *Coſſova*.

XXXI. Whilſt theſe things paſs in *Greece* a new war is kindled on the borders of *Hungary*. For the King of *Hungary* (48) to revenge

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(43) the throne] *Chriſtian* Writers themſelves tell us that *Murad*, after the Battle of *Varna*, retired to a monaſtic Life at *Pruſa*. But his quitting this way of Life is by them aſcrib'd to the Succeſſes of *Hunniades* in *Hungary*, and the Rebellion of *Scanderbeg*, not to the Sedition of the Janizaries, or the Intreaties of the Baſhas.

(44) *Iskenderbeg*] The famous *George Caſtriot* Son of *John*, Prince of *Epirus*, whoſe warlike exploits are the ſubject of Volumes of the *Chriſtian* Writers. In his younger years his eminent Virtues procured him his Name from *Murad*, which is a corruption of the *Greek* Word *Alexander*, and, as I before obſerved, given to very few *Turks*. The *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians mention only two *Iskenders* (or *Alexanders*) beſides this *Caſtriot*, *Iskender Rumi Ibnifelikes*, or *Alexander* the *Macedonian* Son of *Philip* (whom they are in doubt, whether to place amongſt *Prophets* or believing Princes, Heathen they will not allow him to be) and *Iskenderi Zuul Carnein* or *Alexander Corniger*, otherwiſe by them called *Sahib Kiran Monarcha*. By this Name we may conjecture that *Hercules* is underſtood, becauſe they write that he carried no other Arms but a Club, which with them is called *Giurz*. But this by the way.

(45) *Arnaud*] By this common Name are ſignified *Albania* and *Macedonia*.

(46) *Akchebiſar**] The City *Alba*, whoſe ancient Name I know not.

(48) King of *Hungary*] I cannot determine who is here meant by the *Turks*. For the lawful Prince of *Hungary* at that time was *Ladiſlaus* ſirnam'd *Poſthumus*, detain'd by *Frederic* Duke of *Auſtria*, and diſown'd by the *Hungarians*. I therefore conjecture, that *John Hunniades*, General of the *Hungarian* Army, is the Perſon here ſpoken of. That he receiv'd ſome defeats from *Murad* is not denied by *Chriſtian* Writers; they add indeed, that this was with ſuch notable loſs to the *Turks*, that *Murad* declared he ſhould be unwilling to repeat his Conqueſts at ſo dear a price. The difference is, that the *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians affirm theſe things happened before *Greece* was ſubdued, but the *Turkiſh* afterwards.

* [*George Caſtriot* was Son of *John* King of *Epirus*, or *Lower Albania*, who was forced to put five of his Sons into *Murad*'s Hands as Hoſtages. Of theſe the youngeſt was this *George*, whom *Murad* was ſo fond of that he carefully trained him up in the *Mahometan* Religion, and the *Turkiſh* Diſcipline, and gave him the Name of *Skanderbeg*, or *Lord Alexander*. But whilſt *Murad* was ingag'd in the *Hungarian* Wars, *Scanderbeg* took an opportunity to withdraw into *Epirus*, where he is ſaid by the *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians, to perform Wonders againſt the *Turks*. He died at *Liſſa*, in the *Venetian* Dominions, *Jan.* 27. 1467. being Sixty-three Years of Age.]

the

the death of his predeceſſor, in conjunction with other Princes (among whom was alſo the Prince of *Walachia* who had lately revolted from the Sultan) enters the *Othman* dominions. *Murad*, who was employed rather in ſetling than ſubduing *Greece*, hearing of this invaſion, goes to *Sophia* quicker than could be imagin'd, and from thence with his Veterans and other troops raiſed in *Rumelia*, marches againſt the enemy. But before the armies came in fight, the *Beigler*, certain Muſulmans, whom *Murad* had order'd to come to his aſſiſtance, whilſt they are marching to his Camp, meet the *Walachians* at a diſtance from the reſt of the army, and attacking them, eaſily put them to rout. *Murad* interpreting this as an omen of Victory, leads on his forces to *Coſſova* (48), a Plain near *Nigremonte*, chiefly famous for that here the valiant *Chodavendikar* after his victory over *Laz ogli* was crown'd with *Sehadet* or Martyrdom. Immediately after his arrival at this place, he begins the battle, but not with the ſucceſs he expected, becauſe the enemies being covered with armour, are proof againſt the ſword. The Sultan ſeeing this, draws back his forces, and orders them to lay aſide their light arms, and ſtrike at the enemies heads with pole-axes and clubs. The *Chriſtians* being ſurrounded on every ſide, and perceiving they could not withſtand the Muſulman's fury in open field, hem themſelves in with their carriages, and retreating with a ſlow pace, valiantly fight from thence with various fortune till Sun-ſet. At laſt, the King ſeeing his men diſcourag'd and ſcatter'd, aſſembles the braveſt of his Horſe, and exhorting the reſt with a ſhort ſpeech to renew the fight, promiſes to go and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and by that means eaſily gain the Victory. Accordingly he withdraws from the battle; but more ſollicitous for his own than his people's ſafety, inſtead of attacking the enemy's rear, takes to flight. The Soldiers finding themſelves deſerted by their General, deſpair of Victory, and leaving their Camp, turn their backs and ſhift for themſelves. The *Turks* purſue them with eagerneſs, kill great numbers, and take many priſoners. There fell in the battle, except the King himſelf, all the *German*, *Bohemian*, and *Poliſh* Generals, and about two thouſand made captives.

XXXII. *Murad* having gained the Victory, returns with honour to *Adrianople*, and there marries the ſame year his Son *Mahomet* to the Daughter of *Soliman beg* Prince of *Elbiſtan* (49). After which, in the year 855, on *Monday* the ſeventh day of *Muharrem*, when he had ſtruggled ſome time with a light diſtemper, he departed this life. Marries his Son *Mahomet*, and dies. H. 855. A. C 1451.

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(48) *Coſſova*] A Place near *Nigremonte*, famous for two mighty Battles; in the firſt of which *Murad* I. gain'd a Victory over the *Bulgarians* with the loſs of his own Life, the ſecond fought with the *Hungarians* by *Murad* II. This Battle is to be met with in the *Walachian* Annals, which deſcribe it ſo fierce and bloody as to exceed all before it, and not likely to be equalled by any to come after it.

(49) *Elbiſtan*] A certain Country of *Aſia Minor* mention'd before. Its ancient Name is not known.

His Character and Iſſue.

XXXIII. Sultan *Murad* lived forty-nine, and reign'd thirty years, ſix months, and eight days. He was a juſt and valiant Prince, of a great Soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable, a lover and incourager of the ſtudious, and of all who excell'd in any Art or Science, a good Emperor, and a great General. No man obtain'd more or greater Victories than he. *Belgrade* alone withſtood his attacks. Under his reign the Soldier was ever victorious, the Citizen rich and ſecure. If he ſubdu'd any Country, his firſt care was to build *Jami*, *Moſchs*, *Imaret*, *Medreſe* and *Chan*. Every year he gave a thouſand *Filuri* to the *Evladi reſul allah* (50), and ſent two thouſand five hundred to the *Mahometan* Monks at *Mekiè*, *Mediniè*, and *Kudſſherif* (51). He had five Sons, *Mahomet*, *Aladin*, *Haſan*, *Orchan* and *Ahmed*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) *Evladi reſul Alla*] i. e. Sons of the Prophet of God, properly called *Emir*, that is, *Lords*; they derive their deſcent from *Fatima*, a Siſter of *Mahomet*. In former times they were, like the *Levites*, deſtin'd to the Worſhip of God, and received a yearly ſtipend out of the Treaſury. They are now diſpers'd over the whole Empire, and are diſtinguiſh'd from the other *Muſulmans* by wearing green *Turbans* inſtead of white. They may be tried before ordinary Judges, but are to receive their puniſhment from no Man, not even from the Emperor himſelf, but only from their own Head of the ſame Extraction called *Nakib* or *Nakybul eſhref*, *Chief of the Saints*, and of the ſame Race. A Circumſtance hardly credible, but however true, is obſerved in this Family, that the *Emirs* before their fortieth Year are Men of the greateſt Gravity, Learning and Wiſdom; but after that, if they are not quite Fools, yet they diſcover ſome ſign of levity and ſtupidity. Tho' this is interpreted by the *Turks* as a ſort of divine impulſe in token of their Birth and Sanctity, it is nevertheleſs a common Saying among them when they ſee any ſtupid Perſon, *Emir Soidur*, *he is of the Race of the* Emirs.

(51) *Mekiè Mediniè* and *Kudſſherif*] *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jeruſalem*, are the three Places to which the *Turks* go in Pilgrimage. *Mekiè* or *Kaabè* is a City of *Arabia*, where ſtands a large Moſch (in the Place where before ſtood a leſſer) built by Sultan *Selim* Conqueror of *Egypt*. The *Turks* have a Tradition, that in this Place *Abraham* pitched his Tents in ſuch manner that no Traveller could paſs by without being ſeen by him, and refreſh'd with a draught of Water, and the third part of a Loaf. That *Muhammed* afterwards tranſported hither from the Celeſtial Paradiſe a ſquare black Stone, and plac'd it as a *Mihrab*, i. e. Altar or Mark of the Place where God is to be worſhipped. He that takes a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in the opinion of the *Turks* receives from God a full remiſſion of even his greateſt Sins. They likewiſe go on Pilgrimage to *Medina*, as to a Place made ſacred by the burial of their Lawgiver. They believe his Body to be preſerv'd there uncorrupted and entire, except one Tooth, which in a Fight was, they ſay, crown'd with Martyrdom. In the Book called *Muhammedyé*, containing the Life of *Mahomet*, it is related, that the Arch-angel *Gabriel* never ſtood in ſo much fear of the divine Wrath, as when a club of the Enemy ſtriking the Mouth of the Prophet, beat out a fore Tooth; that therefore to prevent its falling to the Ground, the Arch-angel immediately dropp'd from Heaven, received it in its fall, and reſtor'd it to the Prophet, but not to its former Situation. The Sultans have a human Tooth which they believe to have been *Mahomet*'s, and preſerve it amongſt their choiceſt Treaſures. They likewiſe with great care preſerve a Robe of his in the Treaſury, whoſe

Border

Ahmed. Of these only *Mahomet* ascended the throne, all the rest died in his life-time of distempers. *Hasan* and *Orchan* were buried at *Adrianople*. *Ahmed* met with death and a grave in *Amasia* (of which he was Lord) *Aladin*, who had succeeded *Ahmed* as *Sanjak* of *Amasia*, died also there but was buried at *Prusa*.

ANNOTATIONS.

Border the *Musti* three days before the *Ramazan* (or Month of Fasting) after some Prayers, dips in Water, which from thence is believed to become holy and exempted from corruption. The Water called *Abi Hyrcai Sherif*, or *The Water of the holy Robe*, is put into small Glasses seal'd with the Seal of the Treasury, and sent by the Emperor to the prime Vizir, and the other Grandees, as a Mark of his Favour. When the *Turks* first break their Fast after Sun-set, they pour a drop of it into a large Glass of Water, and after three sips, swallow the whole at a Draught. They think that *Kudsherif* (or *Jerusalem*) is a venerable Place, so that he who in his visit to *Mecca*, passes by *Jerusalem*, is, according to them, no perfect *Haji* or *Pilgrim*. Their chief Devotion there is pay'd to the Church built by *Justinian*, by them falsely supposed the Temple of *Soliman*. They pretend besides that there is a square Stone of three Cubits hanging in the Air, and miraculously suspended by *Mahomet*. For as he was riding on the Ass (called *Burak* in the *Koran*) he was ordered by *Gabriel* to ascend into Heaven, and immediately was taken up on high with his Ass, and the Stone whereon his Ass stood, which the Arch-angel observing, said, *that his Command extended only to the Prophet, not the Stone*; upon this *Mahomet* said to the Stone, *Dur ja Mubarek, Stand, O happy Stone*, and immediately the Stone rested in the place where it was. It is not permitted to *Christians* to enter into any of these three Places; and therefore when a *Dutch* Ambassador, by what means is not known, had obtained from the Emperor a Mandate to the Governor of *Jerusalem* for his entrance into the Mosch, the Governor refused to obey the order. The Ambassador asking him the Reason of his Disobedience, his answer was, That he would strictly comply with the Mandate, which indeed allowed him an Entrance, but not a Return; he was therefore at his liberty to go in, if he was willing never more to come out. This stop'd the Ambassador's Curiosity.

Cotemporary with *MURAD* II. in *Europe*.

At *Constantinople*, { JOHN PALEOLOGUS, 1421-45. / CONSTANTINE PALEOL. 1445-53.

In the *West*, { ALBERT of *Austria*. 1437-39. / FREDERICK III. of *Austria*. 1439-93.

In *England*, HENRY VI. 1422-60.

In *France*, CHARLES VII. 1422-61.

The End of the Reign of MURAD II.

The

The REIGN of
MAHOMET II.
Seventh EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

Mahomet grants peace to *Caraman oglí.*

WE are now come to Sultan *Mahomet Fatih* (1), than whom the *Ottoman* Empire, not to say the whole world, never saw a more illustrious or more fortunate Prince. What several had wished, and few had attempted to accomplish, was accomplished by him, namely, the conquest of *Constantinople*, which City, fortified by Nature and Art, open to two Seas, and defended by a more numerous army than his, was by him taken and made the Seat of his kingdom, to the utter subversion of the antient eastern Empire. But to return to our history. *Mahomet* being dead, *Amurath* II. now in the twenty-first year of his age,

H. 855. A. C. 1451. is crown'd a second time (2) on the 10th of *Muharrem* in the year 855. That very summer he leads out his forces against *Caraman oglí*, who never missed an opportunity of raising disturbances, and infesting the adjacent Countries. *Caraman*, when he hears of the Emperor's approach, perceiving himself too weak to oppose him, has recourse to his usual artifices, and sues for peace on any terms. Tho' the Sultan knew the treacherous temper of the man, yet not to be detain'd by so inconsiderable an enemy from greater undertakings, stifles his resentment, and grants the desir'd peace.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Fatih*] An *Arabian* Word signifying a Opener or Victor. This Name was given to *Mahomet* for his assault and conquest of *Constantinople*.

(2) a second time] Hence it is evident he had been crown'd during the Life of his Father, but had resigned to him when he re-assum'd the Scepter, of which we find no mention among the *Christian* Writers.

Mahomet II Sirnam'd Fatih

SON of MURAD, seventh EMPEROR of ye TURK.

in the Year 1451.

From an Original in the Seraglio.

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He beſieges *Conſtantinople*, but on a peace he deſiſts.

II. The next year he makes greater preparations, orders Cannon to be made, and aſſembles out of all his Provinces an army, with which he marches to beſiege *Conſtantinople*. The *Greek* Emperor, terrified at ſo great danger, ſends Ambaſſadors to the Sultan, and humbly begs peace on whatever conditions he ſhould pleaſe to impoſe. *Mahomet* tells the Ambaſſadors, "That he pities the Emperor's caſe: and there-"fore cannot in conſcience deny peace to the humble. But leaſt he "ſhould be blam'd by his own people, for having been at ſo great an "expence, and for arming almoſt all *Aſia*, without any advantage to the "*Othman* affairs, he deſires *Cæſar* to give him for ever a little ſpot of "land on the *European* bank of *Bogaz* †, no bigger than an Ox-hide (3). "On this condition he would immediately withdraw his forces, and "raiſe the Siege." The *Greeks* readily conſent, thinking it great gain to redeem themſelves from ſuch danger with ſo ſmall a matter. The terms therefore being confirm'd on both ſides, he ſends his army to *Adrianople*.

† The *Boſphorus*.

He ſhuts up the *Pontus* by a Caſtle.

III. *Mahomet*, after raiſing the Siege, ſhows the *Grecian* Ambaſſadors a rocky place (4) on the bank of the *Boſphorus*, and demands the poſſeſſion. Upon their conſent he orders an Ox-hide to be cut into ſmall thongs, and with them incloſing a piece of ground five hundred paces in circumference, ſeizes it to his uſe, the *Greeks* not daring to gainſay it. Here he builds in forty days a caſtle with thick walls, and fortified with five high Towers, repreſenting the letters of *Mahomet*'s name (5), and immediately after runs up another (6) to anſwer it on the *Aſiatic* bank. Moreover he provides theſe Caſtles with great Guns, and other warlike Stores, and ſtrengthens them with a good Garriſon, ordering the Governors not to let the Veſſels paſs which daily brought proviſions to *Conſtantinople* from the *Euxine* ſea. This done, he returns under the appearance of peace to *Adrianople*, and on the third

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(3) Ox-hide.] *Mahomet* ſeems to have imitated *Eliza* Queen of *Carthage*, whoſe Fraud is to be ſeen in *Juſtin*, Book XVIII. Chap. V. For not only *Turks*, but *Lonicerus* himſelf (Tom. I. p. 37.) allow him to have been ſtudious of Antiquity, and particularly delighted with reading the Expeditions of ancient Kings and Generals, as of *Alexander the Great*, of *Scipio Africanus*, of *Hannibal*, of *Julius Cæſar*, &c.

(4) rocky place] It is on the *Europæan* ſide of the *Boſphorus*, about ſix *Italian* Miles from *Conſtantinople*.

(5) of *Mahomet*'s name] This is a *Tetragrammaton* or Word of four Letters with the *Turks*, namely, *Mim*, *Hha*, *Mim*, and *Dal*, which with the *Teſhdid* over the latter *Mim* to ſhow it muſt be doubled, make five Characters in all. As ſo many Towers fortified the above-mention'd Caſtle, theſe Towers are ſaid to have had by accident ſome reſemblance of thoſe Letters; from whence the Emperor drew a certain Preſage, that he ſhould take *Conſtantinople*, becauſe the Caſtle built by himſelf had a fortuitous Inſcription of his own Name. It is at this day called *Rumeli Hiſari*, i. e. *the Europæan Caſtle*.

(6) another] It ſtands on the *Aſiatic* ſide over againſt that juſt mentioned, where the little River *Giokſu* (or blew Water) falls into the *Boſphorus*, and is at this Day called *Anadolhiſari*, or the *Aſiatic Caſtle*.

day after his entrance, lays the foundations of that ſtately Palace, which is at this day called *Jihan Numa* (7).

Beſieges *Conſtantinople* a ſecond time. H. 857 A. C. 1453.

IV. In the third year of his reign, and of the *Hejira* 857, *Mahomet* at laſt diſcovers the deſigns which he had hitherto conceal'd in his breaſt. For raiſing as great an army as poſſible, he marches from *Adrianople* towards *Conſtantinople*, and cloſely beſieges it. In this expedition, beſides other Engines hitherto unheard of, that was particularly worthy of admiration, by which from the North-ſide ſome Veſſels were brought over hills and declivities, into the inner Haven, and occaſion'd the taking of the City (8). For doubtleſs, vain would have been the efforts of the land-army, which tho' they ſtrongly aſſaulted *Ederne Capu* (9) and *Egri Capu*, could not prevail againſt the *Greeks*, render'd valiant by deſpair, had not the Sea-forces thro' the gate *Phenar* (10) taken

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(7) *Jihan Numa*] *i. e.* Watch-Tower of the World, becauſe from the Women's Apartment built to a great height, there is a Proſpect into all Parts.

(8) the City] The *Turks* ſay, that the Sultan obſerving that his Ships could not enter the Haven, which extends as far as *Blacherna*, and that it would be very difficult to aſſault and take the City from the Continent, he order'd ſome Veſſels to be built on the Continent, and carried over Land the Space of ſeveral *Italian* Miles, from the Village *Beſhiktaſh* to *Galata*, and ſent into that part of the Haven now called *Caſim Paſha*, from which being apply'd to the Wall, his Soldiers firſt took the Gate called *Phenar*.

(9) *Ederne Capu*] 'Tis a Gate on the Continent opening towards *Adrianople*, and from thence called *Adrianople Gate*. To the North of it the next Gate is *Egri Capu* (Oblique Gate) memorable for the moſt antient Palaces in *Conſtantinople*. Theſe are reported by ſome to have been built by *Beliſarius*, firſt the Avenger of *Italy*, and afterwards the Sport of Fortune; by others they are aſcrib'd to *Conſtantine the Great*; but erroneouſly. For the preſent Palation (in the *Turkiſh* Language *Bellat*) which Name the Region about them has retain'd, ſufficiently evinces, that theſe ſtately Structures were Imperial, and built by later Emperors. In the Ruins of theſe, in the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, was found by a Boy, a Diamond, ſaid to weigh 120 Scruples. A Spoon-maker purchaſed it for twelve wooden Spoons, and ignorant of its value, ſhew'd it to a *Jew*. The crafty *Jew*, well knowing its worth, pretended it was only a Chryſtal, and offered a golden Crown for it; and upon the Man's inſiſting upon three, very readily told out the Money. The Spoon-maker wondering the *Jew* offered ſo much Money for a Chryſtal, changes his Mind, and demands ten Crowns. The *Jew* agrees to it, which made him think it a precious Stone, and therefore told him, he was only in jeſt, that the Stone was not his own, otherwiſe he would have ſold it for a Crown. The *Jew* perceiving the Fellow knew the Stone was ſomething more than a Chryſtal, prefers a Petition to the Emperor, and diſcovers what he had ſeen. The Sultan without delay ſends for the Spoon-maker and his Diamond. Amaz'd at the Luſtre and Size of it, he handſomely rewarded the *Jew* and the Spoon-maker, and threw it amongſt his Jewels. It was afterwards called *Kaſhikchi Taſhi*, the *Spoon-maker's Stone*, and is believed by the *Turks* not to have its fellow in the whole World. But that Palace is called by the *Turks*, *Tekkiur Serai*, or the Palace of the *Grecian* Emperors.

(10) *Phenar*] Vulgarly *Finer*, a Gate looking to the lower Haven of *Conſtantinople*, and particularly celebrated at this Day, becauſe in the neighbourhood of it, the more noble and wealthy *Greeks* have their Reſidence.

Here

taken great part of the City, and compell'd the rest to surrender to *Mahomet*. These things happen'd on the fifty-first day of the Siege, the negligence

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Here stands also the Patriarchal Seat and Cathedral Church, famous, as for other Things, so for its containing the Sayings, Writings, and Acts of all the Patriarchs since *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks*, accurately written. Not far from hence is an Academy built for the Instruction of Youth, by one *Manolaki* a *Greek*, who had nothing ignoble in him but his Blood. In this Academy are taught Philosophy in all its Branches, and the other Sciences in the old uncorrupted *Greek*. In my time there flourish'd here Prelates and Doctors of great Piety and Learning, namely, *Johannes Cariophyllus* an excellent Divine and Philosopher, afterwards the celebrated Preacher of the Cathedral-Church; *Balasius Scævophylax*, *Antonius* and *Spandonius*, *Peripatetic* Philosophers; *Jacomius* an accurate Grammarian, from whom, during my Residence at *Constantinople*, I learned the Elements of Philosophy; *Sebastus*, sufficiently known by his Controversial Writings against the *Latins*, and his Ecclesiastical Calender; *Dionysius Hieromonachus*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, celebrated by the learned World on many accounts, Professor of Philosophy, Divinity, and Physic, afterwards Interpreter to the *Othman* Court. He writ, besides a Tract on the Circulation of the Blood, printed several times in *Italy*, a large History from the Foundation of the World to our Times, also Letters, and other little Works innumerable, which I now hear are published in *Moldavia*, by the care of his Son *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, a Man well vers'd in the Oriental and Occidental Learning. For we are not to imagine, with the generality of *Christians*, that *Greece* is so far sunk in Barbarism, as not in these latter Ages to have produc'd Men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient Sages. To say nothing of Times more remote from us, even our Days have seen three Patriarchs of eminent Reputation for Learning, one of *Constantinople*, and two of *Jerusalem*. He of *Constantinople* was *Callinicus*, a very eloquent Orator, who, which seldom happens, died in his Patriarchate. Those of *Jerusalem* were, *Dositheus*, and his Kinsman and Successor *Chrysanthus*, yet, as I hear, alive. From the first, besides other Monuments of his Learning, we have three printed Volumes of Controversial Writings against the *Latins*. Besides these, there flourish'd at *Constantinople*, *Meletius* Archbishop first of *Arta*, and afterwards of *Athens*, a Man skilled in all Parts of Learning, but chiefly studious of the *Helmontian* Principles (or rather those of *Thales*) which he also explain'd to me for the space of eight Months; *Elias Miniati Hieromonachus*, a most acute Philosopher, and eminent for his Knowledge of both dogmatic and scholastic Divinity, afterwards Bishop of *Messene* in *Peloponnesus*; *Marcus Larissæus* an excellent Grammarian; *Metrophanes Hierodiaconus*, chiefly studious of Poetry, and a happy Imitator of the Ancients; *Ustinus* born at *Monembasia* or *Malvasia*, Philosopher and Physician, and both ways eminent. He was chief Physician of our Court. His Skill and Experience in the Medical Art, procured him both Esteem and Authority amongst the *Turks*. He afterwards left *Constantinople*, and in his own Country was honoured with the Title of a Count by the Republic of *Venice*. About a year after he was taken in *Monembasia* by the *Turks*, and, as I am inform'd, publickly hanged in *Constantinople* for a Literary Commerce which he had before held with the *Venetians*. *Constantine* Son of *Ducas*, Prince of *Moldavia*, superior to most in the ancient *Greek*, and in Philosophy, a Scholar of *Spandonius*; *Andronicus* of the noble Race of the *Rhangavi*, justly praised for his Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue in its purity, and for his reading the Fathers. To these I might justly add *Jeremias Cacavela*, a *Cretan* by birth, *Hieromonachus*, and Preacher of the Great

negligence or treachery of the Vizir (11) (who was said to be corrupted by the *Christians*) preventing the City from being sooner taken. But I shall relate the particulars of this affair more largely from the *Turkish* Historians.

The City taken by assault next the sea.

V. The *Christians* after fifty days Siege, tir'd with continual labours and watchings, when they see but few, tho' brave, defenders remain, their Walls full of Breaches, their Batteries destroy'd, in a word, the City block'd up by sea and land, and destitute of all assistance, believe, upon mature deliberation, that there is no safety but in a surrender, being perswaded that the Vizir, whom they knew to be corrupted by them, would be very serviceable in the affair. The Emperor himself approves of the advice, and sends Ambassadors to *Mahomet* to make his own terms. As they are coming out of the City with white Streamers in their hands, the tokens of peace, they are civilly receiv'd by the Sultan, who promises to give the Inhabitants their lives and goods, with liberty to remove wherever they pleas'd. The Ambassadors offer the surrender of the City on these conditions, and are sent back to give their master an account of their proceedings. But before they reach'd the walls, Sultan *Mahomet*, having something to communicate to them, orders them to be recalled. The Messengers accordingly pursue the Ambassadors (who were now some way before them) with full speed. The haste of this *Turkish* band caused the Centinels on the Ramparts to suspect that *Mahomet* would fraudulently attempt to enter the City with the Ambassadors. Wherefore they fire upon the unwary *Turks*, to hinder their nearer approach. The *Turks*, when they unexpectedly see some of their companions grievously wounded, sound a retreat, and coming to the Sultan, declare what had happen'd. *Mahomet* imagines the *Greeks* had repented of their agreement, and treacherously wounded his people. Wherefore, full of indignation, he orders his army to be ready, and by their bravery to destroy the remains of the perfidious enemy. On the other hand, the *Greek* Emperor being told by the Centinels,

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Great Church at *Constantinople*, from whom I drew the first Precepts of Philosophy; *Anastasius Condoidi*, a *Coreyran* by birth, Preceptor to my Sons; as likewise *Anastasius Nausis* a *Macedonian*, a Man whose eminent Knowledge in *Greek* render'd him sufficiently known both in *England* and *Germany*.

(11) of the Vizir] He seems to be *Hasil Pasha*, whom *Phranza*, Book III. Chap. XIII. names as chief of the Council, and the most approv'd of all, and says he advised *Mahomet* to desist from this War, not only before the Siege, but even repeated and confirm'd his Advice afterwards, when Things succeeded not to his wish; but his Opinion being rejected, he privately betray'd the Resolutions of the Council to the *Greek* Emperor, for which reason he was, a few Days after the City was taken, put to Death. We are not to expect such Discoveries from the graver *Turkish* Historians, who tho' they are not ignorant of the Treachery of their own Ministers, yet never clearly express it, as well not to pay so much regard to the Memory of Traytors, as to spare the Honour of that eminent Degree in which they are placed.

that

that the *Turkiſh* army attempted to take the City by fraud, and were now approaching the walls, commands his people to arm and exert their utmoſt in this extreme neceſſity. The *Greeks* are animated by their preſent danger, and ſeeing deſpair to be their only refuge, are reſolutely bent to defend the City. Whereupon there enſues a fierce and bloody conflict, one ſide fighting for religion, liberty, and life, and the other for Victory and Empire. But whilſt the *Greeks* valiantly fight on the ſide of the Continent, thoſe that defended the City from the Haven, being beaten from the walls by the enemy's darts, give the *Turkiſh* forces an opportunity to enter the Town.

VI. In this aſſault the Emperor himſelf falls whilſt he is bravely acting the part ſometimes of a General, ſometimes of a Soldier, and in the greateſt dangers animating his men by his preſence. By his fall, the whole glory of the *Greek* Empire is laid in the duſt. His headleſs body was found on that of an Enſign-bearer, from whence the place to this day has acquir'd the name of *Sanjakdar Yokuſhi* (12). The Emperor himſelf is killed.

VII. When theſe things were known to thoſe who yet bravely repelled the attacks of the *Turkiſh* land-forces, they reſolve to ſeek their laſt hopes of ſafety in the ſurrender already agreed on. Wherefore erecting on the walls the ſignal of peace, they cry aloud from the Ramparts, " Why do you without the fear of God, cauſeleſsly, and " for no fault of ours break your promiſe? The agreement for the " ſurrender of the City is now made and order'd by both Emperors to " be ratified. Deſiſt therefore from fighting, nor aſſault thoſe who " have promiſed to be your future ſubjects." *Mahomet* hearing theſe words, and ignorant perhaps of what had paſſed in the Haven, commands the battle to ceaſe, promiſes to ſtand to the former conditions, and ſo receives the other part of the City by ſurrender. The other part of the City ſurrenders.

VIII. Next day, *Mahomet* enters by the gate called *Topkapu*, and to the *Greeks*, anxious about their religion and lives, makes the following determination: " I promiſed you in our agreement, that if you choſe " to remain here, all the Churches and Monaſteries ſhould be un- " touch'd, and your religion ſuffer no damage. But ſince I have re- " ceiv'd half the City by force of arms, and half by ſurrender, I think " it juſt, and accordingly order, that the religious Houſes and " Churches which ſtand in that part I have conquer'd, be converted " into *Jami*, and the reſt left entire to the *Chriſtians*." So from *Akſerai* (13) to *Sancta Sophia*, all the Churches were turn'd into *Jami*, but *Mahomet* explains the Conditions of the ſurrender.

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(12) *Sanjakdar Yokuſhi*] i. e. *Aſcents* or *Hills* with Enſigns upon them. It is a high Mount, on whoſe Top a Temple is erected, not far from the Cathedral Church, in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, the only ancient Church which the *Turks* have left to the *Chriſtians*.

(13) *Akſerai*] *White Palace*, ſo is the Street called by the *Turks* which looks to the *Propontis*, where now are ſeen beautiful Chambers of the Janizaries

but from the Temple *Suly Monaſtyr* (14) to *Ederne Capu*, all remain'd to the *Greeks*.

He goes in Proceſſion to *Sancta Sophia.*

IX. After this, the land and ſea-forces being aſſembled in the market-place *Akſerai*, he goes in a triumphal proceſſion to *Sancta Sophia*, and there orders the *Ezan* (15) to be ſung, and *Namaz* to be perform'd. After prayers he goes to the Imperial Palace, and as he is entering, being addicted to Poetry, he is reported to ſay an extempore Diſtich in the *Perſian* Language (16). The taking of *Conſtantinople* (17) happen'd in

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Janizaries called by the *Turks Yengiodalar*, or the *New Manſions*; thro' this Street it is not permitted even to the Women of the Janizaries to paſs. For whatever injuries they receive from them here go unpunith'd. But if any Whore voluntarily comes into it for the embraces of a Man, it is cuſtomary to hang her Turban on a knife, ſtuck in the Wall at the entrance of the Street, on ſight of which all paſſing that way turn off to another Street.

(14) *Suly Monaſtyr*] The *watry Monaſtery*. It was in the times of the *Chriſtians*, a Church of the *Arminians*, who took up all that quarter of the City. It is now a *Jami*, and owes its Name to the Springs which flow from the Foundations of the Church.

(15) *Ezan*] A Hymn containing the Profeſſion of the *Muhammedan* Faith, repeated five times a day to call the People to Prayers, from the higheſt Tower of the *Jami* called *Minaré*, by the Chanter *Muezin*. On *Friday* is added a ſixth *Ezan* called *Solla*, two hours before the Noon *Namaz*, which is followed by no Prayers, as neither does the *Temjid* which is ſung before the Morning Prayers, immediately precede theſe Prayers; for it is as it were a Doxology to God, the Giver of Light, and Sanctifier of the ſacred Day. There are but two Heads of Confeſſion, namely, *There is no God but God*, and *Muhammed is his Prophet*. To the *Ezan* is uſually added, "God is the moſt high, there "is no God but God, and *Muham-* "*med* is his Prophet; (which is twice "repeated) come to the Place of "Tranquillity or Integrity (mean- "ing *Mecca*) come to the Aſylum "or Salvation." As the *Chriſtians* when they take a City ſing their *Te Deum*; ſo the *Turks* for the like Succeſs thunder out their *Ezan* in the Churches, which they immediately convert into *Jami*.

(16) *Perſian* Language] The Diſtich was, *Perdè dari mikuined ber kyſr Caiſar ankebut Bumi neubèt mizenedber kiumbeli Efraſiyab*; that is, "The "Spider has wove her Web in the "Imperial Palace, the Owl has ſung "her watch Song upon the Towers "of *Efraſiyab*," (a Palace of the King of *Perſia*, celebrated in the *Turkiſh* Fables.) This Oracle ſeems to intimate the downfall of the proud Majeſty of the *Grecian* Emperors. For as we ſee Spiders throw their Webs over ruinous and deſerted Houſes; in like manner, the *Grecian* Empire, ſubverted and wreſted from its ancient Poſſeſſors, is likely to become as the Palaces of *Efraſiyab*, in which, inſtead of Guards, Owls make their Neſts, and ſtream out their direful Notes. A true Prediction, and fulfilled in every Circumſtance! For at this day, as I before obſerv'd, the Palace of the *Grecian* Emperors is become the Reſidence of Owls and Bats, a lively Emblem of the deſtroy'd Empire.

(17) of *Conſtantinople*] I am not ignorant that almoſt all the *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, give a different Account of the taking of this City, and make the whole to be acquir'd by Arms. But many Conſiderations (by which the Truth of what is here related is evidently ſupported) hinder me from being mov'd by their Authority. Firſt, the concurrent Teſtimony of all even the graveſt Hiſtorians amongſt the *Turks*. Of them both ancient and modern,

in the year of the *Hejira* 857, on the 29th day of the month *Jemaziul evvel*.

X. The

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dern, however disagreeing in their Narrations of other Facts of their Emperors, when they come to this head, with one Mouth as it were declare, that half of the City (and indeed the greatest part of it) was surrendered to *Muhammed* on covenanted Terms, which they have also transmitted to us. Now as it is customary with most Oriental Writers, not the *Turks* alone, to magnify their own Affairs, and as much to depress and sink those of others, I can hardly believe they would assert a Lye to their own dishonour. For to take a City by force of Arms, is by all Nations, which have any sense of military Prowess, esteem'd much more honourable, than to receive it by surrender. A second, and still more strong Argument is, the *Greeks* were quiet Possessors of their Churches in the surrendered part of the City under three Emperors, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, and part of the Reign of *Selim* I, who indeed afterwards took them away. The Acts of these Churches during those times are to this day preserv'd in the Records of the Patriarchal Church. How they came to be taken away, I shall relate from a grave and co-temporary Historian of the *Turks*, *Ali Effendi*, a Native of *Philippopolis*, who held the Office of *Chazne Kiatibi*, or Secretary of the Treasury under the celebrated *Ferhad Pasha Tefterdar*, or Treasurer to Sultan *Selim* I. This account will serve to confirm my Opinion concerning the surrender of the City. *Selim* I. on a Time zealous for the Propagation of his Faith, sent for the Mufti, and talking familiarly with him on indifferent Matters, at last artfully turn'd the Discourse, and seriously asked him which he thought would be most pleasing to God, and most redound to his Honour, to subdue the whole World to the *Othman* Empire, and make the Followers of *Issevi* (*Jesus*) and *Musavi* (*Moses*) tributary to himself, and so bring into the Treasury of *Beitulmal Muslimin*, of the Musulman State, the Wealth of so many Kingdoms, or, despising so great a Treasure, convert all Nations to the *Muhammedan* Faith? The Mufti, not comprehending his meaning, answered, that one lost Soul (and such was that of every *Christian* and *Jew*) recovered to the true Faith, was of infinitely more value in the sight of God, than the Riches of the whole Earth. The Emperor by this *Fetva* being confirm'd in his Opinion, a few Days after sent for the Prime Vizir, and ordered him to convert all the Churches of the *Christians* into *Jami*, to forbid them the publick Profession and Worship of their Religion, and by all means use his endeavours to reconcile them to the Profession of *Muhammedism*, with even capital Punishment of such as disobeyed the Imperial Mandate. The Vizir, thunder-struck with this Innovation, and the Command of an attempt so contrary not only to the *Mahometan* Law, but to the good of the Empire it self, knew not what to reply; but hearing that the Mufti had confirm'd the Emperor in this by his *Fetva*, he immediately leaves the Court, and going to him, sharply reproves him for the Counsel he had given. The Mufti owns himself over-reached by the Emperor, but with an Oath promises his Endeavours to repair his Mistake, and recover the Emperor to a better Mind. They then consult together, and privately dispatch a Person to the *Greek* Patriarch, to furnish him with an answer to the Imperial Mandate when there should be occasion. Next they opened the Mandate to the *Caimacan*, ordering him to convert all the Churches of the *Christians* into *Jami*, and compel all the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* of another Faith by all means to embrace *Mahometism*. He receiving the Mandate, summons the Patriarch and all his Clergy to the Palace, and reads to them his Instructions. The Patriarch, as taught before by the Vizir and Mufti, answers, that he would

Eyub enſari's Monument is diſcover'd.

X. The City being thus ſettled the third day after it was taken, the Sultan is told, that a certain *Mahometan* General *Ebu Eyub Enſari*

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would try the Matter with the Emperor, and plead his Cauſe before the Mufti, and others learned in the Law, and whatever the Sentence of God ſhould determine according to the Law of the *Coran*, by that he would abide. But ſhould he be denied this Juſtice, he would require the Souls and Sins of himſelf and all his People, in another World, and before another Tribunal. The *Cuimacan* ſent the Patriarch's anſwer to the Vizir, incloſed in a Letter according to order, and with it the humble Petition of the *Chriſtians*. Theſe being received and read, the Mufti with the Vizir goes to the Emperor, tells him that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* refuſed Obedience to his Mandate, and gave for a reaſon of his Diſobedience, a Trial which muſt firſt be had between himſelf and the Emperor. *But*, added the Mufti, as at the Voice of *Emriſheriyn*, *let the Will of Righteouſneſs be performed*, flowing Waters ought to ſtop; ſo I think it but juſt that your Majeſty ſhould hear his Complaints, and vouchſafe them an Anſwer. The Emperor, ſenſible that he could do nothing by force, contrary to the Opinion of the Mufti, replied, let it be ſo, and ordered the Patriarch, the Metropolitans, and ſome others of the Seniors to attend him at *Adrianople*. When they ſtood in the Divan, they complained that the Emperor's Mandate was not only injurious to themſelves, but raſhly violated and trampled upon the Covenant entered into with his Anceſtors, and confirm'd by an Oath. The Emperor's *Teſterdar Effendi* (for he always pleads the Sultan's Cauſe) asking them what Covenant it was that they talk'd of? The Patriarch anſwer'd, "Be it known to your Ma-"jeſty, that our Anceſtors voluntarily ſurrendered one half of *Conſtantinople* to *Mubammed Fatih*, on "Condition, 1. That the Churches of "the *Chriſtians* ſhould not be turned "into *Jami*. 2. That Marriages, "Funerals, and other Rites of the "*Chriſtian* Worſhip, ſhould be ſolemniz'd as uſual, without Let or "Moleſtation. 3. That the Feaſt of "*Eaſter* ſhould be kept with full "Liberty, and for that purpoſe the "Gate *Phenar* left three days open "for the *Chriſtians* to come from the "Suburbs, and join in the nocturnal Devotions of the Patriarchal "Church. On theſe Conditions (I "ſay) did we ſurrender the City to "your Majeſty's Grandfather, with "the tender of the Keys in golden "Bowls, and by his Sentence were "confirm'd in the poſſeſſion of our "Churches to this day, and religiouſly protected by two of your "Anceſtors from all Violence; which "Rights your Majeſty is now wreſting from us, with what Injuſtice to "us I need not ſay. To the other "head of your Majeſty's Mandate "which orders us to quit *Chriſtianity*, and embrace *Mahometiſm*, beſides what is before alledged, I "have to ſay, that it contradicts the "Law of the *Coran*, which expreſsly "ſays, No Perſon who from his "entrance into Manhood, to his ſeventieth Year, annually pays "thirteen Drams of pure Silver in "the name of a Tribute, ſhall be "forc'd into *Mahometiſm*." To the Mufti confirming by his Teſtimony that ſuch a Law was owned by Commentators on the *Coran*, and even to be found in the Text it ſelf, and ought to ſtand inviolable, the Imperial Advocate anſwered, That it was a doubt with no Man, that what the Patriarch had produc'd out of the ſacred *Coran*, and the Mufti confirm'd, was true and highly venerable; but his Account of the ſurrender of *Conſtantinople* appeared neither true nor probable. The Patriarch being asked by the Mufti, whether he could produce the Inſtrument of this Covenant, was anſwer'd by him, that it periſh'd in a Fire, but that he had three Eye-witneſſes amongſt the Janizaries themſelves, on whoſe Faith he durſt rely for the Confirmation of what

fari (18) had long ſince foretold that he ſhould be crowned with Martyrdom under *Conſtantine*, but that an Emperor of the Muſſulmans who ſhould take the City, would by revelation diſcover his Monument. The Sultan, deſirous of fulfilling the prediction, asks *Sheich Akſhems-iddyn*, who

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what he advanc'd. The three Janizaries, each almoſt 100 years old, were produc'd, and before the Mufti, owned that they were preſent at the taking of *Conſtantinople*, and with their own Eyes ſaw the *Greek* Nobles come out of the City, and preſent the Sultan, yet in a Tent without the Walls, the Keys in golden Bowls, and require and obtain the Grant of the three mentioned Conditions. Here the Emperor interpos'd——Notwithſtanding, ſays he, theſe Conditions were granted to the *Chriſtians* by our Grandfather, yet ſince neither Juſtice, nor our Law, allows ſuch beautiful Buildings deſtin'd to divine Worſhip, to become *Butchane*, *Houſes of Idols*, we cannot confirm the Conditions. Wherefore, according to the Preſcript of the holy *Koran*, we give all *Chriſtians* leave to make a publick Profeſſion of their Religion; but it is our Will and Pleaſure, that all Churches built of Stone, and hitherto poſſeſſed by *Chriſtians*, be entirely turn'd into *Jami*; with liberty nevertheleſs to build wooden ones in their room, or repair any ſuch as are worn out with time. According to which Mandate the Patriarchal Church called *Pammacariſtos*, (which on the Weſt looked to the Palace of *Moldavia*, called *Bogdan Serai*, on the Eaſt to the *Walachian* Palace called *Cara Iſlak*, corrupely *Ulob Serai*) was then converted into a *Jami* by the Name of *Fethiye*, and ſhortly after all the reſt. I thought it proper to produce theſe things out of the before-mentioned *Turkiſh* Hiſtorian, which deſerve the more regard, as no other *Turkiſh* Writer delivers the *Chriſtian* Affairs with greater Care and Modeſty. I found the Book at the Houſe of a *Greek* at *Philippopolis*, nor did I ever happen to ſee any other Copy of it. After my departure it remained at *Conſtantinople*, and came, as I hear, into the Hands of *John Maurocordatus*, who is now Interpreter to the *Othman* Court, with other Collections of mine concerning the Affairs and Manners of the *Turks*. And of all the Churches which for almoſt a whole Century the *Chriſtians* were in Poſſeſſion of after the calamitous Conqueſt of *Conſtantinople*, only one was left them by *Selim*, and that in favour of a certain *Greek* Architect, who had built for *Selim* at *Adrianople*, a large and elegant Temple. He was Nephew of another Architect, whom Sultan *Mahomet* II, intruſted with the care of a *Jami* which he built at *Conſtantinople*, and for his faithful execution of the Deſign, preſented him with the Church above mention'd, together with the whole Street in which it ſtands; of which Grant an authentic Record is to this day preſerv'd in the Treaſury of that Church. Near that quarter, when I was at *Conſtantinople*, I raiſed a Palace on a high Hill called *Senjakdar Iokuſbi*; the Building was elegant, and afforded a Proſpect over almoſt the whole City and Suburbs. Under Sultan *Mahomet* IV, my Father-in-law *Serban Cantacuzenus*, Prince of *Walachia*, having raiſed from the Valley Walls of 25 Cubits high, levelled the Ground for a Garden, and had now raiſed the firſt Wall of his Houſe at an expence of 35000 Imperial Crowns, when he received an order to proceed no farther, becauſe he could already look into the Imperial Palace called *Terſane Serai*. At length, by the Interceſſion of the prime Vizir *Ali Paſha*, I obtain'd leave of the Emperor to carry on the Building of my Palace on the old Foundations, which I had hardly finiſh'd, when I was, as it were, thruſt into the Principality of *Moldavia*.

(18) *Ebu Eyub Enſari*] A Suburb ſo called from the Monument *Eyub Enſari*, ſituated at the head of the inner Haven, where the River *Kiagyzchane* diſcharges it ſelf. Near this

who by a divine impulſe, (as 'tis pretended) always accompanied the Emperor, to prevail with God by his prayers, to reveal to him the Monument of *Eyub Enſari*, that ſo great a teſtimony of the divine original of the *Mahometan* law might not be loſt. *Sheich* being told the place in a viſion, carries the Sultan into the Suburbs, which from that General's name is at this day called *Eyub*, and in a certain ſpot orders the ground to be dug up; by which means a great ſtone is found with this Inſcription, *Heza Cabri Sahibi Riſul-allah, Abi Eyubi Chalidin Zidul-enſari*, which may be thus render'd: "This is the Sepulcher of "the laſting friend, or counſellor, and of the never dying Apoſtle of "God, *Eyub*, whoſe aid be increas'd and prevail." *Mahomet* gives God thanks for this diſcovery, and commands a *Turbè* (19), *Jami*, and School to be erected over the Tomb.

Mahomet's farther Progreſs.

XI. About the ſame time, juſt as the downfall of an old ſpreading Oak cruſhes all the neighbouring Trees, the adjacent Towns, particularly *Syllivri* (20) and *Burgaz*, offer their keys to the Sultan, chuſing rather to make him their gracious Sovereign than Conqueror. The next year the Emperor builds in the center of *Conſtantinople* the great Palace called at this day *Eski Serai* (21). In the year 860 he goes with

H. 858.
Ch. 1453.
H. 860.
A. C. 1455.

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Place ſtood formerly the Monaſtery of the *Blacherne*, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and famous for many Miracles, now given by the Sultan for an Habitation to the *Cingari*. Nothing remains of the Church beſides a Fountain, which bubbles out with ſalutary Water to the Faithful, and now in poſſeſſion of a certain *Turk*, who for Money allows the *Chriſtians* to draw out of it.

(19) *Turbè*] Is a Turret commonly placed over Sepulchres, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere. They are uſually built open at the Top, after the form of the *Kiabè*, or Monument at *Mecca*. This is done to let the Rain come at the Flowers and other odoriferous Trees there planted; the Top is guarded by a brazen Net, to hinder Birds from getting in.

(20) *Syllivri*] *Syllebria* a City on the *Propontic* Shore, between *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*, ten hours diſtant from the latter. It is a Metropolitical See, and has a moſt beautiful Church built in the time of the *Chriſtian* Emperors. Here are preſerv'd the intire Remains of St. *Euphymia*, viſited by the *Turks* out of Curioſity, and called by them *Cadid*. Here likewiſe are ſeen the ruins of a large Palace, built by *John Cantacuzenus*, concerning which ſee *Nicephorus Gregoras*, Tom. II.

(21) *Eski Serai*] The *Old Palace*. A vaſt Building ſurrounded with high Walls, and ſeparated into ſeveral Apartments. It is the uſual Reſidence as well of the Miſtreſſes of the deceas'd Sultan, whom the Eyes of a Succeſſor (if a Son or Brother of the deceas'd) cannot behold without impiety, as of the Sultaneſſes who have had Children, with their Courtiers and little ones, and likewiſe of old Virgins who have no longer any Charms, and are maintain'd rather out of the Sultan's Clemency, than for any Merit of their own. The Walls built in a Square, are in compaſs about an *Italian* Mile. Of four Gates, two are always ſhut, the other two are guarded Night and Day by five hundred *Baltaji*. The Doors of the inner Palace are kept by white Eunuchs, to whom the black ones, as the more noble, commit the Care and Attendance of the Women. Their head Officer is called *Eski ſerai Agaſi*, or *the Governor of the Old Palace*.

a great

a great army againſt the King of *Hungary* (22), defeats and puts the *Chriſtians* to rout. In the battle, the King himſelf receives a wound, of which he is ſaid to die ſhortly after.

Belgrade is beſieg'd in vain.

XII. Having obtain'd this Victory, by which his enemies were more eaſily reſtrain'd, he beſieges *Belgrade*, the great Bulwark of *Hungary*. But he meets with no better ſucceſs than his Father. For the Siege being prolong'd beyond expectation, he is obliged to raiſe it by the approach of winter, and the loſs of his men. The ſame year he circumciſes his Sons *Bajazet* and *Murad*, and makes ſumptuous feaſts on that occaſion.

The *Morea* is entirely ſubdu'd.

XIII. In the year 861 he ſubdues the reſt of the *Morea*, and the next ſpring attacks and routs the *Greeks*, who were endeavouring to recover what they had loſt, and repair *Altymil*, whoſe Walls he demoliſhes, and leaſt they ſhould make any future diſturbances, he places ſtrong garriſons in *Akkerne* and *Beldez*, and lays waſte the Iſland *Korfes* (23).

Mahomet ſubdues above forty Cities in two years.

XIV. In the year 863 he aſſaults and takes *Semendre*, of which the *Chriſtians* had ſome years before made themſelves maſter. In a word, within two years after the Conqueſt of *Conſtantinople*, he reduces by arms or capitulations above forty Cities (24) to his obedience.

Kyzil Ahmed is depriv'd of his dominions.

H. 864.

A. C. 1459.

XV. In the year 864, in *Aſia* he ſeizes the dominions of *Kyzil Ahmed* (25), by means of his brother and betrayer *Iſmael beg*. *Ahmed* being thus diſpoſſeſs'd, flies to *Uzunbaſan* (26); but inſtead of finding there an end to his miſeries, he proves the cauſe of many miſchiefs to his defender. For *Mahomet* hearing his enemy was received and protected by *Uzunbaſan*, paſſes into *Aſia* with a great army, and routing *Uzunbaſan*'s forces, takes *Synope*, a town on the *Pontus Euxinus*. From hence leading his victorious army towards *Trapezond*, he receives in the way *Cojumlubiſar* by ſurrender from *Huſein beg*, who had married the King of *Trapezond*'s daughter. Then cloſely beſieging *Trapezond*, *David Comnenus* the King, by the perſwaſions of his Mother-in-law *Sarecban*, delivers up himſelf and whole Kingdom to *Mahomet*, by whom he is honorably receiv'd, and ſent with all his family to

Trapezond is taken by the *Turks*.

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(22) King of *Hungary*] This was *Ladiſlaus Poſthumus*, Son of *Albert* Emperor of *Germany*, whoſe death *Chriſtian* Writers place the 21ſt of *November* 1458, of the *Hejira* 863.

(23) *Korfes*] The name of the *Adriatic* Sea, commonly called *Golfo di Venetia*, in appearance the Iſle of *Corfu*, the *Corcyra* of the Ancients.

(24) forty Cities] This is only to be underſtood of the two years after the taking of *Conſtantinople*. For that *Mahomet* in his whole Life ſubdu'd twelve Kingdoms and two hundred Cities, is confeſſed by the *Chriſtian* Writers themſelves.

(25) *Kyzil Ahmed*] *Ahmed Rufus*, who firſt gave occaſion to the War between *Uzunbaſan* and *Mahomet*. He ſeems to have been a *Perſian* Satrapas.

(26) *Uzunbaſan*] i. e. *Haſan the Tall*, King of *Cappadocia*, and famous in the *Turkiſh* Wars. The Series of this Hiſtory will more amply deſcribe him.

Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople. Soon after the victorious Sultan himſelf returns into *Europe.*

Mitylene is taken, and the *Walachians* defeated.

XVI. The countries which had been ſubject to the *Greeks*, having all ſince the conqueſt of the Imperial City ſubmitted to, or been ſubdued by *Mahomet*, the Iſlands alone, which thought themſelves ſufficiently defended by nature from the *Othman* power, ſeem'd to aſſert their liberty. Wherefore to conquer their obſtinacy, the Sultan in the year 865 prepares a great fleet, and for the firſt tryal of his fortune by ſea, attacks *Mitylene*, and tho' bravely defended by the Iſlanders, takes it by the valour of his Men, and annexes it to his Empire. The reſt of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago* would have ſhar'd the ſame fate, if about this time *Cazyklu Voda* (27) Prince of *Walachia* had not attempted to ſhake off the *Turkiſh* yoke, and denied the tribute he had been uſed to pay every year. *Mahomet* thinking the neareſt danger firſt to be averted, inſtantly turns his arms againſt *Walachia*, and expelling the rebellious Prince, makes his younger brother Governor of the Province.

H. 865.
A. C. 1460.

Mahomet reſtrains the rebellious *Greeks.*

XVII. In the year 867 the Sultan orders *Catirga Ilimani* (28) or *the three-oar'd Port*, to be made towards the South within the walls of the City, that a magazine for naval expeditions, and a ſafe harbour for his Ships againſt all events, might not be wanting. Whilſt he was employ'd in this work, the *Greeks*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, raiſe commotions in the *Morea*, take *Gingerjinlik*, *Sada*, *Giuzelje biſar*, *Duraj* (29) and *Ezornik*, and try to expel the *Turks* out of all *Peloponeſus*. *Mahomet* being inform'd of theſe things, immediately ſends *Mehemmed Puſha* with a good army to chaſtiſe the rebels, who not expecting his coming, deſert their Camp, by which means they give *Mehemmed* an opportunity not only to recover the loſt Cities, but to ſubdue the country of *Koje berſek* (30).

H. 867.
A. C. 1462.

builds a *Jami* at *Conſtantinople.*

XVIII. *Mahomet*, to return God thanks for the great Victories he had hitherto obtain'd, and to leave a Monument of his piety to poſterity, orders this year in the month *Jemaziul Achyr*, the Church of the

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(27) *Cazyklu Voda*] He was Prince of *Walachia*, and a bloody Tyrant. He empal'd ſix thouſand Men for a trifling occaſion, and from thence procured amongſt his *Walachians* the nick-name of *Capaluſh*, or *Pale-Maker*. From whence the *Turks* interpreting the Etymology, ſeem to have taken their *Cazikly*, or *rich in Pales*. By the *Chriſtians* he is called *Dracula*, but why I know not, becauſe that name is plainly foreign to the *Moldavian* Language. *Dragoſh* indeed is ſaid to be the firſt Prince of *Moldavia*, but *Dracula* was long before him; but of theſe things elſewhere.

(28) *Catirga Ilimani*] *The three-oar'd Port*, ſituate between the Gates *Chatladi** and *Cumcapu*, in the Southern Quarter towards the *Propontis*. It is now filled up with Earth, and made a Kitchen-Garden called *Vlanga*, in which grow the choiceſt Cucumbers.

(29) *Duraj*] Formerly *Dyrrachium*, the moſt celebrated Mart of all *Rumelia*, ſituated on the Shore of the *Adriatic* Sea, and in the Confines of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*.

(30) *Koje berſek*] The ancient *Illyria*, for *Koje* is *Old*, and *berſek Illyria*.

holy

holy Apoſtles (31) to be demoliſh'd, and a large *Jami* to be built in its room, which called after his own name, *Muhamediè*, he adorns with eight ſchools, and as many hoſpitals. This work, ſcarce to be parallel'd by the wonders of Antiquity, was finiſh'd in the month *Rejeb* of the year 876. H. 876. A. C. 1471.

XIX. In the year 868, aſſembling a great army, he moves towards the Eaſt, to reduce the Provinces of thoſe parts which refus'd to ſubmit. His deſign was crown'd with ſucceſs. For having vanquiſh'd and ſlain the Prince of *Boſnia* (32), he places ſtrong garriſons in the caſtles, and in his return from this expedition, ſtrengthens the borders between *Boſnia* and *Albania*, by erecting fortreſſes in the narrow paſſages of the Mountains. Subdues *Boſnia*. H. 868. A. C. 1463.

XX. The next year, *Caraman ogli Ibrahim beg*, inveterate enemy of the *Othman* race, dies, and leaves behind him ſix Sons: Of theſe *Iſhak beg*, having expell'd his brothers by force and policy, ſeizes alone his Father's dominions; which the reſt not enduring, fly to *Mahomet*, beſeeching him to forget the injuries done him by their Father, take pity on Princes oppreſſed and expelled by a tyrannical brother, and declare another Prince whom he pleaſed, for to his pleaſure they commit themſelves and their fortunes. *Mahomet* readily grants their re- Makes *Caraman ogli*'s Son King.

ANNOTATIONS.

(31) of the holy Apoſtles] It was a Church built by the Empreſs of *Juſtinian the Great*. It is now a Place or Mount lying in the middle of the City, but nearer to the inner Haven than to the Continent. It is higher than the ſix others, where a *Jami* built by *Mahomet Fatih* of 120 Cubits ſquare, is thought to be the largeſt Temple next to *Sancta Sophia*. The Architect was, they ſay, a *Greek Chriſtian* named *Chriſtodulus*, who in reward of this vaſt and wonderful Work, was preſented with a whole Street, and other Imperial Gifts. They add, that being asked, whether he could build another *Jami* larger and more elegant, he anſwered, he could if Materials were plentifully ſupplied. This being told to the Emperor, he ordered him to be impal'd, that his Succeſſors might want an Architect capable to raiſe a nobler *Jami* than his own. That to this purpoſe an Iron Pale was fix'd to the Gate of the outer Hall of the *Jami* which looks to the North, and by a little Tower thrown round it, not to be ſeen by thoſe without, excepting the Point of it, which to this day appears. However, that the *Muhamedie* is the Work of *Chriſtodulus*, and that he receiv'd in recompence the Street before mentioned, I am induc'd to believe from the Writing given by *Mahomet* to *Chriſtodulus* on this occaſion, which I my ſelf read, and afterwards lodged in the Treaſury of the Church of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary* at *Muglotiſſa*, For when under the preſent Emperor *Ahmed* III. the *Turks* commenc'd a Suit againſt the *Chriſtians* of that Street, with intention to take away from them both the Street and the Church, I undertook their defenſe, and amonſt other *Hujet*, or Teſtimonials which they had of their being legal Proprietors of their Houſes, I ſhew'd this Writing to the Prime Vizir *Choruly* Ali Paſha*, which after he had carefully read, three times kiſſed, and as often rubb'd his Face with, he gave it back into my Hands, and ordered the *Turks* to give the *Chriſtians* no farther Moleſtation.

(32) Prince of *Boſnia*] From *Chriſtian* Writers I gather, it muſt have been *Stephanus*, whole Seat was *Yazyga*.

queſt, names *Ahmed beg*, one of the brothers (with the conſent of the others) for Prince of *Caramania*, and ſends him with a good army to take poſſeſſion of his father's inheritance. The reſt of the brothers he keeps with him, promotes them to great honours, and orders them noble ſalaries to be paid yearly out of the Treaſury. Mean while, *Ahmed beg* marches with his army into *Caramania*, vanquiſhes his brother *Iſhak beg*, and forces him to fly to *Uzunbaſan*. Being thus poſſeſſed of the *Caramanian* Kingdom, and having appeas'd the inteſtine diſſentions, he honourably ſends back to *Mahomet* the imperial forces laden with preſents.

Takes ſome towns of *Albania*.
H. 870.
A. C. 1465.

XXI. In the year 870, *Albania* gave freſh occaſion to warlike expeditions. His father *Murad* had before vanquiſh'd *Scander beg* the rebellious Prince of this country, and ſubdued moſt of the fortreſſes. But as *Murad* by death, and *Mahomet* by other expeditions, had been prevented from conquering the whole, the garriſons of the rebels had infeſted the neighbouring countries with frequent inroads. Whereupon the Sultan invades *Arnaud*, takes all the towns of the rebels, ſome of which he demoliſhes, and to prevent any future commotions, commands a new and ſtrong City to be built at the entrance into the Province.

Makes his Son *Muſtapha* King of *Caramania*.
H. 872.
A. C. 1467.

XXII. The Sultan having now ſubdued almoſt all his inteſtine enemies in *Europe*, turn'd his thoughts towards his *Aſiatic* affairs. *Caramania* had frequently obſtructed the attempts of the *Othman* Empire, and more than once ſtopp'd the victorious progreſs of the *Turkiſh* forces. *Mahomet*, mindful of this treachery, reſolves to extirpate that race, that the Kingdom might be more peaceably deliver'd to a Succeſſor. Wherefore in the year 872 he invades *Caramania* with a great army, ſubdues the whole Kingdom, and expelling the Prince with his brothers, makes his eldeſt ſon *Muſtapha* King of *Caramania*. The next year he again marches into that Kingdom, and conquering the towns which refus'd to ſubmit, or tried to ſhake off their yoke, places ſtrong garriſons in *Akſarai* (33) and *Giulluk* (34), and returns to *Conſtantinople*.

Takes *Egriboz*.
H. 874.
A. C. 1469.

XXIII. *Caramania* being ſubdued, the only place in *Europe* that ſeemed formidable to him was *Egriboz* (35). To draw this thorn out of his ſide, *Mahomet* in the year 874 goes in perſon with a ſtrong army and fleet into *Greece*, and takes in the ſpace of a month the ſtrongeſt City of that age. The *Venetians* indeed came with a conſiderable fleet, and promis'd to aſſiſt the beſieged; but as if they had ſail'd ſo far, not for the ſake of fighting, but only to be ſpectators of the Sultan's Victory,

ANNOTATIONS.

(33) *Akſerai*] i. e. *White Palace*, a Town of *Caramania*.

(34) *Giulluk*] *Roſetum* a Town of the ſame Province.

(35) *Egriboz*] The Iſle *Negropont* in the *Archipelago*, anciently *Eubœa*, whoſe Metropolis *Chalcis* is by the *Turks* likewiſe called *Egriboz*.

tory, they retir'd, to their great dishonour, without firing a gun. *Mahomet* after taking the City stays a few days to repair the ruins, and then leads back his victorious army to *Constantinople*.

XXIV. By these conquests *Mahomet* caus'd not only the hostile Cities which had not yet felt his sword, to submit themselves to his mercy, but also in the year 870 the Lord of *Alaë* (36), *Kyzul Arslan beg* voluntarily surrenders his dominions to the Sultan; who admiring his faithfulness and obedience, gives him a very honourable reception, with the Province of *Giumuljina* (37) for ever.

Kyzul Arslan-beg surrenders his territories to *Mahomet*. H. 876. A. C. 1471.

XXV. About the same time, *Uzunbasan*'s General *Yusufche* beg, in conjunction with a great army of *Tartars*, enters the *Othman* dominions, burns *Tokad*, and threatens destruction to the adjacent Country. Attempting the same things in *Caramania*, he is met by *Mustapha*, *Mahomet*'s son, with what forces he could assemble, and by him, after a long and bloody battle, defeated, taken and sent in chains to the Sultan his father in token of Victory.

Uzunbasan's General is defeated and taken.

XXVI. To revenge this blow, *Uzunbasan* himself the next year with a powerful army invades *Mahomet*'s *Europæan* dominions. The Sultan had foreseen this, and for that reason, least he should be surprized unprepar'd, had so placed his army in winter-quarters, that they could easily be assembled by sound of trumpet. Being therefore inform'd of *Uzunbasan*'s proceedings, he immediately passes into *Asia*, and meeting the *Persians* at *Payàs* (38), orders them to be attack'd. The battle is fought with various and doubtful fortune, both sides contending for Glory and Empire, and incourag'd by the examples of their Generals. At length *Mustapha*, the Sultan's eldest Son, in the left wing, which he commanded, meets *Zeinuldin*, *Uzunbasan*'s Son (who led the enemy's right wing.) Immediately the two Princes fiercely engage, and at last *Zeinuldin* is by *Mustapha* thrown off his horse, and before he can recover himself, or be rescu'd by his men, run thro' the body (39). His fall seem'd to draw after it the destruction of the whole army. For when the *Othmans* saw the right wing of the *Persians* flying in disorder, they all furiously attack the left, which still bravely resisted the charges of the Musulmans, compel them first to give ground, and at last take to open flight. Many are slain, and not fewer made prisoners. Thus *Mahomet* with the spoil of the Camp obtains a glorious Victory. *Uzunbasan*, when he saw the battle was lost, escapes with a few attendants by often changing his horses.

Uzunbasan is himself routed by *Mahomet*, H. 875. A. C. 1470.

ANNOTATIONS.

(36) *Alaë*] A Province of a petty Prince, called *Kyzul Arslan beg* (*red Lion*,) its ancient Name unknown, but of some part of *Asia Minor*, as may be seen from the tenour of the History. Perhaps the *Philadelphia* of the Ancients.

(37) *Giumuljina*] The *Turkish* Name of a Province and Town in *Rumelia*, near *Larisse*.

(38) *Payàs*] A City and noble Mart of *Paphlagonia*.

(39) the body] The *Christian* Writers say that he was killed by a Musket-ball. Which are we to believe?

XXVII. The

and ſeveral Cities taken from him.

XXVII. The difficulty of the Country would not ſuffer the flying enemy to be purſued, and it did not ſeem to be for the *Othman* intereſt to waſte the time idly; ſo giving his Troops but two days to breath, he beſieges on the third *Karà biſàr Sharky* (40), takes it in a ſhort ſpace, and deſtroys the neighbouring Country with fire and ſword. After this he returns in triumph with part of the army to *Conſtantinople*, leaving the reſt under the command of his Vizir *Giedyk Ahmed Paſha* (41), by whom not only *Ermenak* and *Zilifke* are taken, but the whole Province of *Varſak* (42) is ſubjected to the *Othman* Empire.

Kieffe and *Crimea* are taken. H. 876. A. C. 1471.

XXVIII. The next year, under the conduct of the ſame *Giedyk Ahmed Paſha* he wreſts *Kieffe*, the ſtrongeſt place of *Crimea* from the *Genoeſe*, and by that means reduces to his obedience all *Taurica-Cherſoneſus*. Here he found *Mengily Gierai*, deſcended from the race of the *Copchak** Princes (43), who after a long war with his brother was vanquiſh'd and forc'd to fly to the *Genoeſe*. This Prince the Sultan not only appoints *Chan* of *Crimea* on certain conditions, but ſends with an army to recover his Country. *Mengili Gierai* (44) entering his Kingdom

ANNOTATIONS.

(40) *Carà biſàr Sharky*] A noted City of *Papblagonia* near *Payas*, perhaps the *Arſenga* of the Ancients.

(41) *Giedyk Ahmed Paſha*] A famous General, and afterwards Prime Vizir to Sultan *Mahomet*. He was called *Giedyk*, becauſe he had loſt a fore Tooth, which whoever wants, or has a Hair-Lip, is always by the *Turks* called *Giedyk*. But properly *Giedyk* ſignifies a *Chink* or *Cleft*, and metaphorically any Military Order, as *Giedyk Sabibi*, inroll'd in ſome Military Order, and *Giedyk lerinden airilmadiler*, *They have not deſerted their Ranks*, or have left no void in them. There is likewiſe in *Conſtantinople* a certain quarter called *Giedyk Paſha*, which took its Name from this Baſha, either from his building a Market-Place, or having a Palace there.

(42) *Varſak*] It ſeems to be *Papblagonia*.

(43) *Copchak**] A *Scythian* Nation near *Usbek* in the Confines of the *Chagatæan** *Tartars*, beyond the *Caſpian* Sea Eaſtward, from whence the *Turks* and *Tartars* deduce their Origin. It is perhaps that Country which in the preſent Map is called the Kingdom of *Thibet*, or *Turcheſtan*.

(44) *Mengily Gieray*] The firſt who committed *Crim Tartary*, under certain ſtipulations, to the Protection of the *Ottoman* Empire, which he had before wreſted out of the hands of his Brother. According to both *Turkiſh* and *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians, he was deſcended from the Race of the *Alijenghizians*. But the latter intermix ſo many Fables, that a Man who has the leaſt Tincture of the Hiſtory of that People, cannot forbear laughing at their Accounts, which nevertheleſs are pretended by them to be given after the ſtricteſt Enquiry and Examination. Above all the reſt *Michalo Lithuanus* deſerves my notice and cenſure, who when in his *Tartary*, p. 296, he owns the firſt Prince of the *Crim* to have deſcended from the *Alijengbizian* (or as he corruptly calls it the *Cyngiſan*) Race, yet, from what Authority no Man knows, names him *Lotherius*, and p. 193, removes his Deſcendents into *Lithuania*, and deduces a long Succeſſion of *Lithuanian Cæſars* or *Chans*, from the ſame Race. The laſt of theſe, according to that Hiſtorian, was *Achkieras** (perhaps *Haji Gierai*) who was born at *Troki*, and ſent by St. *Withcrode* to ſeize *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. To him, after he was in poſſeſſion of that Principality, was born *Menglikierai* (*Mengli Gierai*). This laſt was father to *Mehemed Kierai*, *Sadet Kierai* (*Seadet Gierai*) *Chas Kierai* (perhaps *Shah Gierai.*)

dom of *Copchack** by the help of the *Turks* easily overcomes and kills his brother, and then takes possession of his dominions. This was the first *Chan* of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*, and the first who in *Crimea* order'd the *Chutbe* in the name of the *Othman* Emperor to be used in the prayers.

XXIX. Whilst these things passed in *Chersonesus*, *Soliman Pasha* leads a considerable army into *Moldavia*. *Stephanus Tekkius* of *Mol-*

Turks defeated by the *Moldavians*.

ANNOTATIONS.

rai) and to *Sapkierai* (perhaps *Sefaigierai*) the youngest of all, who succeeded in the Kingdom, and at the same time was Prince of the *Tartars*. For thus all the following race, being Princes, also enjoy now the noble appellation receiv'd from their Ancestor, namely *Achkierai**. The Falsity of this Narration requires, I think, no long deduction to prove it, since it contains such evident Contradictions, that it is at first sight obvious that it has no support from any Monuments or Testimonies of the *Tartars*, but merely from the Conjecture of the Historian. For to say nothing that the united consent of the *Turkish* Historians makes not *Lothonus*, but *Giera* first Conqueror of *Crim Tartary*, and that he transmitted his Name to the Princes descended from him; it is certain that the *Lithuanian Tartars* were neither *Crimæans* nor *Oguzians* (the Root of the *Alijenghizian* Family) but *Cheremisses**, from whence our Countrymen at this day call them *Chirimusses**, though with the *Turks* they are known by the Name of *Lipka Tatari*, the first Word being corrupted from *Litva*. Moreover the Race of the present *Chans* of the *Crim* did not begin to reign there, or assume the Name of *Gierai* under *Murad* II, where this Historian places *Achkierai**, but, as is inferr'd from *Turkish* Histories, and the constant Tradition of the *Tartars*, was prior to the *Othman* Empire, as is largely prov'd in the Preface. But it may not be foreign to our purpose to take notice here, that amongst the *Tartars* themselves there is a dispute who are the genuine and who the spurious Offspring of *Gierai*. For besides the Race which at this day rules the *Crim-Tartars*, and by way of eminence is called *Girai*, there is another commonly known by the Name of *Choban** *Gierai*, or *Gierai the Shepherds*. For they relate, that the Wife of a certain *Chan*, whose Name I have forgot, had an unlawful Commerce with a Shepherd, that from thence a Son was born (the Mother after the Birth being convicted of Adultery and put to death) who was delivered to one of the King's Servants, with orders to kill him; that the Servant put a Trick upon his Master, convey'd the Child into *Circassia**, and there had him privately educated. From him they derive the latter Family, and make his Posterity falsely assume to themselves the Glory of so illustrious an Ancestor. The *Choban** *Gierai* retort the same Calumnies upon the other *Gierai*, and then leave it very difficult to determine which side is genuine or legitimate, and which not, since neither have any thing to appeal to besides Tradition. The *Turks*, altho' they think the present Race of the *Chans* to be legitimate, yet deny not the Appellation of *Gierai* to the other, and allow them to live at *Jamboli* (formerly *Jenopoli*) the destin'd Seat of the *Tartarian* Princes. One of these, by the Name of *Kiorgierai*, was after the Battle of *Vienna*, advanc'd to the Dignity of *Chan* by the *Turks*, distrusting the Faith of *Selim Gierai*, but after a few Months depos'd, and the ancient Race of *Gierai* replac'd on the Throne. Nor is it thought that the *Choban** *Gierai* will ever again rise to the same Honour, tho' they may enjoy the Offices of *Galga Sultan*, *Nurradin* and the like, which are in the Power of their Relations.

davia (45), meets him near *Falcby** (46), on the banks of the *Prut*. They long fight with great courage and doubtful fortune. At last, by the negligence of their General, the Muſulmans are overthrown, the General himſelf falls in the battle, many are ſlain, ſome are made Captives, and the reſt eſcape by flight over the *Danube*.

Moldavia laid waſte by the *Turks*. H. 877. A. C. 1472.

XXX. At the news of this defeat, *Mahomet* full of indignation, marches in perſon the next year into *Moldavia* with all his forces, and when the enemy, unable to withſtand ſuch an army, did not appear, he lays waſte all but the mountainous parts, and carries away an infinite number of Cattle and Captives.

Mahomet's expeditions in *Aſia*. H. 882. A. C. 1477 H. 884

XXXI. In the year 882 he takes *Skanderun*, and the next builds a new Palace, which is now the Emperor's Court. In 884 *Aladin beg* who had implor'd his aſſiſtance againſt his father *Baddak beg* (47), prepares an army, by whoſe help he vanquiſhes his father, and compels him to fly to *Cherkaſſus** King of *Myſi*.

A. C. 1479. He defeats the *Venetians*, and lays waſte *Apulia*.

XXXII. The following year having vanquiſh'd the *Venetians* (48) at the River *Sontium*, he equips a great fleet under *Giedyk Ahmed Paſha*, to lay waſte *Apulia*, and if poſſible all *Italy*. This General having ravag'd *Apulia*, and taken ſome fortreſſes, is in the midſt of his progreſs recalled on account of the motions of the *Perſians*, and new attempts of *Uzunhaſan*, which ſeem'd to require the preſence both of the General and Army. He is ſoon followed by a *Venetian* Ambaſſador (49) humbly ſuing for peace, which the Sultan, incumbred with other affairs, readily grants.

ANNOTATIONS.

(45) *Tekkiur* of *Moldavia*] i. e. King of *Moldavia*. This is *Stephanus* ſirnam'd the *Great*, of whom I have ſpoken in a former Note. *Moldavia* it ſelf is frequently called *Bogdan* by the *Turks*, from *Bogdan* Son of this *Stephanus*, of whom more largely in another Place.

(46) *Falcby**] A City and Country of *Moldavia*, upon the River *Prut*, diſtant from *Huſſi* (where *Peter* Emperor of *Ruſſia* after four days Engagement made Peace with the *Turks* in the year 1711) ten Miles Southward from the Banks of the *Iſter*. Upon recollection that I had ſome years ago read in *Herodotus* of the warlike Nation, and large City, of the *Taipbali* beyond the *Danube*, I out of Curioſity diſpatch'd ſome Perſons thither to ſearch whether they could diſcover beyond the River any remains of Buildings. At their return they brought me word, they had diſcovered near this Town of *Falcby**, in the thick Woods, the ruins of Walls, and Foundations of Houſes, in a right Line. From hence I doubt not but the Town *Falcby**, was built in room of the ancient City of the *Taipbali*; on which I ſhall more enlarge in my particular account of the ancient and preſent *Moldavia*.

(47) *Baddak beg*] It ſeems to be the Province of *Sina*, or the name or ſirname of ſome King of thoſe times, unknown to us.

(48) *Venetians*] The *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians mention a defeat received by the *Venetians* at the River *Sontium*, but, in the room of *Giedik Ahmed Paſha*, they ſubſtitute one *Alabecchus* or *Marbecchus*; by what Authority I know not, for the Names have nothing of a *Turkiſh* Sound in them.

(49) *Venetian* Ambaſſador] This was *Benedict Treviſano*, a Man of great Wiſdom and Authority amongſt the *Venetians*.

XXXIII. But

XXXIII. But it was neither firm nor lasting. For the [illegible] *Mesih Pasha* (50) is sent by *Mahomet* with a great fleet to [illegible] The General having landed his forces, boldly besieges the [illegible] by the vigilance and bravery of the enemies he is repulsed, and [illegible] fore'd to raise the siege with great loss, dishonour, and danger of his life. He is repuls'd at *Rhodes*; H. 886. A. C. 1481.

XXXIV. That summer he assembles all the forces of the *Othman* Empire, not only to curb the insolence of *Uzunhasan*, but also to acquire the dominion of all *Asia*. Wherefore passing the *Bosphorus* near *Yuskinder*, he pitches his tents under *Maltepe* (51), and already thought himself master of the furthermost bounds of *India*. Perhaps this immoderate transport of mind threw him into a fit of the Gout (52), which being attended with other symptoms, after short, but sharp pains, carried him off the fifth day of *Jemaziul evvel*. He left the Empire to his son *Bajazet* †. dies at *Maltepe*.

XXXV. *Mahomet* liv'd fifty-one years (53), and reign'd thirty, and three months, exclusive of the time he rul'd in his father's life. Besides his warlike virtues, of which he gave great proofs, he was famous for learning, languages, desire of knowing things curious, wisdom, and patience in labours. He was also very religious, in short, an accomplish'd Prince, if he had made a conscience of breaking his word for the good of the State. His Character.

A

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) *Mesih Pasha*] The *Christians* make him a *Grecian*, and descended from the Race of the *Palæologi*: The *Turks* are silent as to his Race, but *Mesih* seems to come from the *Hebrew Messiah*, from whence *Jesus Christ* is called *Issa Mesih*.

(51) *Maltepe*] A rich Mountain, or Mountain of Riches. It is a very high Mountain not far from *Nicæa*, at whose Root a Treasure once found gave it the Name. Ships in the *Euxine* Sea when they come within eighty Miles of the *Bosphorus*, first discover and direct their Course by this Mountain, tho' it is nearer the *Propontis* than the *Euxine* Sea.

(52) the Gout] *Christian* Writers say, he was seized with the Cholick three days after he had begun his Expedition, which agrees with the *Turks*, who allow more causes of his death than the Gout.

(53) fifty-one years] This must be understood of Lunar years, which reduc'd to a solar Computation, make about forty-nine years, seven months, and seven days. Here the *Turks* and *Christians* disagree. The latter ascribing to him fifty-one years of Life, and thirty of Reign; the former make him live fifty-three years, and reign thirty-two. The disagreement I think may proceed from this, that the *Christians* include the three years of his Reign during his Father's Life.

† *Mustapha* his eldest is said to have been strangled by his Father's command for ravishing *Ahmed Pasha*'s Wife.

Cotemporary with *MAHOMET* II. reign'd,

At *Constantinople*,	CONSTANTINUS PALÆOLOGUS, last *Christian* Emperor of *Constantinople*.	1444-53.
In the *West*,	FREDERIC III.	1440-93.
In *England*,	HENRY VI.	1422-60.
	EDWARD IV.	1460-83.
In *France*,	CHARLES VII.	1423-61.
	LEWIS XI.	1461-83.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET II.

The

The REIGN of BAJAZET II.

Eighth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. II.

Bajazet thinks of a Pilgrimage to Mecca.

I. AS the *Ottoman* affairs about this time were in a flourishing condition, *Mahomet* had set his sons *Bajazet* and *Jem* over Provinces, the former being made *Sanjak* (1) of *Amasia*, the latter of *Icogiese*, that they might not only have wherewithal to maintain a Court, but also give instances of their prudence, and art of governing in their younger years. *Bajazet* was now at *Amasia*, and was thinking of *Haj* (2) or a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, when an unexpected message came to him from the Visir, that his father was dead, and had appointed him his successor. He receiv'd also a letter sign'd by the Vizir, and the rest of the great men, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended Pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure, it being much more for the advantage of the *Mahometan*

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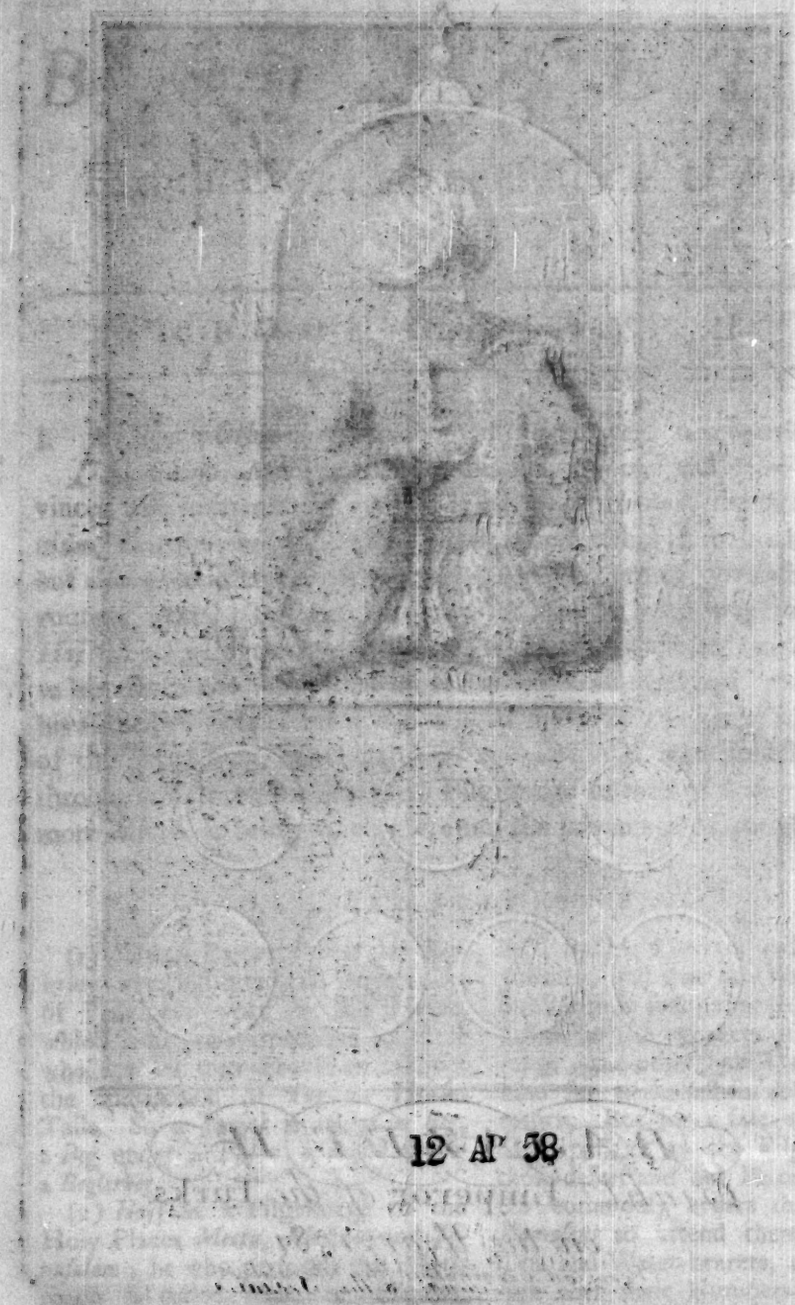
(1) *Sanjak*] Before *Pashas* and *Beglerbegs* were instituted, all Governours of Provinces went by this Name, which is at present peculiar to those who are set over Provinces without the Distinction of *Tug* or Horses Tails. So a *Sanjak* is under a *Beg*, a *Beg* under a *Pasha*, a *Pasha* under a *Beglerbeg*.

(2) *Haj*] Is a Pilgrimage to the Holy Places *Mecca*, *Medina* and *Jerusalem*; he who performs this Pilgrimage is called *Haji*, or Pilgrim. Every *Turk* once in his Life, is oblig'd by his Law to undertake this Journey, and that at a time when his Substance is such, that half of it will suffice for the expences of the Pilgrimage; the other half is to be left behind for an honest Subsistence at his return. But for a safe and commodious passage to the Pilgrims thro' those desert and dry Places, the Sultan commonly orders the *Basha* of *Damascus* to attend them with Soldiers and Water-bearers, and to take care that their Numbers never fall short of fourteen thousand.

religion,

C. Du Bosc. sculp.

BAJAZET. II.
Eight Emperor of the Turks.
in the Year 1581
From an Original in the Seraglio.



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religion, to prevent, by his valour and counsels, his enemies from recovering their courage and strength.

delivers the Empire to his son *Corcud*

II. Doubtful and surpris'd at this message, *Bajazet* remains uncertain what he should first do in this case. Piety called upon him to perform his Vow; and it seem'd dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At last Religion gets the better of the care of the Commonwealth, and fortune affords an opportunity to preserve both. He had a Son nam'd *Corcud*, of such sweetness and modesty, that he not only excell'd all of his own age, but also his seniors. His Grandfather *Mahomet* had two years since sent for him to celebrate the *Sunnet* (3), and from that time, allur'd by his good qualities, never suffered him to depart. At the time of the Sultan's death he was in the army. This Son, *Bajazet* purposes should supply his place, hoping the prudence of Counsellors would make up the defects of his youth. Wherefore he answers the Vizir, "It is not in his power to lay aside his more than blessed Pilgri-"mage, and had rather forfeit the Empire of the whole world than "leave his Vow unperform'd; but least the *Othman* State might suffer "any detriment, it is his advice, that they reverence as Sovereign his "son *Corcud* till his return." Presently after, without staying for an answer, he sets out for *Mecca*, to seek from God an auspicious beginning of his reign. Whereupon the Great Men invest his son *Corcud* with the Government, which for nine months he happily administers, causing his name to be mention'd in the prayers, and stamp'd on the Coin.

The Vizir calls the Sultan at his return to the Empire.

III. At the end of which space, *Bajazet* returns from his Pilgrimage, and sends letters to his Son and the Great Men, desiring him to keep the Empire, and them to obey, and suffer him to live privately at *Nicea*. It can hardly be determin'd, whether *Bajazet* was led to this contempt of a Crown by a stretch of religion, and a zeal for the divine worship

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(3) *Sunnet*] The *Turks* make the Precepts of their Law of two kinds, *Sunnet*, where observance may on some occasions be dispens'd with, and *Fars*, which are absolutely necessary to Salvation. To *Fars* belong, say they, *Salavat*, i. e. Confession of Faith, which is never neglected or omitted by a Man who has the use of Speech, without forfeiting Salvation it self; *Zekkiat*, or bestowing yearly the fiftieth part of their Goods upon the Poor, and the like. But *Sunnet* they call Circumcision, and the *Sunnet Diuguni*, the Solemnities of Circumcision, and other Ecclesiastical Rites, which to omit is a Sin indeed, but venial. The omission of these upon any pressing Necessity they think to be no Sin at all. They therefore never circumcise till the seventh year, and think a Child dying uncircumcised before that time, may nevertheless be receiv'd into Paradise. Thus if for the five Prostrations in the Noon Prayers, three only are perform'd, which are the *Fars*, or immediate Command of God, and the other two, which are only Institutions of the Prophet, and authoriz'd by Ecclesiastical Practice, are omitted, the omission is a Sin indeed, but not mortal. But he that does neither of these is to expiate his Crime in suffering for many years the Torments of Purgatory.

kindled at *Mecca*, or fearing his son's power, ambition, and popularity, chose by hidden arts to undermine his son at *Nicea*, rather than by an unseasonable demand of the Kingdom, hazard both his Empire and Life. But the prime Vizir reading the letter, assembles the rest of the Great Men, asks their opinion, and after some debate, decrees, with their consent, that *Mahomet*'s appointment should be firmly adher'd to, and *Bajazet* alone acknowledg'd and proclaim'd Emperor.

Corcud agrees to it,

IV. But to effect this openly, the same obstacles occurr'd to them as to the father, violent counsels not seeming safer than decrees. Wherefore they resolve, first to sound *Corcud*; and the prime Vizir *Ali Pasha* having obtain'd an audience, says to him, "Your Majesty's resplendent "father, by the divine aid, is return'd in safety from *Mecca*, and we "hear, is arriv'd at *Aleppo*, which we thought it our duty to tell your "Majesty, in order to know your pleasure concerning him, and his ar-"rival." *Corcud* upon this information replies, "The services you "have done the Empire ought justly to be so many testimonies of your "fidelity; but whilst by so artful a speech you endeavour to shake "mine, I can scarce refrain from taxing you with treachery. For you "know my father did not absolutely, and for ever resign the Crown to "me, but only commanded me to rule in his stead, till his return "from a Pilgrimage undertaken for his own and the publick advan-"tage. This have I done because I would not disobey a father's com-"mands: Let him, being return'd, receive his own Empire, and I re-"signing the Scepter, will eternally profess my self both his Son and "Vassal."

and resigns the throne to his father.

V. A few days after, hearing of his father's approach, he passes the *Bosphorus*, attended with all his Vizirs, and the rest of the civil and military officers, and meets him near *Nicwa*. He immediately pays him obeysance, and commands the rest to follow his example, and the *Mimber* (4) to be raised. Which done, *Corcud* himself taking his father by the hand, leads him to the throne, and turning to the spectators says: "This is indeed my Father and Lord, but the Governor and Emperor "of the *Othmans*. I have hitherto been his shadow, now the light is "come, the shadow vanishes. To him alone therefore pay obedience "and reverence." Having said these words, he waits on his father to *Constantinople*, where arriving on the 20th day of *Jemaziul Achyr* in the year 886, *Bajazet* is invested with the Imperial Crown. Next day *Corcud*, with an allowance fit for an Emperor, departs to *Magnesia*.

H. 886.
A. C. 881.

Jem rebels,

VI. But this seem'd very hard to *Jem* (5), who from *Corcud*'s age, had entertain'd great hopes of seizing the Empire, but upon *Bajazet*'s mounting

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(4) *Mimber*] A Chair much like a Bishop's Throne, on which raised with three Steps, both the Imperial Throne, and in great Churches *Vigiz*, the Preacher's Pulpit is erected.

(5) *Jem*] *Jem* in common Language signifies a kind of Grapes more delicious than all others, but with the *Arabic Tesdid* added, *Jemm* magically signifies the fabulous name of

mounting the throne, thought his expectations entirely frustrated. He pretended the Crown belonged to him, because *Bajazet* was born so *Mahomet* before he was Sultan, and declared it a dishonour that the Empire should be given to the Son of a private man, in prejudice of the imperial Offspring. He charged his Father's Will with falshood, as not being written, but only coming from the mouth of a treatherous Vizir. By these discourses he perswaded not only several Cities, but also most of the *Asiatic* forces, that he was the true Heir, and caused himself to be proclaim'd Emperor at *Prusa*. Presently after, assisted with money by the Citizens of *Prusa*, and others who were in his interest, he raised a considerable army.

VII. But his dominion was neither firm nor lasting. For *Bajazet* hearing of his brother's proceedings, instantly passes into *Asia* with a great army, and meeting him near *Prusa*, after a fierce and bloody battle, puts him and his followers to rout. *Jem* escaping with a few attendants, flies first to *Aleppo*, then to Sultan *Caitebai* (6) King of *Misr* †, sets forth his brother's tyranny, in not only seizing the Empire due to him, but in taking and unjustly putting his children to death, and earnestly implores his assistance. *Caitebai* on the contrary gives him more wholsome advice, bids him lay aside all enmity to his brother, because civil wars can never be wag'd without detriment to their holy Religion, which will be wonderfully promoted by brotherly love and agreement. So, that the heat of his indignation might in that time be allay'd, he perswades *Jem* to go in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and by such a blessed journey, convert the image of his misfortune into a a true happiness. For the present state of affairs would not admit of any attempt against *Bajazet*, who had great armies at command: but if at his return, the face of things were alter'd, he would to the utmost of his power endeavour to restore him to his right.

and being vanquish'd, flies to *Caitebai*;

† *Egypt.*

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of *Solomon*, or *Alexander the Great*, as *Chatemi Jemm*, the Seal or signal Ring of *Solomon*, *Jami Jemm*, the Looking-Glass of *Solomon*, or *Alexander*, which in another *Greekish* Fable, is attributed to *Leo the Wise*, Son of *Basilius* the *Macedonian*, and Emperor of *Greece*. From which of these Significations this Sultan drew his Name I cannot say. However, I have neither read nor heard of any other *Turk* distinguish'd by it. The *Christian* Writers without doubt drew from it their *Zemes* and *Zizim* Words, which etymologically have no meaning.

(6) *Caitebai*] Not *Caitbebay*, or *Caithbeg*, as the Western Writers give it. For it is no *Turkish* Name, nor to be derived from *Caab* and *Beg*, a Prince but merely *Tartarian*, compounded of *Cait* and *Bai* added to avoid the ill sound of *Jisun*, which commonly has the power of our vowel *e*. *Cait* in the *Tartarian* Language signifies *Conversion*, and *bai* rich. The more honorable *Tartars* are accustom'd to add this monosyllable to their Names, as *Tumanbai*, *Mambethai*, (for *Muhamed bai*, *Muhammed* in the *Tartarian* Language being pronounc'd *Mambai*) as the chief Pashas of the *Turkish* Militia, the Agas, and all of noble Race have the Appellation of *Chelebi**. But our *Caitebai* was a *Circassian** by Nation, and came to the Sovereignty by Election; he was the *Hannibal* of the *Turkish* Empire.

VIII. With

From thence to *Varsak.*

VIII. With such speeches as these *Caitebai* strove to appease *Jem*, but he had other designs. *Jem* had long since contracted a strict friendship with some of the great men of *Varsak* (7) and *Turgad*, which had been confirm'd by so many proofs, that he did not question they would do what they could for him. To these he writes from *Myst*, complaining of *Bajazet*'s injuries to him and his children, and intreating their aid. In answer, they detest *Bajazet*'s impiety, and unanimously promise to stand by their Lord and *Shebzade* (8) with their lives and fortunes. Flush'd with these promises, and eas'd of his care, whilst he sees *Caitebai*'s assistance doubtful and remote, *Jem* feigns to approve his advice, and desires him to supply him with necessaries for his pilgrimage. *Caitebai* gladly and plentifully furnishes him with every thing, and at his departure gives him an attendance suitable to his quality. But it was not devotion, but a kingdom *Jem* was seeking. Wherefore he desists the first opportunity from his pilgrimage, and leaving his attendants, flies with a few followers to his friends. There assembling the forces of those Countries, with some *Gionulli* (9) tumultuously raised, he tries a second time the fortune of war.

Being again defeated, he flies to the *Christians.*

IX. But he meets with no better success. For *Bajazet* being informed of his brother's fresh Motions, sends an army against him, which easily vanquishes and routs his undisciplin'd troops. *Jem* after his defeat, for some time wanders in disguise without servant or companion about the maritime places, and at length gets a ship bound for *Italy*. He first sails to *Rhodes* (10), and afterwards in company with some *Rhodians* visits the Pope (11), by whose recommendation he is very honourably

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(7) *Varsak* and *Turgad*] I have before said, in the last Chapter, that *Varsak* is thought to be *Paphlagonia*, *Turgad* seems to have been a neighbouring Province to it.

(8) *Shebzade*] Son of the Emperor from the *Persian Sheb* by *Syncope* from *Shah*, Emperor, and *Zade*, Son. But the Sons of the Emperor are so called, when out of respect their proper Names are supposed.

(9) *Gioniulli*] They were formerly Volunteers, and followed the Camp at their own expence. At this day, they are an Order of Horse under the Vizirs, who in publick Solemnities precede the *Agavat*, or Military Officers of the Court, and wear the *Hungarian* or *Bosnian* Habit. Their Colonel is called *Gioniulli Agasi*. Something like these is another Cohort of Horse called *Delisi*, i. e. the *Fools* or *Madmen*. These formerly were under no Discipline, but blindly rush'd on, and fell upon the Enemy from every quarter. Afterwards they were reduc'd to order, and by that lost their ancient Valour, with reserve of only the Name. Nor have I heard of any thing memorable perform'd by them of late times, or seen in any Battle where I was present.

(10) to *Rhodes*] The *Christian* Writers tell us, that he was there well receiv'd by the Great Master, who, furnishing him with a good Retinue, sent him to Pope *Innocent* VIII, and that he was afterwards surrendered to *Charles* VIII King of *France*, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* Expedition. Whereupon *Alexander* VI, (say the same Writers) poison'd him in the fear that *Charles* delivering him to *Bajazet* might merit too highly of him.

(11) the Pope] This was *Innocent* VIII, mentioned in the last Note. His

nourably received by the King of *Naples* (12). Here in an elegant and polite ſpeech, he declares the cauſes of his flight, imploring the aſſiſtance of the *Chriſtian* Princes to recover his paternal inheritance, and promiſing with an oath, that in caſe he obtained the Empire by their help, the *Othmans* ſhould never ſet foot in any *Chriſtian* dominions, and that he would religiouſly obſerve the treaty of peace between them and his deceaſed father. The *Chriſtian* Princes (13) who had been ſtruck with great terror at the *Othman* arms, bid him be of good courage, aſſuring him they would exert their utmoſt, and omit no opportunity to reſtore him. The King of *Naples* alſo, as a farther inſtance of his good-will, gives him an honorable penſion.

X. But neither here did *Bajazet* ſuffer him to remain in ſafety, for fear he ſhould give the *Chriſtians* counſels deſtructive of his dominion and the *Othman* affairs. One day as he was familiarly talking of theſe things, there happen'd to be preſent a certain *Italian* Captive who had been initiated into the *Mahometan* religion by the name of *Muſtapha*, and for his notable skill in ſhaving, promoted to the office of *Berber baſhi* (14). This man being full of craft, hearing what the Emperor ſaid, falls at his feet, and ſays, "If your Majeſty will vouchſafe to commit ſo weighty an affair to my management, I will free your mind "from all care, and diſpatch your brother, tho' he lurk'd in the moſt "ſecret corners of *Italy*." *Bajazet* not only readily gives him power to commit this deed, but ſwears by the holy Souls of his Anceſtors (15) to advance *Muſtapha* to the dignity of Prime Vizir, if he accompliſh'd an unde-taking ſo divine (16) and advantagious to the whole *Othman* Empire. where he is treacherouſly killed by *Berber baſhi*.

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His Succeſſor was *Alexander* VI, innocent of the Crime with which the *Chriſtians* impeach him.

(12) King of *Naples*] Here the *Turks* are miſtaken. For he was not delivered to the King of *Naples*, but to the *French* King *Charles* VIII, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* Expedition.

(13) *Chriſtian* Princes] All *Chriſtian* Princes in general are uſually ſtil'd by the *Turks*, *Umerai Milletull Meſſihie*, *Princes of the Nation of the* Meſſiah, *Kiuberai Taifetul Iſſevie*, *Sovereigns of the People of* Jeſus.

(14) *Berber baſhi*] Chief Barber, the ſixth great domeſtic Officer, of whom the Reader will find an account in another Place.

(15) Anceſtors] The Emperors never bind themſelves by any other Oath than this, *Ejdadum eruah ſheriſſeri ichun*, *by the bleſſed or holy Souls of my Parents*, or in the ſingular, *Jedum rubi ichun*, *by the Soul of my Grandfather*. But in all their Covenants with the *Chriſtians* they uſe to add, *By the Name of the moſt high God*, *Karan baki ichun*, *by the Truth of the* Koran, *Peigambern Pak rubi ichun*, *By the pure Spirit of the Prophet*, &c.

(16) divine] The Emperor's Orders, of whatever kind, are received by the *Turks* as coming from the Hand of God, and to diſobey them is reckon'd the higheſt Impiety. Wherefore, if ever the prime Vizir is to be put to death, the Emperor commits the Execution of his Sentence to none but the Vizir himſelf, who does in a Writing to this effect, "Whereas for ſuch or ſuch Facts "thou deſerveſt to die, it is our "Pleaſure that, after having perform'd the *Abdeſt*, i. e. the waſhing of Head, Hands, and Feet, "and made the accuſtom'd *Namaz*,

pire. *Muſtapha* incourag'd by theſe promiſes, throws off his *Turkiſh* habit, and as a fugitive goes to the *Franks* (17) dwelling at *Peru*, where with feign'd tears he laments his having abjur'd his religion, and conjures them to protect and aſſiſt him to make his eſcape into his own country. He adds, he had rather live in the utmoſt miſery among *Chriſtians*, than enjoy, with the hazard of his Soul, the higheſt honours of the *Turkiſh* Court. The *Franks* readily believe him, and pitying his condition, get him on board a ſhip bound to *Italy*, in which he arrives in a few days at *Naples*. *Jem*, who happen'd to be there, hearing an excellent Barber was come from *Turky*, and curious perhaps of knowing what paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, orders the man to be ſent for. When he comes, being ask'd about the preſent ſtate of the *Turkiſh* affairs, he anſwers, he had followed for ſome years at *Conſtantinople* the buſineſs of a Barber in the publick ſhops, and never troubled himſelf about any thing but the improvement of his art, and how to procure his liberty, which after long waiting he had obtain'd by the help of ſome good men, ſo that now he could freely enjoy his country, and profeſs the *Chriſtian* religion. To this *Jem* replies, concerning your way of worſhip and religious profeſſion, I am not ſollicitous. For God has given every man a free-will (18). But as I live in a land where Barbers

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'I (or I Prayers,) thou deliver thy "Head to this our Meſſenger *Cogu-* "*chi Baſhi*." And tho' the Vizir might have it in his Power to reſiſt, yet he pays a ready obedience for fear of being accounted (as a tranſgreſſor of the Imperial Mandate) an Infidel, and cut off from the *Jemaat*, or *Ummati Mûhammed*, in *Chriſtian* Language, the Church. This happen'd in my time to ſome great Men who refus'd their Obedience to the Emperor's Mandate, and tho' by flight or arms they reſcu'd themſelves from the danger, had ever afterwards the nickname of *Firari*, or *Fugitives*, as, *firari Huſan Paſha*, and *firari Iſmail Paſha*. Nay, the Infamy is derived upon their Sons, who for an eternal Ignominy, as it were, are called *Firari Ogullari*, *Sons of Fugitives*.

(17) *Franks*] It is cuſtomary with the *Turks* to call almoſt all *Chriſtian* Nations (the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and others excepted, who wear long Habits) and eſpecially the *Italians*, by the name of *Ifreng*, vulgarly *Fireng*. But to each Nation they likewiſe appropriate particular Names, as to the *Germans*, *Nemche*, to the *French*, *Firanſiz*, to the *Spaniards*, *Iſpaniol*, to the *Engliſh*, *Ingilis*, to the *Dutch* or *Flemings*, *Nidirlanda*, or *Filemeng*, to the *Saxons*, *Saks*, to the *Swedes*, *Isbſed*, to the *Polanders*, *Leh*, or *Leib*, to the *Hungarians*, *Majar*, to the *Ruſſians*, *Moſcov*, to the *Coſſaks*, *Cazak*, and ſo to the reſt.

(18) free-will] *Iradeti Juzy*, or *Juzy Iſtiar*. Altho' the *Turks* from the *Koran* believe, that nothing either good or evil can happen contrary to the divine Decree, according to that ſaying, *Chairuſheru min allah*, *Good and Evil are from God*. Yet they allow a free-will in Man for this reaſon, that *Kuffar* (Infidels, namely, *Chriſtians* and all *Mahometans*, not Muſulmans) may not at the laſt Judgment excuſe their not embracing the *Mahometan* Doctrine from a Plea of their wanting free-will. I aſked ſome of the moſt learned Expounders of the *Koran*, called by the *Turks*, *Teſſiri Keran*, whether a Man could ſpeak or act any thing contrary to the Divine Will, or not? But I could never obtain a direct anſwer from them; they uſed to ſay, *Jennet hac*, *Jihennem hac*; *Paradiſe is certain*, *and Hell is certain*,

Barbers ſeem to me very unskilful, I only wiſh you to be my Barber. For ſince you have ſojourned ſome time among my countrymen, who, you know, ſhave with ſo light and pleaſant a hand, that a man can ſcarce forbear ſleeping under the operation, I hope you have acquir'd ſome ſhare of their art. *Muſtapha*, the better to decline *Jem*, at firſt declines the office, but being ask'd again, conſents at laſt, pretending he could not in conſcience refuſe the honour of ſerving ſo great a Prince, and ſhaving the head of one whoſe face all good men deſired to ſee at *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon he is receiv'd among his Chamberlains to ſhave him on the uſual days, according to the cuſtom of the *Turks*. When he had diſcharg'd this office ſome time with great appearance of fidelity, *Jem* happens one day to fall aſleep as he is ſhaving, and thereby gives *Muſtapha* an opportunity of executing his premeditated deſign. For perceiving none of the ſervants in the room, he cuts the Prince's Wind-pipe with a ſharp Razor (19), and to prevent the wound from bleeding, binds it very hard with a handkerchief. Then he goes out of the chamber, and tells the ſervants in waiting, that their Lord was aſleep, bidding them to be quiet and not diſturb him. This done, he poſts to a ſhip, which lay ready to receive him, and ſails firſt to *Crete*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*.

XI. At his arrival, he inſtantly repairs to *Bajazet*, and acquaints him with his brother's death and the manner of it. The incredulous Sultan is convinc'd by a report ſpread ſhortly after, that *Jem* by the treachery of ſome *Chriſtians* was murder'd (20). Whereupon *Bajazet* mindful of his promiſe, promotes Barber *Muſtapha* to the dignity of Prime Vizir. After this, he ſends to *Naples* for his brother's body. The Ambaſſadors are honorably receiv'd, and the body is deliver'd to them, which by *Bajazet*'s order is buried at *Pruſa*, near the Tomb of *Murad*, among the ſons of the royal *Othman* race.

who is made Prime Vizir.

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(19) Razor] The *Turks* here acquit Pope *Alexander* VI from the execrable Crime charg'd upon him by *Chriſtian*, and even Catholick Writers, and believed for ſo many Ages. I leave the Reader to embrace which Side he pleaſes.

(20) murder'd] This contrary Report helps to confirm the *Turkiſh* account of *Jem*'s death. The Place is diſputed. *Chriſtians* ſay he was poiſon'd in his march to *Naples* with *Charles* VIII. at *Terracina*; the *Turks* that he died at *Naples* by the Razor of *Barber Ibrahim*. Which is true, the Reader is left to judge.

Jem's Character.

XII. This was the end of *Jem*, a Prince of great hopes and good diſpoſitions. Nothing was wanting in him that could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude and wiſdom. He had no equal of the ſame age. He is chiefly praiſed for eloquence (21) and rhetorick, becauſe he gain'd men to his intereſt more by his ſpeeches, than by money or penſions. To ſay all in a word, he would have been (according to the *Turks*) a moſt accompliſh'd Prince, and worthy of ſo illuſtrious a birth, if he had not eclips'd the light of his virtues by his ſhameful flight to the *Chriſtians*. But even there he was moſt obſervant of the *Mahometan* rites, and not only ſaid the due prayers five times a day, but finiſh'd *Telaveti Koran* (22) every week.

Bajazet ſtrengthens *Greece* with Caſtles.

H. 887.
A. C. 1482.

XIII. The rival of his Empire being thus removed by fratricide, and the State ſettled, *Bajazet's* martial ſpirit, which had hitherto laid dormant, excites him to enlarge his dominions with the ſpoils of the *Chriſtian* Princes. But to ſtrengthen, before he increaſed the Commonwealth, he goes into the *Morea* in the year 887, and fortifies the Iſthmus with two ſtrong Caſtles towards the *Corinthian* Bay, built with materials deſign'd for other uſes by the *Chriſtians*. Theſe he provides with good garriſons and all manner of warlike ſtores, that the enemies when from that ſide they invaded, as they frequently did, the *Othman* dominions, might be reſtrained, and time given him to come to their aſſiſtance.

Takes two Cities in *Moldavia*.

XIV. The next Spring he orders to be built in a pleaſant ſituation on the river *Tunje* at *Adrianople*, a *Jami*, *Medreſe*, *Darulſhya*, *Imaret*, and publick Bath. Then he moves with all his forces towards *Moldavia* (23), govern'd at that time by *Stephanus*, and takes the Bulwarks of the

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(21) eloquence] *Ilmikieliam*, the Science of Speech, or the Art of ſpeaking well, as *Ilmi Mantyk*, the Art of Reaſoning, *Ilmi Sarf*, the Science of Grammar, as *Ilmi Nahum*, the Knowledge of *Syntax*, *Ilmi Hikmet*, the Knowledge of ſecret Things, or of Philoſophy, *Ilmi Illabi*, Divine Knowledge or Theology, *Ilmi Fikyh*, Knowledge of the Law, the nobleſt of all others with them, as turning to another's Advantage, *Ilmi Nujun*, the Knowledge of the Stars, or Aſtronomy, *Ilmibendeſe*, the Knowledge of Meaſuring, or Mathematics, *Ilmi Icograſie*, Geography, *Ilmi Recam*, Arithmetic, *Ilmi Shir*, Poetry, *&c.*

(22) *Telaveti Koran*] The reading of the whole *Koran*. This is perform'd at the Funeral, and the Tomb for forty Days, as in ſo many Days with us the Pſalter is reading over the dead. The *Turks* believe that the Soul of the deceas'd hovers about the Grave for forty Days, and that the reading of the *Koran* is very aſſiſting to the Archangel *Gabriel*, that he may guard it from the Devils, and quickly convey it to Paradiſe. They moreover aſſert, that the ſinful Soul is much advantag'd by the Prayers of the Living. But they invoke no Saints or Prophets beſides *Mahomet*. To all others they deny any Compaſſion for human Miſeries, as thinking it would be a hindrance to the perfect Felicity to which they are arrived.

(23) *Moldavia*] I could never ſufficiently admire, as often as I look'd into Maps of *Hungary*, whence it was that the Limits of *Walachia* and *Moldavia* are ſo abſurdly and erroneouſly mark'd in them. Nor have I ſeen one ancient or modern Map which does not abound with groſs Miſtakes. So the Towns *Kili* and *Akkierman*, vulgarly

the whole country, the ſtrong cities of *Kili* (24) on the *Danube* and *Akkierman* (25) near it on the *Euxine* ſea. By this means he not only prevents the *Moldavians* from exerciſing pyracy on that ſea, but gets an opportunity of annoying, with frequent incurſions, a Province often attempted in vain.

XV. The ſame year, under the conduct of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aſia*, are taken the famous cities of *Tarſus* (26), *Kurſhunly* (27), and *Koſunly*. At *Adrianople* the great General *Giedyk Ahmed Paſpa* is accuſed of treaſon, and put to death (28). About the ſame time, are ſown between *Bajazet* and *Caitebai* King of *Myſr* the ſeeds of war, which after numberleſs battles, ended at laſt in the Subverſion of *Caitebai's* Kingdom. They had long beheld one another with a jealous eye, but neither had dar'd to attack the other, believing both Empires ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd as to be hardly conquerable by human counſels or ſtrength. The *Othman* was ſuperior in extent and number of armies, the *Egyptian* was ſtrengthen'd by the yearly acceſſion of *Chercaſſian* Troops, the moſt warlike of all Nations. *Bajazet* indeed had a plauſible pretence for a war, becauſe *Caitebai* had not only receiv'd his brother *Zizim*, but alſo ſupplied him privately with money (29) to enable him to raiſe new commotions. But as this did not ſeem a ſufficient reaſon to ingage his Empire in a war, he thought proper to hide his intentions,

Some Cities of *Aſia* are taken by *Bajazet*.

His Enmity to *Caitebai*.

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garly plac'd in *Walachia*, are diſtant more than three hundred miles from the *Walachian* Borders, nor ever belonged to *Walachia*, but to *Moldavia*. I ſhall explain this more at large in another Place.

(24) *Kili*] *Cilia* by the *Moldavians*, the ancient *Lycoſtomos*, a City ſituate at the Northern Mouth of the *Danube*, larger and deeper than the other four. It is diſtant from *Galacb*, a conſiderable Mart of *Moldavia*, on the banks of the *Danube*, thirty eight leagues, or hours.

(25) *Akkierman*] Formerly *Moncaſter*, the Ὀξία of *Herodotus*, now call'd by the *Moldavians*, *Czetate alba* or *White Town*, which is likewiſe the meaning of its *Turkiſh* Name. It is a moſt antient City, and famous for the Exile of *Ovid*, from whom alſo a Lake near it, call'd *Ovid's* Lake, ſeems to have receiv'd its name from the later *Moldavians*. But of this I ſhall diſcourſe more largely in another place.

(26) *Tarſus*] *Tarſus* of *Cilicia*, the Country as is believ'd of St. *Paul*.

(27) *Kurſhunly*] Or *leaden*, but the following name *Koſunly* neither has any Etymological meaning, nor know I any thing either of the Town or its Situation. But there is another *Curſhunly* in the *Crim*, called Τρίχαν by *Herodotus*, or, as others will have it, *Cherſoneſus*, from which the whole Peninſula derives its name.

(28) death] *Giedyk Ahmed Paſha* was accus'd as is reported of a deſign to dethrone the Emperor, to make great alterations in the State, and of ſolliciting *Bajazet's* eldeſt Son *Ahmed* to rebel againſt his Father; but that his Innocence appear'd clear to the Sultan after his death, who often lamented that he had ſo raſhly put to death, an innocent Man, an able Counſellor, and a famous General. Thus the Crocodile ſheds his tears over the Victim ſlain by him.

(29) money] This ſeems to ſignifie that Money which the Sultan of *Egypt* furniſh'd him with for his Expences to *Mecca*.

till a more favorable opportunity preſented itſelf. This was ſhortly after offered him by fortune, and in a manner beyond his expectation. *Alaideulet* (30), a petty Prince of ſome Provinces in *Aſia*, led by an unſeaſonable deſire of increaſing his dominion, endeavours to wreſt certain Cities in *Aſia* from the *Chercaſſians** (31). By theſe being ſhamefully

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(30) *Alaideulet*] One perhaps of the *Perſian* Princes of whom the *Turkiſh* Annals ſay nothing farther, though he left his name to his Territory, which ſome Maps corruptly aſcribe to *Aladuli*. It is a Country ſhut in with the *Taurus* and *Anti-taurus*, or *Cappadocia*.

(31) *Chercaſſians**] The moſt noble of all the *Scythian* People, inhabiting a mountainous and rugged Country between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* Seas. They are by the *Ruſſians* call'd *Czerkieſſi Patigorici*, and by that name diſtinguiſh'd from the *Cozzac Chercaſſians**. For all the *Ukrain Cozacs* are in the *Ruſſian* Tongue call'd *Chercaſſians**, but chiefly thoſe who dwell upon the Banks of the River *Donetz*, and live in Slobods or Colonies. But of theſe *Chercaſſians** thus diſtributed into Colonies there are five Provinces, whoſe chief Cities are *Izium*, *Charcouia*, *Ochtirca*, *Ribinska*, and *Sumy*. To theſe is added the moſt antient *Ruſſian* City call'd *Czuhuiow*, once the Fortreſs of the *Ruſſian* Empire againſt the *Tartars*, when that Empire was contain'd within narrower Bounds. It ſtands upon the *Donetz*. The *Petigoric Chercaſſians** acknowledge no Deity, have no Worſhip, no Religion. They have a thick Grove lying in a Plain ſurrounded with high Mountains. It is well water'd, and has a large Ditch thrown round it. Hither the whole Nation repairs about the End of *Auguſt*, as if to the *Olympic* Games, and inſtitute a Traffic amongſt themſelves, by an exchange of their reſpective Commodities. Thus aſſembled, in compliance with a Tradition of uncertain Origin even amongſt themſelves, they conſecrate and hang upon ſome Tree of that Grove the beſt of their arms. Theſe they cleanſe at their return the next year, and kiſſing them, reſtore them to their former place. Here without any guard theſe Arms remain 'till they are eaten up by Ruſt or Time. Many Hiſtorians of theſe Nations have left it upon record that they were once converted to the *Chriſtian* faith by the *Genoeſe*, then Lords of *Caffa*, but that after the taking of the *Crim* by the *Turks*, being depriv'd of their Prieſts, they relaps'd to their former Ignorance. In proof of this opinion it is alledg'd, that before the *Cabartai* were infected with *Mahometaniſm*, the Name of one *Peter* was highly reverenc'd amongſt them, and that it was permitted to them to eat Swine's Fleſh, from which ſome at this day abſtain. They are under obedience to no Laws, have no Judges, aſſur'd that the Conſcience of the guilty Perſon is a full and adequate Puniſhment. Formerly they were without all Learning, but not long ago ſome of them embracing *Mahometiſm*, were initiated in the *Arabian* Literature. The reſt continuing in their old Gentiliſm, retain to this day their former Savage Manners. The whole Region is diſtributed into three Principalities, of which *Cabarta* is the head. They yearly remit to the *Chan* of *Crim-Tartary* two hundred young Men and a hundred Virgins by way of Tribute. Theſe are not choſen at pleaſure, but by Lot. Thoſe of them who are even born amongſt the *Tartars* have neither the face nor make of that People, and ſhould a Man call them the moſt beautiful of all the Oriental People, he would not much tranſgreſs the truth. They are always deviſing ſomething new in their Habits and Arms, in which they are ſo paſſionately follow'd by the *Tartars*, that they may well be call'd the *French* of the *Tartars*. Their Country is the School of Education for the *Tartars*, every Man of whom, who has not learn'd War and Behaviour, in this School, is reputed for

fully repuls'd and seeing himself unable to withstand them, sues to *Bajazet* for assistance, promises to stamp his name on his coin, and have him

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for a *Tentek*, a worthless insignificant Fellow. The Sons of the *Chans* of the *Crim*, the moment they see the light, are sent to the *Chercassians** for their Nourishment and Education. The Infant being brought into *Chercassia**, he who finds a Nurse for it, is call'd *Ata*, or the Sultan's Tutor, and ever afterwards he with his whole Race has an exemption from Taxes, because he has a sort of Fraternity with the Sultan. Wherefore it is earnestly sought by all the *Chercassians**, that a Wife or a Sister may once at least give the breast to the *Chan's* Son, and thereby purchase a freedom from Tribute. This is often attended with violence. A Man who is stronger privately or forcibly entring the house where the young Sultan is nurs'd, and having seiz'd his Person immediately carries him to his own House, and delivers him to a Wife or a Sister to suckle him. The two years in which he is at Nurse affords more than one instance of this kind. The Prince when he is grown up is carefully taught to ride, shoot with arrows, to bear arms, together with the whole Science and Equipage of War, and then sent home. Women are here esteem'd noble from their having small Fingers and short Feet. But a Virgin who is so corpulent, and has unsizeable Feet or Fingers, be her Birth ever so illustrious, is reputed ignoble, nor without a very large Fortune, has any chance for a Husband. Wherefore a Girl of seven years of age is brac'd in with an Iron Girdle of four or five Fingers breadth, her feet are cramp'd with wooden Shoes, both which Engines she is oblig'd to wear till she is full grown. So that what is effected by the *French* Women with Whalebone and other Arts with no small pain, is here acquir'd without any trouble in a tender age, and enjoy'd with ease the rest of their Lives. Neither the Boys nor Girls ever lie on a bed, but on Planks or Pavements cover'd with Hay or Straw, to prevent their growing fat or effeminate, which they not imprudently conclude, is attended with sloth and cowardice. The People are so valiant and strong, that by the confession of the *Tartars* themselves, as ten *Crims* are more than a match for fifteen *Bujakians*, so five *Chercassians** are more than equal to ten *Crims*. Of this Fortitude I shall give my Reader only one instance which happen'd about six years ago, and is not much unlike those exploits for which the old *Gracians* were so renown'd. When the annual Tribute due to *Selim Gierai* then *Chan* of the *Crim* (a Person of great wisdom and valour, an old Soldier,) was not paid, he the following year sent his Son *Shahbaz Gierai Sultan* to demand the Captives for both the years. He was honourably receiv'd, as coming with no formidable Retinue, and had the Tribute immediately put into his hands by the Seniors, as due. But he had by chance seen a most beautiful Daughter of a *Chercassian**, whom, not appearing in the List of the Captives, he forcibly seizes contrary to custom, and carries off to his own House. Her Brothers, two very brave Youths, dissembling at first the sorrow occasioned by this accident, comfort their Father, and assuage his grief with the flattering Prospect of her one day rising to the honour of the Sultan's bed. But waiting their opportunity, they at last unexpectedly break in upon the Prince, secure and alone with the ravish'd Virgin, his Guards being partly dismiss'd and partly drunk, stab both him and their Sister, and kill the Guards to a Man. The Sultan's Father hearing of the Fact, suppresses his resentment, and declares that the *Chercassians** had done well in punishing a Man, who had thus attempted a rape upon a Virgin seiz'd contrary to custom. To him being dead succeeded his eldest Son *Deulet Gierai*, a little after dethron'd by the Grand Seignior, and sent into Banishment. But *Caplan*

Gierai

him mention'd in the publick prayers, and thus ſubjects his territories to him as a fief. On theſe conditions, *Alaideulet* obtaining ſome auxiliary

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Gierai his ſucceſſor and younger Brother, by leave from the *Othman* Court, marches againſt the *Chercaſſians** at the head of eighty thouſand *Tartars*, threatning them with entire deſtruction. Having croſs'd the *Tanais* he was joyn'd by fifteen thouſand *Cubanenſians*. Prince *Cabarta* receiving the news of this expedition, retires with ſeven thouſand foot and three hundred horſe to the top of a high Mountain adorn'd with the Ruins of a very large and ancient City, and fortifies the Clefts of the Walls with trees and ramparts of Earth. *Caplan Gierai*, ſenſible of the difficult attack of this Mountain (which had but one avenue) ſends a truſty Meſſenger to the Prince to tell him that the Sultan had undertaken an expedition againſt the *Uſbeks*, and deſir'd three thouſand of his *Chercaſſians**, that beſides, himſelf wanted a perſonal Conference with him, and therefore deſir'd him to come down from the Mountain. *Cabarta* perceiving the deceit of the Enemy, anſwers the Meſſenger, that he was now confin'd with a ſevere Fit of the Gout, but that within three days he would either on horſeback or in a Litter (they have thoſe with two Wheels) attend the Sultan. The Meſſenger being gone, *Cabartai* calls the *Chercaſſians** together, and thus addreſſes them.—"What is your opi-
"nion, Country-men, concerning the
"preſent poſture of our affairs? Do
"you think it beſt for us to deliver
"our ſelves in chains to the Sultan, to
"be ſlaughter'd by him, our Wives
"and Children to be carried into per-
"petual Slavery, or like our ſelves,
"to conquer or die? If we die, we
"ſhall prevent the deteſtable ſight of
"a Tyrant raging over us; if we o-
"vercome, the conſequence will be
"the delivery of our ſelves by one
"ſtroke from the inſupportable cruel-
"ty of the *Tartars*."—Their Anſwer was unanimous, that it was better to die than to put themſelves into the hands of the Enemy; upon this he obliges them to their Reſolution by the accuſtom'd oath taken by their Swords and Arms. Things being thus ſettled, *Cabarta* in the evening ſends one of his Men to the *Chan* to tell him that his Gout was now eaſier, and that the next day he would attend him as a ſuppliant with the Seniors of his army. *Caplan Gierai*, tranſported with this Meſſage, order'd his Horſes to be turn'd to paſture, and reſolves to dedicate the whole Night to Reſt. The *Chercaſſians**, acquainted with what paſs'd in the Hords of the *Tartars*, bind the Bark of Trees into little Bundles well pitch'd, and tying them to the Tails of their Horſes drive them down with great ſilence to the *Koſh* or Tents of the *Tartars*, and there put fire to the Bundles. The Horſes, terrified at once with the flame and the pain, run with the utmoſt precipitation, and in a very dark night, throw themſelves like Lightning among infinite numbers of *Tartarian* Horſes, who likewiſe terrify'd, break their fetters, and with great noiſe diſperſe themſelves every where. The *Tartars* awak'd by this noiſe, neither ſee nor hear any thing but the Flames flying over the Plain, (for either the darkneſs or their fears prevented them from ſeeing the Horſes) and thinking fire was come from Heaven, the Foot like men out of their ſenſes run about in diſorder. The *Chercaſſians** ſeeing this, quit all Arms beſides their Swords, and kill every Man they meet, ſo that 'till the morning appear'd it was rather a Butchery than an Engagement. When it was day the *Chercaſſians*, gathering together almoſt a 100000 Horſes of the Enemy, with the Loſs of ſcarce five Men, return back in triumph. The *Cubanenſian Tartars* fall on the other diſpers'd *Tartars*, and put them to the Sword the two following days. For they had follow'd the Sultan by compulſion, having always before liv'd in ſtrict friendſhip with the *Chercaſſians**. *Caplan Gierai* eſcapes with a handful of his

liary forces re-attacks the *Chercaſſians**, and after ſeveral battles fought with various ſucceſs, takes from them *Giullek* (32), *Sues*, *Adana*, *Kaiſarie*, and *Antab*. *Caitebai* perceiving *Bajazet*'s policy in deſigning to weaken his forces by the ſword of another without hazard to himſelf, thinks he ſhould uſe the ſame method, and oppoſes *Kiorſhab* his neighbour to *Alaideulet*. Theſe two petty Princes, ſupported by the aid of both Sultans, contend for ſome time with ſuch doubtful fortune, that it was hard to determine which had the advantage. Whence it happen'd that theſe Countries were ſubject ſometimes to the *Chercaſſians**, ſometimes to the *Othmans*.

XIII. Taught by theſe events, *Bajazet* finds the dominion of the *Chercaſſians** in *Egypt* could not be ſubverted by arms, nor ſo flouriſhing an Empire weaken'd, unleſs their Country was deſtroy'd, and the way ſhut up by which they were wont to convey into *Egypt* ſo many forces every year. Wherefore pretending to make peace with the Sultan of *Egypt*, he recalls his troops, and in the year 889, in the month of *Jemaziul achyr*, unexpectedly invades *Chercaſſia**, overruns the Country, and carrying off a great number of Captives, ſhuts up the

His Expedition into *Chercaſſia**.

H. 889.
A. C. 1484.

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his Men into the *Crim*, leaving behind him forty thouſand ſlain, and the reſt all diſpers'd. Accus'd to the Court of *Conſtantinople* of Raſhneſs and Imprudence, he is depos'd from his dignity, and ſent in baniſhment to *Yanopolis* a Town of *Myſia*. *Deulet Gierai*, an exile in *Chios*, who commanded the *Tartarian* Cohorts in the laſt engagement with the *Ruſſians*, was appointed his Succeſſor. But of what eſteem the *Chercaſſians** are with the *Turks*, may be gueſs'd from the Price which the Sellers put upon their Captives. They value them in the firſt place, becauſe their Virgins are more beautiful than all others, better proportion'd in their Bodies, capable of Inſtruction, and of great modeſty, and their young Men, as they think, more ſharp in their Wit, and capable of making the beſt artificers. The next in their eſteem are the *Polanders*, then the *Abazà*, then the *Ruſſians* for the hardneſs of their Bodies and their enduring of Labour, which conſiderations often ſend them to row in the Grand Signior's Gallies, then the *Coſſacks*, then the *Georgians*, and laſt of all the *Mengrelians*. The *Germans*, *Venetians*, and *Hungarians* (whom they are wont to call by the ſame name of *Iſrenk*) are by them thought incapable of all drudgery, by reaſon of the ſoftneſs of their Bodies, and the Women of giving pleaſure proper to their Sex from the hardneſs of theirs. So that were Slaves produc'd in the Market out of all theſe Nations of the ſame age, ſtrength, or beauty, a *Chercaſſian*, Man or Woman, would be ſold for 1000 Imperial Crowns, a *Polander* for 600, an *Abazà* for 500, a *Ruſs* or a *Cozac* for 400, a *Georgian* for 300, a *Mengrelian* for 250, a *German* or *Iſrenk* for ſtill leſs. But in *Egypt*, *Chercaſſians** and the *Abazæ* are ſold at double value, becauſe there they alone ſucceed to the Rights and Properties of their Maſters, even in prejudice of the legitimate Sons. This indeed is againſt the precepts of the *Koran*, but is nevertheleſs allow'd from a ſingular and ſuperſtitious belief of *Joſeph*'s praying to God whilſt he was a ſlave in *Egypt*, that that Nation might be in perpetual ſubjection to Slaves, which by the ſecret judgment of God afterwards came to paſs.

(32) *Giullek*] This and the reſt that follow, are Cities of *Syria*, unknown to no *European* Travellers into the Eaſt, except *Giullek*.

entrances of the Mountains (33), by which it is furrounded, with Caſtles, and entirely hinders the Inhabitants from coming out. The nurſery of ſoldiers being thus obſtructed, *Caitebai* ſeeing his own daily diminiſh, and his Enemy's forces increaſe, is ſaid to fall ſick with grief, and ſhortly after he dies.

Other Expeditions. H. 890. A. C. 1485.

XVII. The ſame year, *Abdullah*, *Bajazet*'s ſon, Prince of *Iconium*, departed this life. In 890 he ſends an army into *Moldavia* to the great ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, and the next year ſubdues again the rebellious country of *Varſak*.

He aſſiſts the *Moors* in *Spain*.

XVIII. Whilſt the *Othman* affairs thus flouriſh'd in the Eaſt, the *Mahometan* Religion receives a grievous check in the Kingdom of *Endelos* (34). After ſeveral defeats, the Muſulmans are every where expell'd, put to the torture, and compell'd to abjure their religion. In this diſtreſs they ſend ambaſſadors to *Bajazet* to ſet forth the rage and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and from him, as head of the *Mahometan* commonwealth, to deſire aſſiſtance. *Bajazet* readily grants their requeſt; and to perform his promiſe, ſends the next ſummer a great fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under *Kiemal Ali Paſha*, who defeats the fleet of the *Chriſtians*, lays waſte the Iſland of *Malta*, and plundering the maritime countries of *Spain* and *Italy*, returns laden with ſpoil.

H. 891. A. C. 1486.

Subdues *Boſnia* and *Croatia*. H. 894. A. C. 1489.

XIX. Fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, he reſolves to try his fortune again with the *Chriſtians*. Wherefore in the year 894, he ſends General *Yacub* with an army into *Croatia* and *Boſnia*, to ſubdue there what ſtill oppos'd the *Othman* dominion. After he had taken ſeveral caſtles and march'd triumphantly over the whole region, he meets the *Chriſtians* in arms, and defeating them with a memorable ſlaughter, ſends many noble priſoners with their leader *Jeneral yavi* (35) to the Emperor. The ſame year *Bajazet* marries his daughter to *Ahmed Myrza* (36) *Ogyrogli* (37).

XX. In

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(33) of the Mountains] At this day the Mountains of *Arzirum*, *Demoucapu*, and *Derbent*, that is, the *Iron Gate* or *Guard* in which *Tomyris* Queen of *Scythia* intangled *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, and, as it is ſaid, cut him off with his whole army.

(34) *Endelos*] *Andaluſia*. By this name is all *Spain* call'd by the ancient *Turks* which fell under the dominion of the *Moors*, probably from the firſt Province, they ſeiz'd. But at this day the *Turks*, as well as we, diſtinguiſh *Spain* into two parts, *Spain* and *Luſitania*, call'd by them alſo *Portugal*.

(35) *Jeneral yani*] This is the moſt famous Count *John Torquatus*, whoſe fate is ſo differently related by *Chriſtian* and *Turkiſh* Writers. The firſt ſay that he dy'd in this engagement amongſt the thickeſt of the Enemy, not vanquiſh'd, but tir'd with victory; the latter make him to be taken alive, nor know we which to believe.

(36) *Ahmed Myrza*] That he was either a Relation of the King of *Tibris*, or illuſtriouſly deſcended, is plain from the Sirname *Myrza*. For although the Etymology of this word is unknown (unleſs you ſhould derive it from *Myr* a Prince, and *Zad* to denote a Race, born as it were of the Eſſence of the Forefathers, or *Zade* a Son) it is nevertheleſs certain and confeſs'd, that this name never is, or can

XX. In the year 895, the King of *Azerbejan* Sultan *Yacub* dies, whose death proves the destruction of many others, by being the occasion of terrible

Expeditions into *Asia*. H. 895. A. C. 1490.

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can be, given by the *Tartars* to any Person who has not receiv'd an immemorial Nobility and some Hord from his Ancestors by hereditary Right. The Reader will perhaps wonder how the memory of a Nobility can be preserv'd among a People so barbarous, and strangers equally to politeness and learning, especially since it is confess'd that no part of History lies in greater confusion and disorder than Genealogy. But it is a thing clear and beyond all controversy, that no Nation in the World more accurately enumerates their Nobility and the Series of their Ancestors than the *Scythians*. For it is a Law with them sacred and inviolable, that no *Tartar*, who is not descended from the first races of the Nobility, can obtain the appellation of *Myrza* or *Noble*, though he should alone retrieve the whole Nation from destruction, or recover a lost battle, or perform any the like actions exceeding human power; nor can a *Cazan* or *Cosh* (so they call ignoble families) by gift or purchase acquire a Title. So that the Races which have stood from the beginning distinguish'd with nobility, enjoy it singly and for ever. Of these you will hardly find a hundred in all *Scythia*: *Crimly*, *Orakogly*, and *Orumbetogly*, are the three great Branches. Of the two last I shall speak hereafter. The *Crimly* are subdivided into two Branches, the *Skirmi* and *Myrza*. The first, though they are of the same stock with the latter, are accounted more noble, because to their suffrage the Election of a *Cban* is committed, as that of the Emperor of *Germany* to the Electoral Princes. As their Race is widely dispers'd over the *Crim*, the *Cban* deputes four Seniors with authority over the rest. These only have power of electing and confirming the *Cban*, of deciding Causes, and governing the Commonwealth; and this power is so great, that without their Voices neither can the *Cban* when he is elected be received, or do any act of Royalty. His only power in such case is to depose the disagreeing and obstinate *Skirmi*, and substitute others in their room, who nevertheless seldom contradict the Acts of their Predecessors, as they are of the same Race and Family. Formerly, while they retain'd their freedom, upon the death or expulsion of a *Cban*, they elected at pleasure one of his Sons or Brothers (but still with regard to the *Jengizian* race) and confirm'd him with peculiar ceremonies. But being now subjected to the *Turks*, they are oblig'd either to obtain a confirmation of the *Cban* elected by them from the *Ottoman* Court, or receive one sent from thence. The Ceremonies of their confirmation are very singular. They have an ancient and square piece of Tapestry, design'd, they believe, to this use by *Jengischan*, and now almost eaten up with time and rottenness. In the middle of it they order the new elected *Cban* to sit down, whilst all bare-headed cry as loud as they can, *Cop yasa*, or, in our way of speaking, *long live the Cban*. After this, the four senior *Skirmi* take the Tapestry by the four corners, and raising the *Cban* upon it, proclaim him *Cban* of all the *Tartars*. The other *Myrza* likewise had formerly large Possessions, but are now, except a few, all extinct. For in the Reign of *Selim* II. Emperor of the *Turks*, all the *Myrza* (the *Skirmi* excepted) rebell'd against their *Cban*, *Mengly Gierai*, and dethron'd him; but at the intercession of the *Skirmi* they again receiv'd, and saluted him *Cban*. He, to revenge this injury and prevent any future rebellion, at first suppress'd his resentment, and publish'd an Amnesty. Two years after he made a great entertainment, and invited all the *Myrza* to it. He regal'd them with great magnificence, and protracted the Banquet till Midnight, when all of them, made drunk with sweet Wine and *Boza* (a kind of liquor amongst the *Tartars* made of Millet-seed,) were by his orders put

into

terrible diſſentions in that Kingdom. *Bajazet*, as well as the King of *Egypt*, *Gaitebai*'s Succeſſor, are concern'd, every one ſtriving to ſeize the Provinces deſtitute of a Governour. So the Armies, though the Trumpet ſilently ſounds to battle, ingage, and the victorious *Turk* for ſix years roams into almoſt every corner of *Aſia*. At laſt, after many conflicts in the year 901, all thoſe countries, for which *Bajazet* and the *Chercaſſians** had hitherto contended, are annex'd to the *Othman* Empire. In the year 902 the *Rhodians* are defeated with great ſlaughter by the *Turkiſh* General *Naſubeg*. At the ſame time *Ahmed Myrza*, whoſe fidelity *Bajazet* had purchas'd ſeven years before with

H. 901
A. C. 1496.
H. 902.
A. C. 1497.

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into Waggons to convey them home, but in the way they were murder'd by Soldiers plac'd for the purpoſe, whilſt they lay wallowing in their intemperance. This Tragedy has quite deſtroy'd the Race of the *Mirzæ* within the *Crim*, and reduc'd it to a few who were then abroad. But the other Nations of *Scythia* have their *Myrzæ* ſtill, chiefly in *Bujak*, the *Beſſarabia*, of the Ancients. The Daughters of theſe *Myrzæ* marry to none but a *Myrza*, but the Sons have the privilege of marrying Slaves, and their Children are as legitimate as if they were born of a female *Myrza*. The Betrothing and Nuptials are attended with peculiar rites. When both Parents are agreed upon the marriage of their Children, the Bride's Father orders a little houſe to be built, with the door opening into his own bed-chamber, and with a window ſo ſmall that it will ſcarcely receive the head of a Man. Through this it is permitted to the Bridegroom to kiſs his Bride in the night, and to concert meaſures with her concerning her eſcape. The Parents and Brothers are careful ſpies upon the Bride, whilſt the Bridegroom endeavours to convey her off either by ſtealth or force. It often comes to a ſkirmiſh, but only with Fiſts and Whips call'd *Camchi**, and the Bridegroom, if taken, is not diſmiſs'd without a ranſom. But if in the ſcuffle the Bridegroom can come at the Bride, he boldly enters, carries her off, ſtrips her little Lodging, and retains whatever he finds in it for a Dowry. Her Brothers purſue her thus taken away attended by their Relations, and if they can lay hold of her before ſhe arrives at the Bridegroom's Pavilion, he is either to redeem, or accept, her without a Portion. But the moment ſhe reaches his Tent, the War ends in a Marriage. Things are told of the Daughters of theſe *Myrzæ* equally memorable and worthy of admiration. When they become Women, and have their monthly fluxes, let them have been ever ſo ſtrong and healthful before, they are immediately ſeiz'd with a ſort of Lunacy. This gives great joy to the Parents, who congratulate each other upon it as an evident token of Nobility, and an acquittance of the Mother from Adultery, of which ſhe would ſtand accus'd ſhould her Daughter miſs of this indiſpoſition. An entertainment is immediately provided, to which all the Daughters of the *Myrzæ* are invited. This Ceremony being over, the Lunatic Virgin, is oblig'd to dance three days and ſo many nights to the ſound of a Monochord (taken notice of by *Pliny*) without any refreſhment from eating, drinking, or ſleeping, till ſhe falls down as one dead. The third day they ſet before her Meat and unſeaſon'd Broth made of Horſe fleſh, with which when ſhe is refreſh'd ſhe is again call'd to the Dance. This exerciſe being thrice repeated, her Malady immediately goes off, and troubles her no more during her life.

(37) *Ogyrogli*] *i. e.* Son of a happy Omen, from *Ogyr*, happy Omen, and *Ogul* Son. It ſignifies alſo, Son of a Thief.

the

the marriage of his daughter, on pretence of hunting, goes out of *Conſtantinople* and flies to *Tybris* (38), where he is choſen King.

XXI. The next year *Bajazet* lays at *Conſtantinople* near *Eski Serai* the foundations of a *Jami*, Hoſpital, *Taqlimchane*, and School, which are finiſh'd in eight years. In 905 he moves with great forces into *Greece*, and in the firſt aſſault takes *Ainebacht*, and the next ſummer on the 4th day of *Muharrem* becomes maſter of *Mothone* by ſtorm, and *Coroni* by ſurrender. In 907, the *Ifrenji* with a great fleet beſiege *Mitilin* (39), but fifty Gallies coming to the relief of the beſieged, they retire. About the ſame time, *Bajazet* having made peace with all his neighbours (40), orders the ſoldiers, tir'd with ſo many expeditions, to reſt and exchange their martial toils for the pleaſures of the city.

Wars with the *Venetians* in *Greece*, and makes peace with his Neighbours.

H. 907.
A. C. 1501.

XXII. But how dangerous to this Empire is repoſe, the tranſactions about this time in *Aſia* plainly demonſtrate. *Sheitan Culy* (41), a Magician

Sheitan Culy infects the *Perſians* with his Hereſy.

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(38) *Tybris*] By the moderns call'd *Tauris*, once Metropolis of the *Perſian* Empire, and now to be numbred amongſt the chief Cities of *Perſia*.

(39) *Mitilin*] *Chriſtian* Writers relate that the *Mitylene* was beſieg'd by a *French* fleet. This I eaſily believe, ſince the *Turks* call all the Weſtern *Europeans Ifrenj*.

(40) with all his neighbours] The Peace made between the *Turks* and *Venetians* by the aſſiſtance of one *Andreas Grittus*, then a Slave in the Court of *Bajazet*, by which *Leucas* and *Neritus* were reſtor'd to the *Turks*, and *Cephalonia* to the *Venetians*.

(41) *Sheitan Culy*] *i. e.* Servant or Slave of Satan, the firſt Hæreſiarch amongſt the *Mahometans*. The *Turks* gave him this name from a belief that he was a Magician and Conjurer. The *Perſians* on the contrary affirm him to be a moſt learned Man, and full of a divine Spirit, who not only corrected the *Koran*, but prov'd his Doctrine by Miracles, and from thence he has obtain'd from them the name of *Sofi* or *Sopbus* (i. e. wiſe.) The *Perſians* and *Turks*, with no leſs diſagreement, relate the ſtory of the propagation of his doctrine. For the *Perſians* ſay, that *Sofi* being expell'd the *Othman* Dominions by *Bajazet*, retir'd to *Iſmail* King of *Perſia*, and there whilſt he exercis'd the function of Præceptor to his Children, eſpecially in Mathematicks, finiſh'd the Correction and genuine Interpretation of the *Koran*, and drew the King and the Nobles to his Sentiments. But as neither his Preaching nor Exhortation could gain the common People, he obtain'd a Mandate from the King ſignifying, that whoever reſiſted his Doctrine, if rich, ſhould forfeit his Wealth and Honour, if of inferior condition, his Life. *Perſia*, mov'd with the terror of this Edict, ſaw her Sons in multitudes running into the neighbouring Kingdoms, with the loſs of their Riches and Eſtates, as in the laſt Century the *Huguenots* fled out of *France*. The King, ſtruck with this flight of his Subjects, call'd the *Sofi* to him, and told him, that as for himſelf he was perſwaded of the truth of his Doctrine, but could not on its account ſuffer his Kingdom to be depriv'd of its Inhabitants. The *Sofi*'s anſwer was, that in this neceſſity where the Truth of Doctrine claſh'd with the ſafety of the Publick, the proper recourſe was to Miracles: that he had ſuch confidence in God and the Prophet, that a Miracle would be granted to confirm and eſtabliſh his Doctrine in the minds of the ignorant. Upon this the moſt learned Interpreters of the *Koran* were conven'd out of the whole Kingdom, when the *Sofi* deliver'd to them a Book, fair and unwritten, and ſaid—— "If "ye have yet any doubt of my Doc- "trine, God will confirm the truth "by a Miracle, ſuch as was never "ſeen

gician, and a man full of diabolical arts, had now lurk'd ſome time near the Town of *Beg Baſar*; and finding the people after a ten year's peace greedy

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" ſeen or heard of before." He then lodg'd in an old hollow Tree the Blank Book, and another of the *Koran* as formerly receiv'd. The Mouth of the Hole, through which the Books were convey'd, was ſecur'd with Iron hoops, which had three Seals put to them, of which the King kept one, and the adverſe party the two others. He offer'd under the Tree publick prayers every day, and on the fortieth order'd the Seals to be broke open, and the Books to be drawn out. The unwritten Book was found fill'd up from beginning to end, and entirely agreeing with the copy revis'd by himſelf: the old Copy was every where defac'd in the Writing, and only the Margin left untouch'd. On ſight of this all the whole Company cry'd out, *Allah, Allah, God, God*, and immediately embracing the Doctrine deliver'd by the *Soſi* as true and free from all ſuſpicion, ſought every where for the ancient Copies of the *Koran* and committing them to the Flames, tranſcrib'd new ones from this miraculous Book. They moreover chang'd the Character; for whereas the older Copies of the *Koran* were written in *Niſchi* (retain'd by the *Turks* to this day) it was his order that all the *Korans* from that day ſhould be tranſcrib'd in *Taalik*, to diſtinguiſh the genuine from the ſpurious copies. Thus the *Perſians* tell the ſtory, whilſt the *Turks* give it quite another turn. For they ſay, that *Sheitan Culy*, whilſt he was Præceptor to the Sons of *Iſmail* King of *Perſia*, led the youngeſt Son (whoſe name I have forgot, for I am oblig'd to rely on my memory for ſeveral things tranſcrib'd from the mouths of the learned *Turks* and other Monuments, now ſacrific'd to the Malice of Fortune) frequently into a Wood, and ſhew'd him an old Plane Tree, with command, that if at any time his Father ſhould bid him name a *Tree* to him it ſhould be that. In this Tree he had lodg'd a year before the Book of the *Koran*, as reform'd by himſelf, writ in an unknown but elegant Character, and another tranſcrib'd from the receiv'd copies, but all foully blotted. The Hole of the Tree was ſo ſtop'd up by Nature and magical Arts, that no traces of it appear'd. The *Soſi* being afterwards ſeverely chid by *Iſmail* for the ſedition rais'd by him, had recourſe to his premeditated fraud, and offer'd to confirm his Doctrine by a Miracle. The King upon this offer call'd Multitudes together to witneſs the Miracle. The Conditions were, that if the Truth had the confirmation of a Miracle, all without exception ſhould be oblig'd to receive it, if not, Death ſhould be the portion of *Sheitan Culy* as an Impoſtor. All, as ignorant of the Fraud, conſenting, the King went out to the Grove attended by numbers of learned Men and of the common People. The Impoſtor addreſſing himſelf to the King, that all ſuſpicion of fraud, ſays he, may be remov'd, order your little Son to ſhow you any Tree he ſhall pleaſe. This being approv'd by both King and People, ſhow me, ſaid the King to his Son, ſome Tree in this Grove. The Boy, as he had been inſtructed, pointed to the old Plane Tree, and immediately the ſtoppage being remov'd from the cavity of the Tree, *Sheitan* convey'd the unwritten Book and the old *Koran*, as is before ſaid, into the Tree, and after the mockery of hypocritical Prayers, left them both there, the Hole being ſecur'd by Iron Plates and Seals. On the fortieth day, the People again came to the Tree, when the Impoſtor (with bare hands and previous Prayers to remove all ſuſpicion) went to the Hole, and taking out, not the Books laſt put in, but two others plac'd below them. He then held them up to the People, and ask'd whether they were not the ſame put in by him in their ſight. The Binding and Shape being exactly correſpondent, the People anſwer'd, they were the ſame, and upon the delivery of them into their hands, found the Impoſtor's unwritten Book fill'd with

greedy of novelties, in the year 916 vends his long meditated hereſy in the *Koran*, ſupports it with miracles, and therewith ſo bewitches the credulous vulgar, that in a ſhort time he is able to bring an army of followers into the field. Whereupon *Bajazet* inſtantly ſends *Ali Paſha* with forces to diſperſe theſe riotous aſſemblies; who vanquiſhing the Impoſtor in battle, forces him to fly to *Iſmail Shah* (42), where H. 916. A. C. 1510

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with fair Characters, and comparing it with the new *Koran*, diſcover'd every where a perfect agreement. *Aziz allah*, or *glorious God*, was now the Cry; and when the old *Koran* was found foully ſtain'd with Ink, they again cry'd out, *Hak allah*, *Subhan allah*, *juſt God*, *merciful God*. To ſuppreſs for ever all ſuſpicion of his fraud, the *Turks* ſay the *Soſi* ſo bewitch'd *Iſmail* by his Incantations, that he order'd the Tree to be immediately burnt, on pretence of hindring any ſuperſtitious Adoration of it by the People. Thus, ſay the *Turks*, the Impoſtor propagated his Religion amongſt the *Perſians*. From that time the *Turks* and *Perſians* have fiercely diſputed about Religion. The Summ of the Controverſy lies in this, that the *Perſians* purſue with the moſt direful imprecations three of *Mahomet's* Succeſſors, *Ebubekir*, *Omer*, and *Othman*, and call them Impoſtors, Falſifiers, and Robbers, and acknowledge only *Ali* as true Succeſſor of the Prophet, who they pretend was murder'd in a *Jami* by the treachery of his Collegues. The *Turks* acknowledge all four as the Prophet's true Succeſſors, and pay an equal reſpect and reverence to their Memories. Another Cauſe of quarrel between the two Nations is, that the *Turks* as ſoon as they riſe out of their Bed, before they perform their *Sabah Namaz*, are oblig'd by their Law to waſh their Feet with water, and after they have put on their *Meſt* or Shoes, to rub them with their hands. The *Perſians* on the contrary think it ſufficient only to rub the foot with the bare hand, at their riſing, and that any other waſhing is needleſs. This Controverſy, trifling as it may ſeem, is thought of conſequence enough to ſet the two Nations at enmity, and engage them in the blackeſt reproaches and injuries againſt each other. The *Turks* call the *Perſians*, Blaſphemers, Impious, Infidels, *Kyzil baſh*, or *Redheads*, and ſay they are worſe than the *Chriſtians*. The *Perſians* in their turn retort the ſame opprobious names upon the *Turks*. And to ſuch height is this enmity carried between the two Nations, that whereas the *Turks* firmly believe that for every Enemy of a different Religion (Subjects being put upon another foot) ſlain by them, God will amply reward the Service: in this computation they make one *Perſian* ſlain equal to ſeventy *Chriſtians*. Hither we are to refer the manner us'd by both Nations in ſending Ambaſſadors. The King of *Perſia*, when he ſends one to the *Turk*, amongſt other Preſents, firſt offers him the *Koran*, as well to boaſt the Truth of his Law, as to engage the *Turk* to the reception of it by this, as it were, ſilent Preaching. The Sultan after he has receiv'd the Ambaſſador, and heard a Recital of the Preſents read to him by the *Reiſul Kiutab* (vulgarly the *Reis Efendi* or firſt Chancellor) when the name of the *Koran* is mention'd he kiſſes his own, plac'd by him on a Cuſhion, then reverently returns it to its former place, by this ceremony ſilently aſſerting the Truth of his own *Koran*, and the Falſity of the *Perſian*.

(42) *Iſmail Shah*] King of *Perſia*, Cotemporary with *Bajazet*, the fierce and everlaſting Enemy of the *Othman* Race. His ſuperior Knowledge has plac'd him amongſt the moſt learned Princes, and probably procur'd him the Sirname of *Soſi*, or *the wiſe*. †

† He was Founder of the preſent Royal Family of *Perſia*, and from him they have retain'd the name of the *Great Sophy* to this day. But of this, and other the like obſervations, more largely in the additional Notes.

meeting

meeting with more liberty to ſpread his poiſon, he turns the King with the whole Nation from the true paths of the *Koran*.

Bajazet deſigns to deliver up the Empire to his Son *Ahmed*.

XXIII. About the ſame time, whilſt *Bajazet* in the midſt of peace, was rolling in pleaſures, the inconveniences of approaching old age, and the ſharp pains of the Gout in his hands (43), contracted by luxury, inſpir'd him with a reſolution of imitating the example of his Grandfather, and voluntarily reſigning the Empire. To this end, he ſends for his eldeſt Son *Ahmed*, whom he had ſet over *Cony*, declares him Heir of the Empire, and chuſes to lead a private life at *Magneſia*, the place of his Grandfather's retirement.

Selim reſenting it, is defeated by his Father.

XXIV. But having diſcover'd his intention before he had gain'd the great men to *Ahmed*'s intereſt, it does not ſucceed to his wiſh, and what he deſigns to be for his advantage, turns to his detriment. For *Selim*, who was Governor of *Trapezond*, hearing of theſe tranſactions, with the forces of his Province, croſſes the *Pontus*, marches to *Adrianople*, and that he might not alienate the Minds of his People by the name of rebellion, pretends he is come to pay his duty to his Father (44). From hence with twenty thouſand men he goes directly to *Conſtantinople*, hoping the Janizaries, whom he knew to be in his intereſt, would join with him. *Bajazet* perceiving his Son's deſigns, aſſembles what forces happen'd to be at *Conſtantinople*, and bravely meets *Selim*, in the month *Jemaziul evvel* of the year 917, near *Chorlo** at a Village call'd *Ogriſs*. The battle is long doubtful, but at laſt *Selim* is vanquiſh'd and forc'd to fly. *Bajazet* forbids all purſuit, hoping, as he ſaid, his ſon would lay aſide his fierceneſs, return to a ſound mind, and be convinc'd by this fatherly correction, that God approves not the rebellion of children againſt their Parents. But if he would not even now repent, he ſhould be left to the divine wrath, which never ſuffers rebellious Sons to go unpuniſh'd. Thus *Selim*, eſcaping by the goodneſs of a father, comes to *Varna* (45), and from thence ſails to *Kaffa*, a maritime Town of *Crim-Tartary*.

H. 917.
A. C. 1511.

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(43) Gout in his hands] The *Chriſtians* ſay it was in the feet that *Bajazet* was troubled with the Gout. Both perhaps right, ſince this diſtemper generally viſits both hands and feet.

(44) To his Father] The *Turks* are enjoyn'd by their Law to viſit their Country and Parents, if in their power, after a long abſence from them. And to neglect this is with them acting againſt a divine precept. From hence the Proverb, "To viſit "Country and Parents in due time, "is not of leſs moment than a religious Pilgrimage to *Mecca*." For this reaſon, if any Servant asks leave from his Maſter to viſit his Country, the Maſter cannot deny him; or if he does, is chargeable with the Sin, and not the Servant. This was *Selim*'s pretence when he had only in view the dethroning of his Father. For ſince *Bajazet* had aſcended the Throne, *Selim* had not once ſeen him.

(45) *Varna*] A City of *Pontus*, memorable by the defeat and ſlaughter of *Uladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary* and *Poland*.

XXV. Freed

XXV. Freed from this danger, *Bajazet*, who reflected not that Crowns are given by God and not by man (46), thinks of meeting of no farther obſtacles to his conferring the Empire on whom he had intended. Wherefore he again ſends to *Ahmed*, telling him, his Enemy and Rival was conquer'd and expell'd the bounds of the Kingdom, and therefore he ſhould come, and with univerſal conſent take the crown with his father's benediction. *Ahmed*, more cautiouſly conſidering the offer, anſwers, that his father in vain attempted to confer this favour on him, ſince he knew not only the Janizaries, but all the great Men were inclin'd to *Selim*, and with'd him alone Emperor, and therefore it was not a rival brother, but his adherents the ſoldiers, that he fear'd. Who again offers the crown to his Son *Ahmed*.

XXVI. *Bajazet* ſeeing *Ahmed* diſlik'd his intention, and deſiring to debar *Selim* from the Throne for his inſolence and immoderate thirſt of dominion, thinks of taking another courſe, and of deferring his purpoſe at preſent, in hopes of eaſily finding an opportunity to effect it. But it ſeem'd difficult to revoke his declar'd reſolution of reſigning, becauſe whatever is ſaid or done by the Sultans, is believed to be ſo firm (47), as not to be retracted on any human account. Wherefore he *Bajazet* is not ſuffer'd by the Janizaries to retain the Empire.

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(46) not by man] Although the *Turks* affirm, that nothing, either of good or evil can happen without the will of God, yet it is their belief, that God can refuſe nothing to a *Miſſiman*, ſeriouſly petitioning him according to the Oracle of the *Koran*, "O ye Angels, my Servant has "touch'd me with Shame," or, "I am "aſham'd that I have not fulfill'd his "Petition. Two things however are, according to them, never to be obtain'd by Prayers, Prophecy, and Empire. For theſe God will never grant to any other, ſince they are already limited by his Decree, Prophecy to *Mahomet*, and to none after him, and Empire to the *Othman* Race alone, which ſeems to be inſinuated by many expounders of the *Koran*. Thus the ſubtle Impoſtor pronounc'd himſelf the laſt of all the Prophets, and deſtroy'd in all others the ambition of Empire. So that ſhould a Man only hypothetically ſay, If God would grant me Empire or Prophecy, I would do this or that, he would be immediately thought to have deny'd God, and communicated with Infidels, which Sin is only to be aboliſh'd by the *Tejdid Iman*, or the renewal of his faith, by which, as a new Convert, he is to appear before the *Imam* or Prieſt, and in the preſence of two or three Witneſſes declare the Profeſſion of his Faith.

(47) to be ſo firm] Amongſt the Sultan's moſt haughty Titles, that of *Zilludlah*, or *Shadow of God*, holds the firſt Place, as it commands an obedience to his Edicts, as if they were divine, and never to be reſiſted. In proof of this opinion, I ſhall produce a particular which happen'd in my Father's time. As *Mahomet* IV. was marching his Army in *May* thro' *Moldavia* to the Siege of *Caminiec*, recollecting that it was the Seaſon for ripe Cherries at *Conſtantinople*, he aſk'd the prime Vizir, why Cherries were not brought to his Table. The Vizir immediately diſpatch'd a *Capuji baſha* to the Prince of *Moldavia*, with command that he ſhould inſtantly provide Cherries for the Emperor's Table. The Prince excuſing himſelf, by ſaying, that no Cherries could then be had, nor hardly in *June*, the *Capuji baſha* reply'd, "O Prince, "when the Emperor commands, "there is no ſaying a thing is not, "or cannot be done." Wherefore the Prince, to make himſelf believ'd,

he privately endeavours to induce the Great Men to petition him to alter his mind. But these, on the contrary, encourage the Janizaries, (to whom quiet, and a ten years pacific (48) Emperor, was ungrateful) to favour *Selim*, and easily lead, where they please, the soldiers thirsting, after so long a peace, for nothing but intestine wars and commotions.

Who call home *Selim*, and bring him to *Constantinople.*

XXVII. The Great Men privately send Letters to *Selim*, acquainting him that they have all unanimously resolv'd, to salute him Emperor, and not suffer *Bajazet* to depart from his declaration of resigning the Crown. Terrified perhaps by his former danger, *Selim* at first refuses his consent, and tells the Conspirators, that indeed he is so far from despising the Throne offer'd by them, that he is ready to shed his blood for any, even the meanest soldier, but is unwilling to do any, the least thing contrary to his father's pleasure, especially since he had been taught by late experience, that the hand of God is against him. The Janizaries receiving this answer, repeat their instances to *Selim* by *Zemberekchi* Pashi* (49), affirming they would all bind themselves by oath, not to desist, till they see him rais'd to the Throne, even against his father's will. Perswaded at last by these promises, *Selim* departs from *Kaffa* with a few attendants, and under the former pretense, goes to *Constantinople.* On news of his arrival, the Janizaries flock together in Companies in the streets, and joyfully meet him at the Gate *Top Kapu* (50). *Selim* surrounded with a band of these, enters the City, and goes into

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sent by the *Capuji bashba* some Branches of Cherry Trees yet in the blossom; on sight of which, *Mahomet* is said to have cry'd out, *Gaur vilaieti soub imysh*, "the Regions of "the Infidels are cold," which admits of two interpretations, either of the natural coldness, or of any thing execrable and contrary to the *Mahometan* Religion.

(48) ten years pacific] That Peace and Quiet are not for the Interest of this Nation, has been prov'd by constant experience. Wherefore if they have no foreign Enemy upon their hands, they turn their rage against the Emperor, and like Crabs devour one another. To this purpose, they have a saying, *alberekitul berekiet*, Motion is Happiness, that is, every Alteration brings with it some Happiness. For besides their natural propension to commotions, which prevents their having almost any peace amongst themselves, they are by their Law commanded to keep no long peace with the *Christians*, or any other Nation not believing in *Mahomet.* This would at once hinder the propagation of their Religion, and give occasion for everlasting civil dissensions. The *Turks* here say only *Halizeman*, i. e. some time, but I compute it at ten years. *Christian* Writers agree with them, whilst they assert that *Bajazet* lay some time quiet under the confinement of the Gout.

(49) *Zemberekchi* Pashi*] He was formerly Superintendent of the Battering Rams, and other military Machines, from *Zemberek*, an Engine to throw Stones, and *Bashi*, one that presides. This Office is now grown into disuse.

(50) *Top Kapu*] Etymologically the Gate of the warlike Engines. It is in the western part of the City, in the high road between *Edernè Capusi*, the *Adrianople* Gate, and *Sylliuri Capusi*, the *Syllebrian* Gate. In that Row are large Towers, where the *Turks* lodge their Gun-powder to be distributed out to necessary uses.

the

the Mead *Enibagche* (51), where the Janizaries had prepared Tents for him.

XXVIII. *Bajazet* is troubled at the news of this unexpected affair, and perceiving nothing could be done by force, ſtudies to ſoften his ſon by gentle expreſſions. Wherefore on the eighth day, when he thought the violence of his ardor abated, he ſends for his Prime Vizir, *Coja Muſtapha Paſha* (52), and bids him in his name tell his ſon: "If my ſon de-"ſires to viſit me, and obtain my benediction, why does he delay? But "if under theſe proceedings he only conceals his impiety, why does "he vainly ſpend the time?" The Vizir executes his commiſſion, and with due adoration delivers the Sultan's commands. *Selim* perceives *Bajazet*'s policy, and returns a no leſs ambiguous and acute anſwer, "Tell "my Father, (ſays he to the Vizir) I will not in the leaſt diſobey his "orders, and am ready to go wherever he ſhall ſend me, if he will but "pleaſe to ſatisfy ſome doubts I have entertained concerning the preſent "adminiſtration of affairs. *Soſi ogli* (53), a man of no account is riſen "up in the Eaſt, and with a ſudden and ſwift progreſs, has laid waſte "the *Othman* Empire, carrying his arms as far as *Cæſarea*, whilſt you "inſtead of defending the Provinces, are an idle ſpectator of his vic-"tories. On the other hand, a *Chercaſſian** (54), of obſcure birth and "name, who ought to be proſtrate under the ſword of the *Othmans*, "has made himſelf maſter not only of *Egypt*, but of many other "countries in *Syria*, formerly ſubject to our dominion, and holds them "even to this day, as if they were his lawful inheritance. To ſuch "contempt, the Majeſty of the Empire, rever'd under our Anceſtors, "is fallen, and they, who formerly under the name of *Bajazet*, were "fear'd as invincible Heroes by the neighbouring Nations, are now "under the ſame name, as men unactive and effeminate, ſcorn'd and "provok'd. Where is now the honour of the *Aliothman* Scepter! "Where the military Diſcipline! Where the zeal of propagating the "Law! Where the arts of Government! Is it thus, the Empire is in-"larg'd? Is it thus, we deal with our enemies? Is it thus, the ardor of "our hitherto invincible ſoldiery is preſerv'd? Certainly by ſuch me-"thods our glorious Anceſtors neither eſtabliſh'd the Throne, nor ex-"tended the bounds of the Empire. Theſe things duly weigh'd, let "my father himſelf judge, whether they, who by their conſent (55),

Selim's acute anſwer to his Father's Ambaſſador.

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(51) *Enibagche**] Etymologically New Garden. It is a ſpace of almoſt a mile in compaſs, but at preſent a Meadow where Horſes go to paſture, and call'd by them *Cbair*.

(52) *Coja Muſtapha Peſha*] or Old *Muſtapha*. A large Stone Exchange for the convenience of Merchants, built by him at *Conſtantinople*, and which ſtill retains his name.

(53) *Soſi Ogli*] *Iſmail* King of *Perſia*.

(54) The *Chercaſſian**] The King of *Egypt*.

(55) By their conſent] The perfidious Son is ſeeking excuſes for dethroning his Father, and putting him to death.

"of

" or permiſſion, or negligence, have been the cauſe of theſe miſma-
" nagements, can eſcape puniſhment? For unleſs a timely remedy be
" applied to theſe corruptions, we ſhall be oblig'd to aſcribe the ap-
" proaching and almoſt unavoidable ruin of our Empire to our ſloth,
" and not to the bravery of our enemies."

Bajazet reſigns to *Selim*, and retires to *Dymotica.*

XXIX. The Vizir returning to the Sultan, and reporting his ſon's anſwer, *Bajazet*, is ſaid to reply: " I too plainly ſee, my ſon's buſineſs
" is not to viſit his father, but right or wrong to ſeize the Empire.
" However that it is deſign'd for him by heaven, I am convinc'd by my
" dreaming (56) laſt night, that my Crown was by the ſoldiers plac'd
" on *Selim*'s head. Wherefore ſince I deem it impious either to at-
" tempt, or act any thing contrary to God's will, in an humble reſigna-
" tion to divine providence, I lay down the Enſigns of Government,
" and will and command *Selim* to be by all ſaluted Emperor." Accordingly he inſtantly acquaints *Selim* with his reſolution, and deſires his permiſſion to live privately at *Dymotica*. *Selim* intreats his father to remain in the new Palace, for that he will be contented with the Empire in the old one. *Bajazet* ſtill urges his requeſt, alledging, one ſcabbard can never hold two ſwords (57). So prevailing at laſt, and taking with him the moſt precious things out of the Treaſury, he departs from *Conſtantinople*, in company with *Yunus Paſha* (58) and a few friends, the 18th day of the month *Sefer* in the year 918.

H. 918.

A. C. 1512. *Selim* is crown'd,

XXX. *Selim* with the Great Men attends his father to *Kuchuk* Chekmeje** (59) two hours diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, talks to him about eſtabliſhing the State, and as if he had a mind to expiate by his preſent obſequiouſneſs his paſt diſobedience, deſires his Bleſſing. After which, he bids his father farewell, and returning to the Palace, receives the imperial diadem, with the uſual ſolemnities.

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(56) dreaming] The *Turks* are very ſuperſtitious about Dreams, and think, that the pure Soul of a Muſulman foreſees, and is admoniſh'd of ſome things in a Dream. They have a Book call'd *Yakaà namè*, or the Interpreter of Dreams, to which they apply on theſe occaſions. But they ſay, *Diusk giorendè degil dur yoran dedur*, That is, the Event of the dream depends not on the Seer but the Interpreter. For this reaſon, as ſoon as any one ſays, I have had a Dream this Night, all the Company cry out, *Chair ola*, by which they think, that though the Interpretation of the Dream is of bad portent, yet it is now averted.

(57) Two Swords] He ſeems to have alluded to the ſaying of *Alexander the Great*, " That the World could
" not be govern'd by two Suns,
" nor with ſafety to its State be ſub-
" ject to two Emperors."

(58) *Yunus Paſha*] From the *Hebrew*, *Jochanan* or *John*. So *John* the Prophet is by them call'd *Yunus Peigamber*.

(59) *Kuchuk* Chekmeje**] A little Draw-Bridge, afterwards turn'd into one entire Bridge, but ſtill retaining the name of *Little*, to diſtinguiſh it from a Greater. *Kuchuk* Chekmeje** is the Town formerly known by the name of *Athyra* in the high road which leads to *Adrianople*, diſtant from *Conſtantinople* two hours, and from *Bujuk Chekmeje** (Great Bridge) ſix.

XXXI. Mean

XXXI. Mean while, *Bajazet* purſues his intended journey, but ſo ſlowly, that he halted, on pretence of indiſpoſition, in almoſt every village, and thereby bred a ſuſpicion in his ſon, that he hop'd to be recall'd to the Government, (which he had unwillingly reſign'd) by ſome popular commotion. Perhaps this was the cauſe, that when he was ſcarce forty miles from the City, he ended his days by an unexpected Martyrdom (60). *Selim* having notice of his death, orders the Vizir and Great Men to remove his body to *Conſtantinople*. He himſelf in a mourning habit meets them on foot in their return without the City, and with great pomp, like a triumph, introducing the funeral into the town, commands the body to be buried in the *Jami* founded by *Bajazet*. and crowns his Father with Martyrdom.

XXXII. *Bajazet* liv'd ſixty two, and reign'd thirty two, years. He had five ſons, *Ahmed*, *Selim*, *Shehinſhah*, *Alemſhah*, and *Corcud*, whoſe fortunes will be related hereafter. He was a Prince if the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians are to be credited, valiant, active, of an invincible mind, even in adverſity, and had by exerciſe acquir'd ſuch ſtrength, that few could equal, and none excell him. A punctual obſerver of the law, and a great patron of the learned, to each of whom he not only gave every year ten thouſand *Akche** (61), but alſo bountifully ſupplied them with *Seja* + and proviſions according to their reſpective conditions. He was himſelf ſo well vers'd in all parts of literature, that he was ſtyl'd by his people, as well the Prince of learning as of the Empire. By his conduct or good fortune, the *Othman* Empire, was not only not impair'd, but grievous wars wag'd with great honour, and large Kingdoms ſubdu'd. He expended great part of his revenue in buildings rais'd to the Glory of God (62). He repair'd the walls of the City demoliſh'd in many places by an Earthquake, and in the Braſier's Market (63) built a ſtately *Jami* of admirable workmanſhip, with another at *Amaſia* not indeed ſo large, but equally beautiful and elegant. I ſay nothing of the many *Medreſe*, and *Imaret* erected by him in ſeveral places. Beſides theſe ſtructures deſtin'd for the divine ſervice, he built near *Oſmanjik*, over the river *Kyzyl irmak* (64) a marble bridge of nineteen arches, and *Bajazet*'s Iſſue and Character.

ANNOTATIONS.

(60) Martyrdom] From hence may be inferr'd that what *Philip Lonicer* relates of his death but of *Anthony Mænevin*, is not a fiction. In Tom. I. Part v. c. 22. He tells us that *Bajazet* was murder'd on his journey by the hands of a *Jewiſh* Phyſician, tho' the *Turks* do not avowedly confeſs the deed.

(61) *Akche**] *White*, interpreted from the *Greek* word ἄσπρον. It is a piece of money leſs in weight and value than all others (the braſs half-penny's called *Mangyr*, excepted) 120 of this Coin make a *Leonine*, 300 a *Kuruſin* Growe.

(62) Glory of God] Whatever is dedicated to God, is vulgarly ſaid to be built to the Glory of God, *Hakk yoluna*, or in the *Arabic*, *ſilebil ullah*, or *ſi tavyk ullah*, in the way of God.

(63) Braſier's Market] Not far from the old Palace, call'd anciently χαλκοπράτης.

(64) *Kyzyl Irmak*] Red Stream.

† Cloaths made of *Seſ*. See Note p. 45.

in the Province of *Saricban* over the river *Giozſui* (65), another of ſquare ſtone with the ſame number of arches.

A ſingular inſtance of piety.

XXXIII. But before I proceed, I ſhall relate a ſingular inſtance of piety much praiſed by the *Turks*. He is ſaid through the whole courſe of his life, to have carefully preſerv'd the duſt, which in his expeditions, ſtuck to his Cloaths, and in his laſt hours conjur'd the By-ſtanders with direful imprecations to make a large brick of it, and place it in his monument under his right arm inſtead of a cuſhion, adding he had always regarded the *Hadis* (66), or ſaying: *Igburetu Caddemabu ſebilullah baram aleibi ennare*: that is, "If any man's feet have been "ſprinkled with the duſt in the path of the Lord, him will God "preſerve from Hell-fire."

ANNOTATIONS.

(65) *Giozſui*] Water of the Eye or Eyes, metaphorically Tears, as *Gioz jaſbi*, the humour or ſpring of the Eyes.

(66) *Hadis*] Is properly the Oracle of a falſe Prophet, pronounc'd according to the opinion of the *Turks* with a prophetical Spirit. For they diſtinguiſh the Prophecies of the *Koran* into divine, or dictated by the Archangel to *Mahomet*, which they call *Hadiſi Kudus*, and into Prophetical, which *Mahomet* pronounc'd by a divine Spirit, and theſe they call *Hadiſunnebevi*.

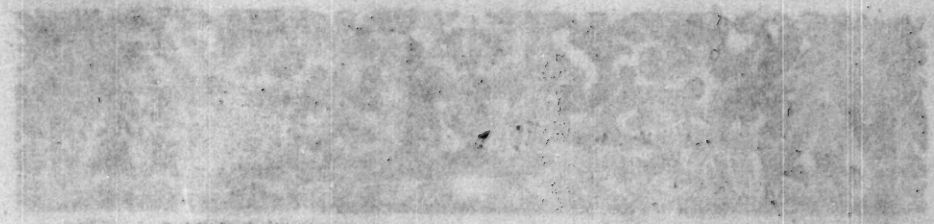
Cotemporary with *BAJAZET* II. reign'd in *Europe*.

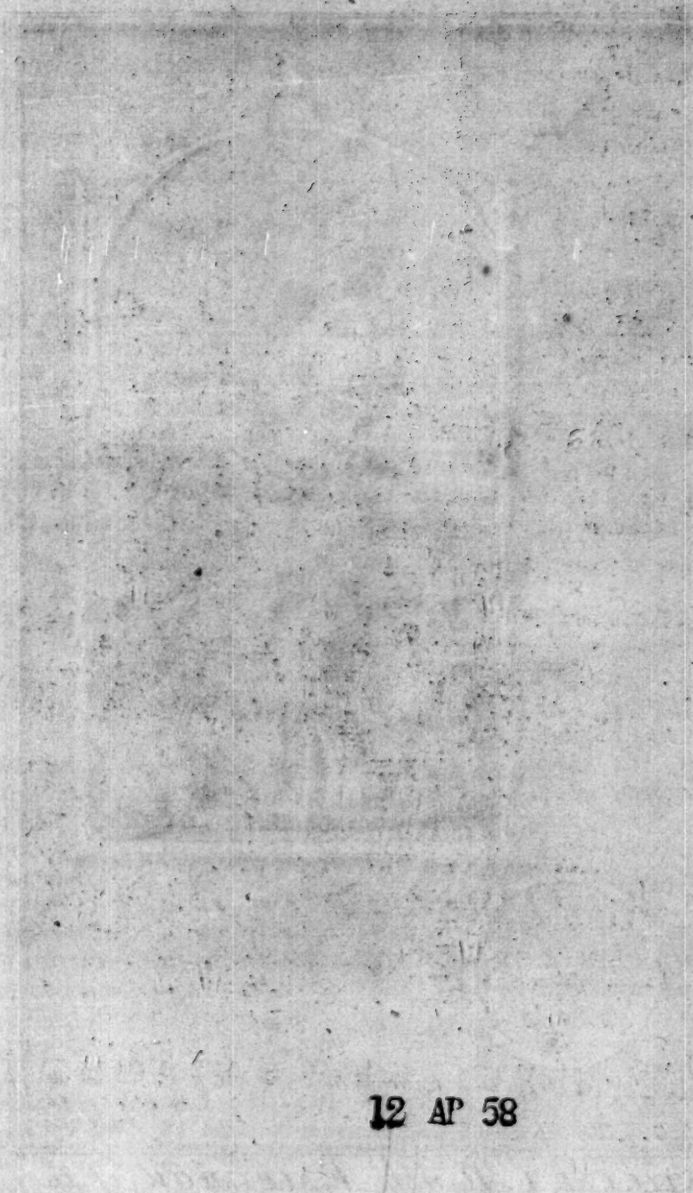
In *Germany*,	FREDERIC IV. of *Auſtria*.	1439-93.
	MAXIMILIAN III.	1493-1518.
In *England*,	EDWARD V.	1483.
	RICHARD III.	1483-5.
	HENRY VII.	1485-1509.
	HENRY VIII.	1509-46.
In *France*,	CHARLES VIII.	1483-98.
	LEWIS XII.	1498-1515.

The End of the Reign of BAJAZET II.

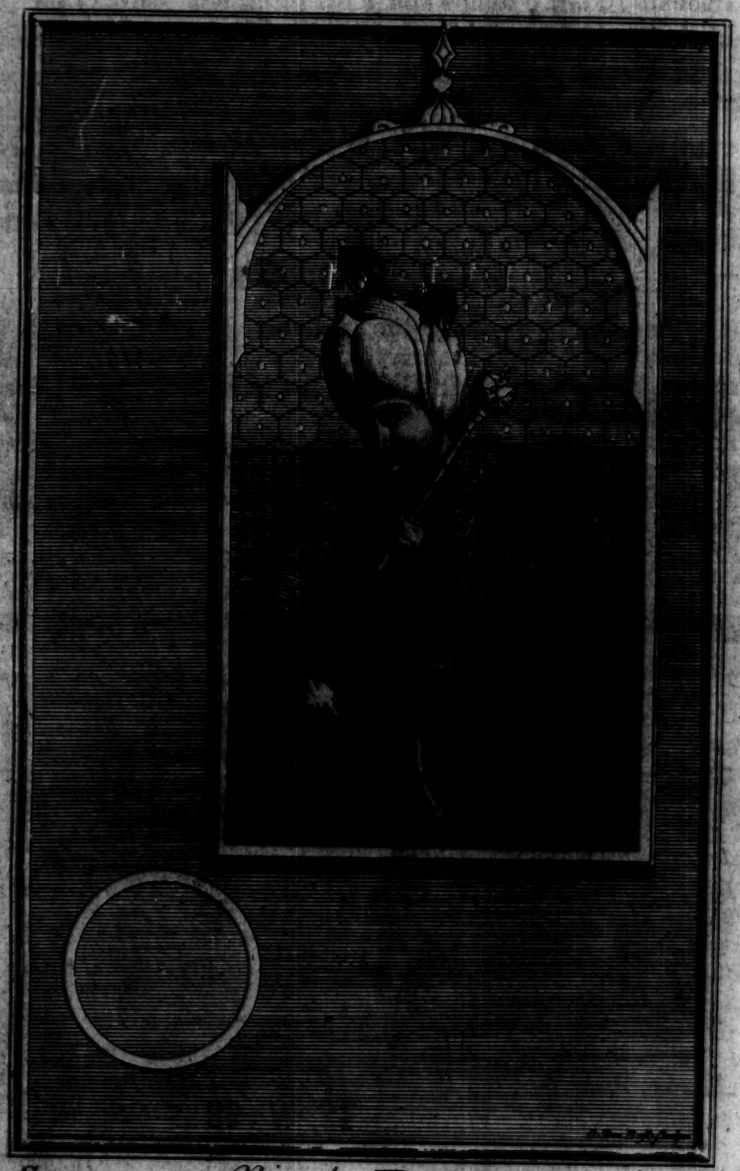
12 AP 58

The





12 AP 58



SELIM. I. Ninth EMPEROR of the TURKS, in the Year 1513.
From an Original in the Seraglio

SELIM I.

Ninth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. III.

I. SELIM, surnam'd *Yauz* (1), was born in the year 872, in his Grandfather's life-time; whilst *Bajazet* was Lord of *Amasia*, and in 918 on the 15th of the Month *Sefer* in the 46th year of his age, *Ahmed* rebells. H. 918. A. C. 1512.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Yauz*] signifies *fierce* or *savage*, and from thence *passionate*. This name ('tis said) was apply'd to *Selim* for his rage and tyranny, with which he pursued not only the [illegible] the innocent, even his Father and Brothers, as if they were Enemies. They report of him, that once ordering his Prime Vizir to erect the Horse-Tails before his Gate as the signal of an expedition, and to pitch the Tents in a proper place, the Vizir only asking him to what quarter he would have the Tents pitch'd, he was, without any answer to his question, put to death by him: that a Successor met with the same fate the same day, but that the third, made wiser by the examples of the other two, pitch'd the Tents to the four quarters of the World, and took care to have every thing ready that was necessary to the expedition. He being afterwards ask'd by the Sultan, whether and to what quarter the expedition was prepar'd, answer'd him that every thing was in a readiness let him move which way he thought fit, to which the Sultan's reply was, "The death of the two first has "sav'd the life of the third, and "prov'd me a good Vizir." He [illegible] of so many *Turkish* Emperors, shav'd his Beard after he ascended the Throne, contrary to the Precepts of the *Koran* and the receiv'd custom. For the Sons of the Emperors are order'd by the Law to shave their Beards before they come to the Empire, but afterwards to let them grow. *Selim* being on this account one day gently and facetiously reprov'd by the Mufti, answer'd that he did it to prevent his Vizir's having any thing to lead him by. The *Turks* relate of him, that he had always by him, or in his hands, a Club call'd *Topuz*, of which they say this was the occasion. In the time of his Father some Provinces bordering on *Persia* paid yearly to that Empire for peace sake by way of Tribute a certain number of Carpets call'd *Chul*". His Father being dead, the Governours of these Provinces, sent to *Selim*

[illegible] is appointed Emperor of the Ottomans, after the expulsion of his father. His brothers, either because of his interest with the soldiery, or in order to appease his fierce temper, did not dare to controul it. Only *Ahmed*, who was perfectly acquainted with his brother's disposition, and certainly knew he should no where be safe whilst he was on the Throne, resolves through despair, either to remove his brother, or die in the attempt. Whereupon allur'd by a false expectation, that some Great Men, who favour'd *Selim* only in appearance, would espouse his cause, he raises all the forces of *Amasia*, and thinking it best to enter his brother's dominions, prepares to pass into *Europe*.

and is defeated and strangled.

II. *Ahmed* had scarce taken this resolution, when it was discover'd to *Selim* by his spies, whom he every where incourag'd. In order therefore to extinguish this flame, and surprise his brother before his whole army was assembled, he leads his forces over the *Bosphorus* into *Asia*. *Ahmed*, though he perceiv'd his design was too early discover'd, yet when he saw he must either conquer or die, bravely meets his brother at *Enishehir* with what troops he had. Moreover, he valiantly fights in the foremost ranks, so that he more than once rallied the broken wings. At last his army, overpower'd with numbers, after a great slaughter is entirely routed. Most chose to cover the place, where they stood, with their Bodies, few endeavouring to escape by flight. Among these, *Ahmed* being taken alive, is immediately strangled, and buried at *Prusa*.

Corcud is put to death without cause.

III. Having refresh'd his men, a few days after this victory, he leads them against his brother *Corcud*, whom his father had set over *Magnesia*. *Corcud*, though he had hitherto chosen to reverence his brother, and see what fortune would allot him, rather than imbrue his hands with fratricide, yet when he finds his submission disregarded, and his blood thirsted after, meets *Selim* with what troops were under his command, that he might not at least die unreveng'd. But *Selim*, with his disciplin'd and more numerous army, easily vanquishes and disperses his brother's forces rais'd in haste. In this desperate state, *Corcud* escapes by flight, but deserted by his people, without servant or companion, he wanders alone in the night through by-ways and deserts,

ANNOTATIONS.

lim to know whether this light Tribute was to be continued or not. His answer was, "Tell the Infidel "Red-head, that the Father of the "Carpets is gone, and the Father "of the Clubs come in his room." This Phrase, *Father of the Clubs*, has by the *Turks* been borrow'd from *Hebrew* and *Arabic*, and signifies a Man abounding with any thing, as *Ebul Iman*, Father of Faith, or endu'd with Faith, *Ebul Sulch*, Father of Peace, or abounding with peace, quiet, *Altun babasi*, the Father of Gold, that is, abounding with money, *Daulet babasi*, Father of Happiness, or old in Honours. So *Selim* calls his Father *Bajazet*, *Chulisi babasi*, the Father of Carpets, because he gave Carpets to the *Persians*, and himself Father of Clubs, because instead of Carpets, he design'd them arms and clubs. The *Turks* are full of such stories of their *Selim*, which for brevity are omitted by us.

and

and by day conceals himſelf in dark and horrible caves. He was ſaid to do this, that he might after the example of *Jem* (2), fly to the *Chriſtians* and be protected by them from his brother's power. Whereupon *Selim*, fearing he might give them advices detrimental to the *Othman* affairs, commands him to be more diligently ſearch'd after. At length, ſuch was his fate, he is found by a ſoldier, drawn from his ſhelter, and brought to *Selim*, who without giving him an opportunity to ſpeak for himſelf, though he earneſtly deſir'd it, delivers him to the executioner to be ſtrangled.

IV. *Selim* having thus deſtroyed the Rivals of his Empire, as well as ſome domeſtick Enemies (3), turns his thoughts to foreign conqueſts. Amongſt his enemies abroad, the chief was doubtleſs Sultan *Gauri*, King of *Egypt*, with whom, after many diſputes, *Bajazet* had made a peace. But to attack him before *Kyzilbaſh ſhabi* (4) was vanquiſh'd, ſeem'd neither ſafe nor adviſeable. This laſt had ſufficiently diſcover'd his enmity, and therefore it was to be fear'd, the *Perſians* would come upon the *Othmans* intent upon the *Egyptian* affairs. The breach was widen'd by the late heretical alterations of the *Koran* by *Sheitan Culy*, which with the King's approbation had infected all *Perſia*, and render'd her an enemy to the true followers of the *Koran*. Upon theſe conſiderations, *Selim* reſolves to humble the *Perſians* before he proceeds to other undertakings. So in the year 920, he leads a numerous army into *Aſia*, and at *Tybris* (5) one of the principal Cities of *Perſia* on a plain call'd *Chaldiran** (6) he finds the enemy's army not inferior to his own. Whereupon he inſtantly aſſembles the Vizirs and the reſt of his friends, to conſult what was to be done. All agree, things were not to be hurried, leaſt the ſoldiers fatigu'd with their march, might afford the enemy an eaſy victory, that the battle therefore was to be defer'd till next day, and time given the troops to recover themſelves. This advice being unanimouſly approv'd of, *Selim* alone is againſt it, and ſays, "the counſel you have given is no leſs advanta-"gious to the enemies than to us, for are not they equally fatigu'd with

Selim invades *Perſia*, and conſults with his Vizirs before the battle.

H. 920. A. C. 1514.

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(2) of *Jem*] This I take to be rather ironically ſpoken by the *Turks*, who well know that *Jem* was murder'd amongſt the *Chriſtians*.

(3) domeſtick Enemies] Namely ſome great Courtiers, who privately favour'd *Bajazet*, and were all put to death by *Selim*.

(4) *Kyzilbaſh ſhabi*] King of the *Redheads*. This was *Iſmael Sofi* the wiſeſt and moſt learned of all the *Perſian* Kings. He was deem'd a Saint by his Subjects, becauſe in his time happen'd the Reformation of the *Koran*, as has been related in a former note.

(5) *Tybris*] This City was ſhortly after recover'd by the *Perſians*, and is in their poſſeſſion to this day.

(6) *Chaldiran**] According to the opinion of many it is a ſpacious Plain under the Walls of *Tybris*, and ſtill retains this name. Others think it a ſmall Town not far from *Tybris*. Etymologically it ſignifies a Man who expoſes any thing to Theft, from the verb *Chalarum**, to ſteal, from whence *Chaldirirum* to cauſe to ſteal. And alſo cauſing him to knock

" their march? Wherefore I do not see why we should allow them time
" to resist and prepare the better for battle. And indeed I now per-
" ceive our error in not attacking them at first sight, and in consulting
" before, not after the battle, about refreshing our men."

He approves of *Piri Pasha*'s advice.

V. Having said these words, he dismisses the Council with orders to prepare for battle, and immediately sending for his *Defterdar* (7), *Piri Pasha*,

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(7) *Defterdar*] A word deriv'd from the *Persian Defter*, Accompts or Book of Accompts, and *Dar*, *keeping*, or if you had rather from the *Greek*, Διφθέρα, the Skin or Vellum, on which they wrote. It is a very high Office in the *Othman* Court, and the Person invested with it, has the management of the whole external Revenue. But if a Secretary or *Effendi* enjoys this office, he can do nothing without the consent of the Vizir. But if manag'd by a *Pasha* with three *Tug*, he draws the Sword along with him, even without the privity of the Vizir, and in his own name publishes the *Ferman*. This seldom happens but when the Vizir being stupid or ignorant, the Emperor is pleas'd to commit this Trust to a Man of greater authority. The *Defterdar* has under him twelve Chancelleries call'd *Calem*, in which the whole Income, Tributes, and Customs of the Empire are collected, and the military stipends distributed, but under different superintendents. The *Defterdar* holds the first, out of which are issued all Mandates, as well to the other Chancelleries, as through the whole Empire for levying the Tribute and Customs. Over the second is the *Reis Effendi*, High Chancellor of the Empire; the third is under the *Defter Eminí*, who inspects the Books and Accompts of all the Revenues. The *Beglikchy** is over the fourth, who issues out Mandates to the *Pashas*, and the letters of the *Pashaliks*, Principalities, and other Offices: The *Rusnamoji* has the fifth, and audits all the diurnal Stipends throughout the whole Empire. The *Bash Mubasebeji* is over the sixth; he is Accomptant General; and in his Office all Accompts are made up. The seventh is under the direction of the *Anadoli Mubasebeji*, who is at the head of the *Asiatic* Revenues: Over the eighth is the *Haraj Mubasebeji*, to whom is committed the care of levying the Tributes rais'd upon the *Jews* and *Christians*: The ninth is held by the *Mevkufat*, who has under his direction the Moneys expended for pious uses: The *Malie Deskiereji* holds the tenth, to whom belongs the Chamber of Possessions and other Revenues: Over the eleventh, is the *Mucabeleji*, as if you should say, the *Counter-scribe*, he manages the Lists of the Soldiery; shows who is dead or superannuated, so that the pay may not exceed or fall short of the number of soldiers: and has two Deputies, the *Yaya Mucabeleji*, who takes account of the Infantry through the whole Empire, and the *Ality Mucabeleji*, who looks after the *Spahi* and the other Cavalry, or Stipendiaries dispers'd in the *Tymar zamet*. Over the last the *Teshrifatchi**, whom we should call Master of the Ceremonies. In all these Chancelleries the Mandates indeed are writ in the *Turkish* Language, but all the Accompts in the *Persian*, and in the Character *Kyrma*, i. e. *broken*, (not legible by any Person who is not us'd to it) with such conciseness, that the Revenues and yearly expences of the Empire are laid before the Emperor in twenty four Pages. The Director of every Chancellery has his *Kalfa* vulgarly *Chalifa*, under him, or, as we should say, his Secretary. The chief of these are the *Meden Kalfa*, who has under his inspection all the Revenues from which any certain and limited Sum arises, as from Mines, Provinces with an annual settled Tribute &c. and the *Achar Kalfa*, who takes an account of the Emperor's Stable. Besides these Chancelleries there are other Offices, the *Emanet*, as if one should say the Concreditory, because their

Paſha, who was not at the Council, bids him give his opinion in the caſe. Though he did not know the Emperor's mind, yet his advice was agreeable to his will, "The reputation (ſays he) of the *Othman* arms "is not ſo to be expos'd, that the eyes of our enemies accuſtom'd to "the ſight of us, may learn firſt to bear and then to contemn our va- "lour. It is a good Omen (8) to attack the enemies at firſt ſight, "and fall upon them before they can open their eyes. Beſides, if a "battle be not haſten'd, it is to be fear'd, a delay may breed a ſedi- "dition in the army. For ſince many, who ſerve under the *Turkiſh* "Banners, have long contracted friendſhip and affinity with the *Per-* "*ſians*, very poſſibly, if time be given for mutual diſcourſe, they may "be corrupted, and the unſtable vulgar be induc'd, if not openly to "revolt, yet certainly to fight with a double heart, and (as the Proverb "ſays) with the tips of their fingers only (9)." *Selim*, when he had

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their Accompts cannot be given in with accuracy, but muſt, for the moſt part, be left to the honeſty of the Officers. The *Defterdar* can iſſue out no Mandates to there in his own name, though they are oblig'd to make up their Accompts in his Chancellery. Theſe are, 1. The *Terſana Emini*, who has the care of building and repairing the Ships, and whatever relates to the Navy. 2. The *Giumruk Emini* or Maſter of the Cuſtoms. 3. The *Zarbchane Emini*, or Maſter of the Mint. He does not like the reſt give an account of the Receipts and Diſburſements, but farms the Bullion at the rate of delivering ſo many purſes daily into the Treaſury, after which he has the power of coining as much Money as he can for his own advantage. 4. The *Matpach Emini*, or chief of the Grand Seignor's Kitchen. 5. The *Topchana Nazyri*, Super-intendent of the Ordnance and other warlike Engines. 6. The *Arpa Emini*, who lays in the Proviſion of Barley for the Royal Stables, and Officers belonging to them. 7. The *Mubaeji* or general Purveyor. 8. The *Shehir Emini* whoſe buſineſs it is to ſee that the Walls and Fortreſſes be kept in ſufficient repair. 9. The *Giumſh Chane Emini*, who ſurveys the Metal Mines, and either collects the Profits ariſing from them, or lets them out to farm at a yearly Rent. To conclude, next to the Prime Vizir the only Officer in the outer Court ſuperior to the *Defterdar*, is *Kietchuda beg*, or, *Kiehaya*, Lieutenant of the Prime Vizir, who is next in rank to the Vizir. Of all the money brought into the Imperial Treaſury, the *Defterdar* has the twentieth part, from whence, I know for certain and by experience, there accrues to him at leaſt two hundred thouſand Imperials, of which he delivers fifty thouſand to *Kietchuda beg*. But the Prime Vizir may juſtly get every year ſix hundred thouſand Imperials, not to mention the Preſents and other Arts us'd by the Vizirs to ſatiate their Avarice. This may ſeem incredible to ſuch as have not ſeen the *Othman* Court, but thoſe who know better, will think otherwiſe. Of theſe things more largely elſewhere.

(8) good Omen] *Ogur*. The *Turks* are perſwaded, if they make the firſt onſet, the Victory will be theirs. Hence the Proverb, "He that "ſtrikes firſt is a good and perfect "Archer." But in the laſt war with the *Germans*, the better and more prudent *Turkiſh* Generals were entirely of another opinion.

(9) tips of their fingers] It is a *Turkiſh* Phraſe, "To take a thing "with the extremity of the Hand" inſtead of ſaying, "To go about an "affair unwillingly." Thus they ſay, *Harbe uji ile Kirmek*, to give with the extremity or point of a Spear, ſpeaking of Borderers relying on the aſſiſtance of another.

heard

heard this ſpeech, cries out, "Lo! in my whole army with much diffi-
"culty have I found one prudent and well-adviſ'd Man, whoſe opinion
"ſhall be of more weight with me, than the Heads, Hands, and Arms
"of ſo many thouſands. Aſſuredly to my own and the Empire's great
"detriment has this man, I think, been hitherto uninveſted with the
"Prime Vizirſhip."

Defeats the *Perſians* with great Slaughter.

VI. *Selim* thus approving of his advice, inſtantly commands the Enemies and City, which was ſurrounded with their forces, to be inveſted, and the *Perſian* army rather pompous than well array'd, to be attack'd. The battle begins with the great guns, which are diſcharg'd by the *European* Troops in the left wing, ſo unhappily ſtation'd, that an oppoſite Hillock either receiv'd the Balls or ſent them without execution over the *Perſian* Camp. But the *Aſiatick* forces, under the command of *Sinan Paſha* (10), move towards the *Perſians* with cloſe ranks, and draw their field pieces after them. *Sinan*, when he comes within Cannon-ſhot, orders the foremoſt ranks to open to the right and left, and give room for the great guns behind them, which being diſcharg'd make ſuch a ſlaughter among the enemies, that the *Perſian* troops, who before were like a wall, ſeem'd now to reſemble ſtreets and lanes (11). The enemies ranks being thus broken, the ſignal is given to charge them hand to hand with ſwords and javelins, by which means, one half of the enemies left wing is ſlain, and the reſt forc'd to fly. *Shah*, when he ſees the left wing of the *Perſians* in danger, leaves the right, and with his beſt Regiments coming to their relief, bravely repulſes the *Turks* now intent upon the utter deſtruction of the remains of it. *Selim*, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing to be preſs'd with multitudes, places thirteen thouſand Janizaries on their flank, with orders, firſt to charge the enemies at diſtance with ball, then attack them ſword in hand, and by bearing the brunt of the battle, give the others time to rally. His orders are diligently executed, and the *Perſians* ſo fiercely attack'd that they ſlowly give ground, and at laſt take to open flight. The *Perſian* right wing, which ſtill bravely ſuſtain'd the charges of the *Turks*, perceiving this, and deſpairing of victory, fly alſo for their lives. Thus every where vanquiſh'd, and ſhamefully put to flight, the *Perſians* are by the *Turkiſh* ſoldiers ſlain, taken, and branded with eternal diſhonour. *Shah* himſelf hardly eſcapes by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, which would not have ſnatch'd him

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(10) *Sinan Paſha*] A very famous General among the *Turks*. At *Conſtantinople* a ſtately building of his ſtands on fifty marble octangular Pillars, in the entrance of the inner Port over againſt *Pera*. In this edifice *Boſtanji Baſha* is wont to reſide in the Spring. For near it, is a Gate leading to the Imperial Court, deſtin'd for the habitation of the *Boſtanji*, where is alſo another Stove call'd *Yala Koſhki*.

(11) Streets and Lanes] *Socak be Socak*, Street by Street. It is a *Turkiſh* Phraſe, ſignifying confus'd heaps here and there.

from the danger, if the night coming on had not put an end to the purſuit. The *Perſians* loſt in the battle, beſides many thouſands of ſlain (12), the leaders of both wings, *Mehemed Chan* and *Tekielichan* the braveſt and ſtouteſt Generals at that time in *Perſia*.

dismiſſes the Muſulman Captives.

VII. This victory would have been much greater and more compleat, had not *Selim* thought it dangerous to purſue in the night, through difficult and narrow places, the enemies not ſo broken but they might ſtill venture to make a freſh attempt. Wherefore ſounding a retreat, he plunders the Camp, where he finds the immenſe treaſure and rich furniture of *Iſmail Shah*. After which, he declares *Piri Paſha*, (the adviſer of the battle) Vizir, and orders it to be proclaim'd, that no *Niſa* and *Sabian* Captive ſhould be detain'd, but all diſmiſs'd; adding, "it is unjuſt to make Captives of men, who are *Sunni* (13), and "forc'd

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(12) Thouſands of ſlain] Tho' this was a fierce and bloody Battle, the number of ſlain on either ſide is not mention'd by the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians.

(13) *Sunni*] So the *Turks* call themſelves and the reſt of the Muſulmans in reſpect of the *Perſians* and other Hereticks. They think it unlawful to detain like Slaves the *Sunni*, tho' taken in war, but if they are Rebels, they are to be puniſh'd with death, if not, to be releas'd. This is indeed an inviolable Law with the *Turks*, but with the *Tartars*, though they are *Mahometans*, it is not obſerv'd. To this purpoſe, I ſhall relate a ſtory, which plainly ſhows the diſpoſition of the *Tartars* to the *Turks*, and of which I was my ſelf an eye-witneſs. When my Father *Conſtantinus Cantemyrius* govern'd *Moldavia*, the *Seraskier* or General of the *Turkiſh* Army, *Aineji Solyman Paſha* (afterwards Prime Vizir) ſtaid at *Babadagy* a Town of *Myſia* ſixty miles beyond the *Danube*, whilſt he was aſſembling the *European* forces and preparing to ſtore *Cameniec*, where a Famine rag'd, with Proviſions. In order to be inform'd of the condition of the Caſtle and the Camp of *John* III. King of *Poland*, he ſends a Letter to my Father by *Iſmail aga* (one of his Officers called *Agaler*,) in which he order'd the Bearer to be ſafely guarded to *Cameniec* and convey'd to *Cabraman Paſha*, who commanded the Garriſon of that Caſtle. My Father giving him a Guard, he happily enters the Caſtle, and diſmiſſes our Men, intending to return with ſome Soldiers of *Cameniec*. Having inform'd himſelf of what he was order'd, he departs with ten *Turkiſh* Soldiers. When they come to *Stephaneſti* a Town of *Moldavia* on the Banks of the *Hyeraſus*, he meets a Hord of *Tartars* going to ravage *Poland*. Having ask'd them, who was their Leader, he wiſhes them a proſperous expedition and proceeds in his journey. But preſently after he ſees himſelf purſued full ſpeed by about fifty *Tartars*, as if they had forgot to make ſome inquiry. The *Turks* being under no fear of the *Tartars* their Allies, unfortunately halt and wait their coming. The moment the *Tartars* overtake them, they draw their Swords, and bid them diſmount. In vain do the *Turks* ask them, what they meant, they are immediately bound with thongs, ſtript to their ſhirts, and threaten'd with death, unleſs they did what they were order'd. Terrified at this unexpected and preſent danger, they promiſe to do whatever is enjoin'd them. In the firſt place therefore, the *Tartars* unmercifully ſcourge their Captives, then ſhave their Beards and Muſtachios, and teach them to anſwer in the *Ruſſian* Language to the queſtion what Countrymen are ye? *Neznaiu, ya Ruſak.* "I know not, I am a "*Ruſſian.*" Having thus inſtructed them, they bring the *Turks* a few days after

" forc'd into arms; the victory is sufficient and the vanquish'd are ra-
" ther to be treated with clemency than cruelty. And as for *Shah* he
" may

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after, with their hands tied behind them, to *Ismail* a Town in *Bujak* on the *Danube*, and there cruelly use them all night, that they may not discover themselves to be *Turks*. Which when they had swore to conceal, they expose them next day to Sale. The Purchasers of Captives (for there are many in that place who transmit to their partners at *Constantinople* Slaves bought of the *Turks*) asking what Countrymen they are, the *Tartars* immediately shake their Whips at their Captives, that mindful of the Lashes they had receiv'd, they may speak *Russian*. So selling them for ten Imperials a Head (for they did not desire a great price for such vile wares) the *Tartars* instantly return home. The Captives within two or three hours speaking in the pure *Turkish* Language beg for God's sake some Victuals and Drink. The Merchants, surpris'd at hearing the pure *Turkish* Dialect, (which is extremely difficult to be pronoune'd by the *Russians*) ask how they that were born in *Russia* came to speak *Turkish* so elegantly? The *Turks* showing the marks of their stripes, these, say they, with the *Tartarian* cunning, converted us from *Turks* into *Russians*. At last, the Merchants finding they had bought *Turks* instead of *Russians*, and so lost their money, give them their liberty. But *Ismail aga* the Officer, a man of wit and humour, desires his Purchaser to carry him as a Slave to *Babadagy* (where the *Seraskier* waited his return) and expose him in the Market to sale, and that he would there pretend to run away. The Merchant being taught his lesson, leads the Officer disguis'd by his stripes and loss of beard, through the midst of the Camp, (for the army was in the field in Tents) mean while, the Officer takes to his heels, and runs directly to the General's Tent. The Merchant bawls out, stop him, stop him for God's sake, my Captive is fled, the Infidel *Russian* has escap'd out of my hands. Whereupon a great noise is made in the Market and Camp, all running up and down after the Fugitive. The Officer when he comes to the Entrance of the great Tent, which is call'd *Divanchane*, confesses (in broken *Turkish*, that he might seem by length of time to have forgot his native Tongue) that he was indeed the Merchant's Captive, but a *Turk* and Musulman lately escap'd from *Poland*, and therefore unjustly expos'd to sale. Adding he had many discoveries to make to the General, as he was come but fifteen days from *Leopoli*, and therefore perfectly acquainted with the state of the *Polish* affairs. When the *Seraskier* hears this, he orders the Captive to be brought into the *Oba* or inner Tent. Being come there, he pays his obeysances to the General, and, *Gabraman* the *Cameniec-Pasha*, says he, salutes you my Lord. The General knowing indeed the voice, but seeing a strange face, who art thou, says he, and how knowest thou these things? Don't you know (answers he) your Officer *Ismail aga*, whom you lately sent to *Gabraman Posha*, *Neznaesh pa ruisku*, don't you understand *Russ*! The General says to him, " What " Rascal has thus maim'd thee?" He replies, Our *Tartars* made me a *Russian*, and at *Ismail* sold me to a Merchant, from whose hands I have escap'd to my Lord. When he had afterwards related the Particulars of what he had suffer'd from that rapacious and treacherous race, the *Seraskier* could not sufficiently wonder at the Cunning of those Plunderers, especially when the same things are told him by *Ismail aga*'s Companions who arriv'd the next day. The General indeed order'd the *Tartars* to be diligently search'd after, but among so many Hords they could never be discover'd. He promoted however the Officer, after his Beard was grown, to the dignity of his Master of Horse, and loaded him with presents. In like manner the

" may learn by this Prelude of Victories, as by an experiment, what " ſucceſs the *Othman* arms will hereafter be crown'd with."

VIII. The next day, the Inhabitants of *Tybris* finding themſelves deſerted by their King, and deſpairing of relief, try to purchaſe the Conqueror's mercy, by the offer of the Keys of their City. *Selim* grants their requeſt, enters the Town, and refreſhing his ſoldiers a few days, orders, according to cuſtom, the divine ſervice to be perform'd on *Friday* in the Temple, and Prayers to be ſaid for himſelf and whole army. His farther progreſs is obſtructed by the great ſcarcity of Corn, occaſion'd by the enemies laying waſte the neighbouring countries, in order to deprive the *Turkiſh* army of ſubſiſtence. Wherefore ſeeing he could not remain in that place without great inconvenience, the Conqueror leaves a ſtrong Garriſon at *Tybris* and returns to *Amaſia*. The forces are ſent into as narrow winter-quarters as poſſible, that they might be more ready for the enſuing expedition. From hence he ſends to *Conſtantinople*, as a token of his Victory, *Hiuſein* (14) Son of *Bicarat*, born of the nobleſt *Perſian* family, with many other Captives famous above the reſt for Birth, or Learning.

Tybris being taken, he winters at *Amaſia*.

IX. *Selim*

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Tartars frequently ſteal *Turkiſh* Children, and afterwards ſell them for *Ruſſians*. For in point of Perfidiouſneſs and Cunning, that Nation is not to be parallell'd in the World.

(14) *Hiuſein*] The *Mæcenas* of the Oriental Muſicians. He had the greateſt regard for *Hoje Muſicar*, the *Orpheus* of the *Perſians*, and his Scholar *Gulam* the *Arabian*. All *Turky* and *Perſia* were delighted with their Melody and Songs till the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, in whoſe Reign the Art of Muſick almoſt forgot, not only reviv'd, but was alſo render'd more perfect by *Oſman Effendi*, a noble *Conſtantinopolitan*. He left many Scholars, among whom for the voice were famous, *Chafiz* firnam'd *Kiomar* (Coal,) *Bubiurji ogli*, *Memiſh Aga*, *Kiucbuk* Muezin*, and *Deſpibchi* Emir*, but for Inſtruments two *Greeks* excell'd, *Kiemani Ahmed*, a Renegade, and *Angeli* Orthodox, (both my Teachers for fifteen years,) and alſo *Chelebico** a *Jew*, with the *Turks*, *Dervish Othman*, *Curſhunji ogli*, his Scholar, *Taſhchi* ogli Sinek Mehemmed*, and *Bardakchi* Mehemmed Chelebi**, which two laſt, when they had been taught by one *Camboſo Mehemmed Aga*, were afterwards with *Kalaki Eupragiote* a noble *Greek* of *Conſtantinople*, inſtructed by me in ſome parts of Muſick, particularly in the Theory, and a new method of my own invention of expreſſing the Songs by Notes, unknown before to the *Turks*. I had alſo for Scholars in the Theory and Practice of Muſick, *Daul Iſmail Effendi*, firſt Treaſurer of the Empire, and *Latif Chelebi** his *Haznadar*. By their requeſt, I compos'd a little Book of the Art of Muſick in *Turkiſh*, and dedicated it to the preſent Emperor *Ahmed* II, the Precepts whereof are, they ſay, follow'd to this day by all the Students in Muſick. It will perhaps ſeem ſtrange to the *European* Reader to ſee the ſtudy of ſo noble an art prais'd by me in a Nation accounted barbarous by all *Chriſtendom*. Such indeed it was in the Infancy of the *Othman* Empire, when the Sultans were wholly employ'd in extending the bounds of their dominion, but in proceſs of time, when a ceſſation of war allow'd the Arts of Peace, to be cultivated, they ſo far departed from their former fierceneſs, and became ſo civiliz'd, that ſcarce any ſigns of their antient Barbarouſneſs now appear. I may certainly venture to ſay, that the *Turkiſh* Muſick for metre and proportion of words is more perfect than any *Europæan*, but withal ſo hard

He takes some Cities with the Territories of *Alaideulet.*

H. 921. A. C. 1515.

IX. *Selim* had learnt by this year's experience, that nothing could be effected in those cold and mountainous regions, by which the *Persian* dominions were bounded, unless by early expeditions. Wherefore in the year 921, he leads his army in the beginning of the Spring out of *Amasia*, and suddenly takes *Giumah* and *Baiburud* from the *Persians*, by whom the *Turks*, were not yet unexpected. When he finds no resistance, he thinks it fruitless to employ so great an army in such a vile Place, and therefore sends part of his forces, under *Ferhad Pasha*, against *Alaideulet* Son of *Zuulcadir*, because he was believ'd to favour the *Persians*. *Ferhad* surprises this Prince unawares, routs his forces, and cuts off his head. Whereupon *Selim* gives his dominions to *Ali beg* (15) Son of *Shah Suvar*, who had faithfully serv'd him at Court, on condition his name should be mention'd in the publick prayers. Thus *Selim* no less magnanimous than victorious, returns about the end of the year to *Constantinople*.

The *Diarbekerians* expel the *Persians*, and offer themselves to *Selim.*

X. The next year, a fresh opportunity offers of inlarging his Empire. The Nation *Kare-Emid* (16), Inhabiting the Province call'd at this day *Diarbekir* (17), and govern'd by *Karachan* Deputy of the King of *Persia*, were by reason of some civil dissentions male-content, and had long been endeavouring to throw off his yoke. What they perceive could not be effected by force, they resolve to attempt by stratagem. To this end, they so manage that a counterfeit Letter from the King of *Persia* is brought to him, by a Messenger, containing the following order. "Thou who art (18) *Karachan*, the moment our Mandate shall reach thee, know, that we have resolv'd to send thee

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hard to be understood, that in the spacious City of *Constantinople*, where resides the greatest Court in the World, among so many Musicians and Lovers of Musick, you will scarce find above three or four, who thoroughly understand the grounds of this Art. The scarcity of complete Musicians is owing to the difficulty of comprehending all the parts of the sounds call'd by the *Arabians*, *Terkib*, which *Hoje Musicar*, after *Ptolemæus*, affirms to be infinite by this Axiom: *Emma ki Terkibate nihayet yok*, i. e. "But because there "is no end of composing parts." To inlarge on these things is foreign to my present purpose, but if God grant me life and leisure, I will explain in a separate Treatise the whole Art according to the opinion of the Eastern World.

(15) *Alibeg*] One of the noble *Persian* Refugees to Sultan *Selim*, an instance of fidelity among the *Turks*.

(16) *Kare-Emid*] The *black Midi*, who inhabit the country between *Urpha* and *Van* in *Asia*.

(17) *Diarbekir*] Etymologically, *the Province of Bekir*. It is a country on the borders of *Kurdistan*, whose name appears in almost all the Geographical Maps. It contains at present all *Mesopotamia* to the Confines of *Musul*, the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(18) Thou who art] This is the usual form of the *Turkish* and *Persian* Letters. For having premis'd the honorable Titles they give the Vizirs, they close the Letter, with the Phrase, *Thou who art*. As *Ahmed Pasha Lalam sen sinki*: i. e. *My Lala, Thou who art Ahmed Pasha*. So, *Sen ki Kirym chani olan caplan Gierai*. i. e. *Thou who art Chan of Crim, Caplan Gierai* &c.

" with

" with thy whole army againſt the enemies who are about to invade " theſe parts. Wherefore with as great preparations as poſſible, march " out of the City within five days, and pitch thy Tents in a place " call'd *Kavakilder*, in order to be ready on our ſecond notice, to go " where occaſion requires, or to come to us inſtantly." *Karachan*, ignorant of the treachery, thinking it unlawful to diſobey his Prince's command, departs from the City with all his forces and whole family, and incamps at the place appointed. The Citizens, when they imagine their Jailor to be too far off to aſſiſt the few he had left behind, ſhut the Gates, and putting the Garriſon to the Sword, ſend a letter to *Selim*, declaring what was done, and promiſing to ſurrender their City, with a requeſt that he would appoint for their Prince *Mehemmed beg* Son of *Byikly ogli* (19) their Countryman, who was then in *Selim*'s Court.

who ſuſpects them:

XI. This propoſal was very agreeable to *Selim*; but as he was acquainted with the deceitfulneſs of that Nation, he ſuſpected ſome fraud. So chuſing to loſe them rather than hazard his troops by too great a credulity, he defers ſending an anſwer a whole year. Mean while, there are daily and fierce ſkirmiſhes between *Karachan* and the Citizens, with which when they were tired, *Chemſid* beg*, a rich Nobleman of the country, poſſeſſor of above three hundred villages, after ſeveral meſſages to *Selim*, gains credit at laſt for his Nation, and obtains what was deſir'd.

But at laſt grants their requeſt, and makes *Mehemmed beg* King.

XII. The conditions of the treaty being ratified on both ſides, *Selim* creates *Mehemmed beg* Son of *Byikly*, *Beglerbeg* of *Diarbekir*, with Sovereign authority, and gives him *Malikiane* (20) the whole Kingdom, allowing him moreover out of the imperial Treaſury an annual penſion of forty *Yuk* (21), on the ſole condition of being faithful. After

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(19) *Byikly ogli*] Of the Family of ſome Prince of the *Kurdi*. *Byikly* is a name given to ſuch as have prominent Whiskers.

(20) *Malikiane*] This word properly ſignifies *poſſeſſively*, by which name are called thoſe lands that are not *Vakuf*, i. e. dedicated to *Jami*. This manner of poſſeſſing Lands had now been diſus'd for ſome ages, But, when about fifteen years ſince, the Revenues of the exhauſted Treaſury were to be increas'd, Sultan *Muſtapha* II, who then reign'd, commanded the antient Tenure *Malikiane* to be reviv'd under certain conditions. There are however ſome free Regions or Cantons, which in the month of *March* are wont to pay an yearly Tribute call'd *Mukataa*. This Tribute by the name of a Poſſeſſion was publickly ſold in the Market-place call'd *Mezad*, ſo that the beſt Offerer held it for life, but on his death it return'd to the Treaſury. It was moreover granted in favour of the Sons of the Purchaſer, that the Tribute ſhould not be ſold to a Stranger after the Father's death, if they were willing to pay three fourths of the money offer'd by a Stranger. By this means there accrued to the Treaſury above 1200 Purſes every year.

(21) *Yuk*] Is a certain ſum of money us'd in the Accounts of the pub-

After which, *Mehemmed beg* goes with ſpeed to *Diarbebir*, and with the conſent of all orders and degrees annexes the City and Kingdom to the *Othman* Empire.

Karachan is defeated and kill'd.

H. 922.

A. C. 1516.

XIII. But as the Emperor eaſily imagin'd that *Karachan*'s ardor would not be extinguiſh'd by *Mehemmed*'s preſence alone, ſends in the year 922 a good body of troops to his aſſiſtance, and that *Mehemmed* might be the more excited to behave valiantly, orders an expoſtulating letter to be deliver'd to him, upbraiding his backwardneſs in the following manner: "When I made thee Prince of *Diarbekir*, I expected "much greater matters from thee than have yet appear'd. Why ſtand-"eſt thou idle? Wherefore is *Karachan*'s inſolence unchaſtis'd? Why "does thou not diſcover thy latent bravery by deeds worthy a generous "mind, to my joy, to thy enemies ſorrow, and to thy own glory. If "thou exert thy ſelf in this manner, thou wilt undoubtedly gain my "higheſt favour, confound thy enemies with fear, and be inveſted "with due honours." *Mehemmed* was ſtung with this reprimand, and thought it a grievous thing to be accus'd of indolence by him to whom he ow'd his life and fortune. Wherefore without ſtaying for the Imperial forces, he joins his Courtiers to the army he had rais'd in that Province, and pitches his Tents againſt *Karachan*. Whilſt he is thus employ'd, the enemies ſuddenly appear in ſight; whereupon he orders his men to be drawn up, though he is yet uncertain whether he ſhould inſtantly attack them, or ſtay till the morrow. On the other hand, the *Raſazi* (22), perhaps in the ſame uncertainty, remain, after the example

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lick Treaſury, conſiſting generally of a hundred thouſand *Aſpers* †.

(22) *Raſazi*] This Appellation is commonly given by the *Turks* to the *Perſians*, becauſe (ſay the *Turks*) there are indeed among them Perſons who in name are *Mahometans*, but in reality Profeſſors of horrible Doctrines. Thus there are (ſay they) who deflower their own Daughters before marriage, pretending a divine Law for it, namely, The Planter ought to taſte firſt the Fruit of his own Trees. To confirm this their opinion, they report that a certain Perſon deliver'd to *Ali* (*Mahomet*'s Succeſſor) a *Fetvà* penn'd in this manner: "If a Man gathers the "Fruit of a Tree planted by himſelf, "and joyfully eats it with Thankſ-"giving, is he to be accounted a "Tranſgreſſor of the Laws of God "and the *Koran*?" To which *Ali* replied, "By no means." Something of this Kind are the *Mum ſoi unduren*, who at a ſtated time meet together for forty days, and putting out the Candles, promiſcuouſly lie with one another, neither do they think Inceſt a Sin at that time. But the forty days being paſt, they live in ſo chaſt a manner, that whoever is caught with a Woman, is puniſh'd with death. This Hereſy has many Followers in the Mountains *Kazdagy*. There are who worſhip Fire, *Ateſh pereſt*, vulgarly call'd, *Ateſhe tapan*, the Remains of the old *Perſians*. There are alſo *Kielb pereſt*, Dog-worſhippers, and *Giau pereſt*, Bull-worſhippers,

† Four *Mangyrs* and as many *Ghediks* make an *Aſper*. Three *Aſpers* make a *Para*. Five, a *Beſlik*. Ten, an *Olik*. Twenty four, a *Solota* (or *Florin*.) Two hundred and ſixty, a *Serif* of *Hungary*. A Purſe is five hundred *Rixdolars*, which are receiv'd by the Port at eighty *Aſpers* each, and paid away at one hundred and twenty. But of this more largely in the Appendix.

ple of the *Turkiſh* army, without motion in battle-array. Mean while, a great cloud of butterflies appear in the air, and flying over the ſpace between the armies, divide themſelves in two parties, the white going to the *Turks*, and the red to the *Perſians*. Preſently, the white charge the red, and after a fierce conflict vanquiſh and rout them. The ſword could hardly have effected what theſe inſects produc'd in the minds of both ſides. The *Turks* inſpir'd with courage by the good omen, bravely fall on the *Perſians* fill'd with terror, and eaſily ſlay and rout an army entirely diſpirited by ſuperſtition. Among the Captives is found *Karachan* himſelf, whoſe head is inſtantly ſtruck off by *Mehemmed beg*'s order.

XIV. This great and unexpected Victory was to *Mehemmed beg* an argument of the divine aid and protection. Accordingly having by his ſpeeches incourag'd his ſoldiers to greater undertakings, he cloſely beſieges the ſtrong City *Mardun* (23). This place would have been almoſt impregnable both by ſituation and the valour of the inhabitants, had they not been forc'd by peſtilence and famine to purchaſe the Conqueror's mercy with a ſurrender of themſelves and their City. A few days after, he beſieges *Muſul* (24), and taking it in the firſt aſſault, ſubdues it with fire and ſword. Theſe two Bulwarks of the whole country being conquer'd, the leſſer towns eaſily follow'd, namely, *Anne*, *Hadiſe* (25), *Hegeti*, *Sujari*, *Haſinkeſs*, *Jemiſhgerg*, *Amadie*, *Sudek*, *Jeidjeon*, *Baldyr*, *Ham*, *Zerbak*, and *Chaizan*, and within a ſhort ſpace the whole Kingdom of *Kiurdi* (26) and *Jezire* (27) is annex'd to the *Othman* Empire. *Mehemmed beg* takes ſome Cities.

XV. *Mehemmed* thought the reproach caſt on him by *Selim*, might be eaſily wip'd off by ſo many exploits, and liberty more readily given him to remain quiet. To this end he diſpatches his brother *Uveis Paſha* with a letter to *Selim*, ſetting forth his performances. *Selim* rejoicing at the good news, highly extolls, in the preſence of his Vizirs, He is prais'd by *Selim*.

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ſhippers, and others, who by the *Turks* are call'd by the common name of *Raſazi*, *Giebr*, or *Terſa*, in the *Perſian* Language. But theſe Hereſies are ſlanderouſly aſcrib'd to the *Perſians* by the *Turks*, on account that the Knowledge of them firſt came from *Perſia*.

(23) *Mardun*] Vulgarly *Mardin*. A very noted City of *Meſopotamia*.

(24) *Muſul*] A famous City in almoſt every Map, and ſuppos'd to be the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(25) *Anne* and *Hadiſe*] Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Muſul*.

(26) *Kiurdi*] This Kingdom (if I rightly remember) extends from the Confines of *Syria* to the Cities *Shebrezul* and *Van* on the borders of *Perſia*. The Inhabitants are call'd *Kiurdi*, and ſpeak broken *Perſian*.

(27) *Jezire*] Etymologically an Iſland, it is *Meſopotamia*, lying between the Rivers *Frat*, *Murad*, and *Shat*. *Frat* is the *Euphrates*, *Murad* a Branch of the *Euphrates*, and *Shat* the *Tigris*. Both the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are by the Inhabitants commonly call'd *Firatat*, and the *Euphrates* alſo by another name, *Nebr Eſſelam*, the pacific river.

Mehemmed's

Mehemmed's bravery, and diſmiſſes *Uveis Paſha* laden with honours and preſents to his brother.

Selim moving towards the *Perſians*, ſuddenly alters his mind and attacks the *Egyptians*; H. 923. A. C. 1516.

XVI. The rapid courſe of his victories inſpires *Selim* with the project of ſubverting the whole *Perſian* Empire, or, if that could not be done, of entirely weakening it. Wherefore in the year 923 he departs from *Conſtantinople* to execute his deſigns with a more numerous army than before, and incamps near *Aleppo* (28). Not far from the ſame place, the *Chercaſſian** King of the *Egyptians*, Sultan *Gauri* (29) meets him with

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(28) *Aleppo*] The moſt noted Mart of *Syria* and almoſt all *Aſia*, well peopled not only with Inhabitants, but alſo foreigners. Here reſide the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Engliſh*, Conſuls. Many *Europeans* purchaſe here Houſes and Country Seats, and marrying Wives are in a manner accounted as Natives. Here is alſo the Seat of the Patriarch of *Antioch*. For at *Antioch*, whoſe Inhabitants were firſt call'd *Chriſtians*, the name of *Chriſt* is not ſo much as heard.

(29) *Sultan Gauri*] Sprung from the *Chercaſſians**, the nobleſt race of the *Scythians*, among whom none are counted ignoble. Their Cuſtoms and Manners I have ſhown in a former Note (p. 126.) *Paleſtine* being taken by the Cruſade-expeditions, *Saladin*, Sultan of *Egypt*, much ſpoken of in the *Chriſtian* Annals, about the year of the *Hejira* 583, and of Chriſt 1187, that he might have a better diſciplin'd army than he found could be rais'd among the effeminate *Egyptians*, bought *Chercaſſian** Slaves, and inſtructing them in the Art of war, by their valour quickly ſubdued the *Holy Land*. But after his death, theſe very Soldiers rebell'd againſt his Succeſſors, and in the year of the *Hejira* 642, dethroning *Elmutan* the lawful Heir of the Kingdom, not only ſeiz'd all *Egypt*, but in proceſs of time greatly inlarg'd the bounds of their dominion, which by introducing every year Soldiers of their own Nation from the utmoſt corners of *Aſia*, they defended with wonderful bravery till *Selim*'s Reign. An antient Superſtition, though deriv'd from the fountain of Truth, poſſeſſes the *Egyptians*, that it is decreed by fate, that Captives ſhall reign, and the Natives be ſubject to them. That this was caus'd by the benediction of the Patriarch *Joſeph*, both *Turks* and *Arabians* underſtand, and though it be contrary to the Law of the *Koran*, ſtrictly obſerve it to this day. For although *Egypt* be ſubject to the *Othman* Empire, and a Baſha given to it or remov'd at the pleaſure of the Port, yet all the ſtate-affairs are adminiſtred by twenty four *Begs* or Princes, none of whom, unleſs they have been Slaves, can inherit or come to the Empire. Theſe publickly indeed profeſs to obey the *Othman* Mandate, but in reality are guided by their own Counſels. Very often a Baſha given them by the Sultan is depos'd by their Authority, ſhut up in a Tower call'd *Kioſhki Yuſuf*, *Joſeph*'s Palace, ſtript of his Effects, and ſent out poor and naked; however, that the Majeſty of the *Othman* Empire may be preſerv'd, they afterwards ſend to the Port for another Baſha. Sometimes when depos'd, they call him to an account, and for the greater contempt, ſend to him the *Saraf Baſhi* a Jew, Maſter of the Mint, who with a previous *Selam*, (ſalute) ſays, "The Lords "the Princes order you to refund ſo "much money, which you have un-"juſtly heap'd up contrary to law." The Baſha refuſing or making ſome excuſe, the Jew formerly repeated his demand with more inſolence, "You ſhall refund indeed, moſt "auſpicious Baſha." This was their way heretofore of dealing with the Baſha, which they ſo conſtantly practis'd, that ſcarce one Baſha in Ten eſcap'd out of their hands with honour. But now ſince in the memory of our Fathers, the *Egyptian* Princes were

with equal forces, and ſending him ambaſſadors, offers friendſhip with a promiſe of aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*. Whilſt both armies remain without motion in their Tents, it happens that ſome *Chercaſſians**, either with their Sovereign's connivance, or through the uſual inſolence of the Soldiers, intercepted ſome laden camels going to *Selim*'s camp and plunder'd them. *Selim* was provok'd at this, and conſtrued it as done in contempt of him. So he inſtantly reſolves to pour the indignation he had conceiv'd againſt the *Perſians*, on the heads of the *Egyptians*, and declaring war with the *Chercaſſians** for affronting him without cauſe, is bent to ſubdue all *Egypt*.

XVII. *Selim* thus relinquiſhing the *Perſian* invaſion for that of *Egypt*, receives letters from *Chairbeg* Governor of *Damaſcus* (30), and *Gazelibeg* of *Aleppo*, (between whom and Sultan *Gauri* there was mortal though private enmity,) wherein they ſet forth their ſervices to *Gauri* and his tyranny, ingratitude, avarice and jealouſy, which prompted him to a deſign againſt their lives: they promiſe to deſert the *Chercaſſians** in the heat of the battle, and be his Subjects for the future: they require no other reward than that one of them ſhould have for life the government of *Egypt*, the other of *Damaſcus*. To allure theſe whom he vanquiſhes by the treachery of their Generals.

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were humbled by the Management of *Ibrahim Paſha*, the Baſha's live there a little more ſafely, though not without fear. The manner of inheriting in *Egypt* is as follows. The dying Perſon excludes from the inheritance all his Sons, and makes ſome Slave or Captive of approv'd Virtue and Probity ſole Heir, who immediately after his Maſter's death, enjoys all his Effects, and makes the Deceaſed's Sons his *Seiz* or Grooms, with which condition they are forc'd to be content, and obey their father's Slave all their lives. This is vulgarly aſcrib'd to *Joſeph*'s Benediction on Slaves in force to this day, neither can it be alter'd without great detriment to the Commonwealth, becauſe the Native *Egyptians* are naturally ſo unapt for civil Government. Many *Egyptian* Princes have frequently tried to poliſh the unciviliz'd Manners of their Sons, but perceived their labour was in vain. Since the inheritance thus deſcends not to the Children but to the Slaves endued with Virtue, the *Turks* take care not to commit the Office of Baſha to a Captive, eſpecially to a *Chercaſſian**, but to ſome *Turk* or other free Perſon converted to *Mahometiſm*. For they think it is decreed by fate, that the Kingdom of *Egypt* cannot be wreſted from them, unleſs when rul'd by a Slave.

(30) Governor of *Damaſcus*] Or as he is now call'd *Sham Beglerbegi**, which name, though by flattery given to all Baſha's who have the privilege of three Horſe-tails, yet properly belongs only to four, *Sham Beglerbeg*, *Beglerbeg* of *Kutahia*, who preſides over *Natolia*, and *Beglerbeg* of *Supbia*, who governs the *European* Provinces, and *Budun Beglerbeg*, Governor of *Buda*, whom in our days the Emperor *Leopold* eraz'd out of the liſt. The *Turks* reckon *Damaſcus* among their Holy Places, becauſe *Mahomet*, after his being ſnatch'd up into the ninth Heaven from *Jeruſalem*, and receiving the *Koran* from God, deſcended there. Moreover they believe the general Judgment will be at *Damaſcus*, and that City the Metropolis of the everlaſting Kingdom, which will there have its beginning. Theſe and the like particulars are more largely handled in a *Turkiſh* Book call'd *Muhammedie*.

* See Note 4. p. 35.

Generals to his ſide, was ſo much for *Selim*'s advantage, that he could not think of denying them any requeſt. Wherefore he not only confirms the conditions with an oath and the ſubſcription of his name, but alſo inſtructs the traitors how they might beſt execute their purpoſes. They take his advice, and with various reaſons, egg on Sultan *Gauri* to a battle. They expoſe the effeminacy of the *Turks*, magnify the valour of the *Cherçaſſians**, and beg the *Cherçaſſian** name may not be diſhonour'd by ſuffering the *Turks* to dare to incamp long unpuniſh'd in their ſight. *Gauri* ignorant of the treachery of his Generals, thinks what they ſay the dictates of their bravery, and therefore draws up his forces immediately in a place call'd *Burj Vaik* (31) and marches againſt the *Turks*. *Selim* hearing what had happen'd, ſo places his men near *Aleppo*, that they might bravely receive the enemies from what part ſoever they come. The *Cherçaſſians** with a ſlow pace approach within bow-ſhot, then ruſhing with a great cry, on the *Turks*, furiouſly charge them, and notwithſtanding their gallant reſiſtance, force them to give ground. But whilſt they are in the greateſt hopes of obtaining the victory, *Chairbeg* in the right, and *Gazelibeg* in the left wing, unexpectedly revolt, and joining their forces with the *Turks*, ſtrike the *Cherçaſſians** with the utmoſt terror. However chuſing rather to die than be vanquiſh'd, they renew the battle, and ſo fiercely preſs their enemies, that notwithſtanding the numbers againſt them, victory ſeem'd inclin'd to their ſide. Whereupon *Selim* perceiving the *Cherçaſſians** by their nimbleneſs and agility of body to avoid the ſtrokes of ſwords, ſpears, and darts, orders the horſe to halt, and placing the Janizaries in the front, commands them to fire on the enemies. His orders are ſo well executed, that the *Cherçaſſians** aſtoniſh'd at the ſudden ſlaughter of their men, fall back to cloſe their ranks. The *Turks* ſeeing this, give them no time to renew the fight, but ruſhing on them like a deluge, eaſily rout the broken troops. Sultan *Gauri* finding all hopes of victory vaniſh'd, reſolves to loſe his life with his Empire. So running into the thickeſt of his enemies, he overthrows all he meets, and flies through their ranks, as if they were ſo many ſheep. He looks and calls for *Selim*, challenges him to ſingle combat, in order to give or receive Death and Empire. Fortune not throwing him in his way, he returns as he came, and imagining he ſlew *Selim* in every *Turk*, makes a horrible ſlaughter. At length, not wounded amidſt ſo many ſwords, (which is wonderful,) but tir'd with wounding, and his breath failing through heat, he falls down dead among his ſlaughter'd foes.

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(31) *Burj Vaik*] A place near *Aleppo*, according to the Etymology, the Tower or Fortreſs of *Vaik*. For the *Turks* uſe to give the name of *Burj* or *Zodiack* metaphorically to the Turrets of their Fortreſſes, becauſe as the *Zodiack* ſurrounds the Sphere, ſo do theſe the City, for inſtance, *Burji Calaa* the *Zodiacks* or Bulwarks ſurrounding the City.

XVIII. After

XVIII. After the victory, the inhabitants of *Aleppo* humbly meet *Selim* with their keys, who receives them very honorably, and preſents a *Chylaat* (32) to each of the principal Citizens. The next *Friday*, going to the *Jami*, he hears his name mention'd in the Prayers, and commands the Reader, whilſt yet in the Pulpit to be cloath'd with a veſture wrought in gold, and alms to be diſtributed liberally to not only the Eccleſiaſticks but Perſons of all conditions. This clemency caus'd not only the leſſer Towns in that region to offer themſelves to the Conqueror, but alſo the inhabitants of *Damaſcus* on *Selim*'s approach, to ſend their Elders to meet him and implore his mercy and goodneſs. Theſe he receives not only with a pleaſant countenance, but after twice reading their petition, promiſes to do every thing they deſire. He is poſſeſs'd of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*.

XIX. After ſo many inſtances of clemency, *Selim* thought proper to gain the hearts of the ſuperſtitious people by ſome teſtimonies of his piety. Wherefore the firſt day of his entrance into *Damaſcus*, he orders divine ſervice to be perform'd in the *Jami* call'd *Beni Umnie* (33), and prayers offer'd for his welfare. In the next place he religiouſly viſits the Monument of the famous *Mubyddin* (34) without the walls of the He diſcovers the Monument of *Sheikh Mubyddin*.

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(32) *Chylaat*] A Robe of various Colours, diſtinguiſh'd with a gold or ſilver border, and uſually given by the Sultan, as a token of honour, to the Vizirs, Baſhas, and Great Men or others at their entrance into their Office, or for ſome notable ſervice or good news. There are three ſorts of *Chylaat*, the firſt is *Chylaat fahire*, given only to Vizirs and Paſhas of three *Tugs*. However it is ſometimes beſtow'd on the *Roman* Emperor's Ambaſſador extraordinary, as to Count *Oetingen*, after the peace of *Carlovitz*. After which, Monſieur *de Feriol* Ambaſſador extraordinary from the King of *France*, that his Maſter might not ſeem inferior to the Emperor, ſpar'd no pains or coſt to be honourd with the *Chylaat*, but could never prevail. The *Czar*'s Ambaſſador *Peter Tolſtoi*, though otherwiſe a great Favorite of the Prime Vizir *Chorluly* Ali Paſha*, met with the like repulſe. This honour, though unſought, was for particular reaſons not to be divulg'd, conſer'd on me, when I was put in poſſeſſion of the Principality of *Moldavia* by Sultan *Ahmed*. The ſecond ſort is the *Ala*, commonly given to Paſhas, *Turkiſh* and *Chriſtian* Princes, and Ambaſſadors extraordinary from *Chriſtian* Potentates. The third ſort, which is ſometimes call'd *Evſath* (middle,) ſometimes *Edna* (meaner,) is given to Perſons of inferior rank. *Chylaat* is alſo commonly call'd *Caftan*.

(33) *Beni Umnie*] This is commonly ſaid to be the name of the *Saracen* General, who firſt took *Damaſcus* from the *Chriſtians*, and turn'd the famous Church there into a *Jami*, though the *Chriſtians* aſcribe that Expedition to *Omer*, *Mahomet*'s ſecond Succeſſor.

(34) *Mubyddin*] *Chaliſe* of the *Saracens*, who firſt poſſeſs'd *Spain* and is undoubtedly the ſame whom the *Chriſtian* Writers call *Muſa* and ſay that by his General *Tarich* in the year of the *Hejira* 92, he firſt carried the arms of the *Saracens* into *Spain*. For the Chronology agrees, ſince the *Arabic* Hiſtorians ſay *Mubyddin* yet reign'd in the year of the *Hejira* 99, (which coincides with the year of Chriſt 718,) in which year *Vaſæus* relates that *Moſes*, *Emir* of the *Saracens* ſuffer'd a great ſlaughter from *Pelagius* King of the *Aſturias*. But where they had this name I cannot conjecture. It cannot be a ſirname, both becauſe it is prophetical which the *Mahometans* uſe to add to the

the City. The old men could hardly remember to have heard their fathers mention the burial of this Hero, and the monument itself was not only laid in a vile place, but so cover'd with filth by such as were ignorant of the precious Relicts it contain'd, that it look'd more like a Dunghill than a religious place. *Selim* having express'd a due abhorrence of the impiety of the inhabitants, orders the place to be instantly cleans'd and finds a Marble-stone, with an inscription to this effect: *This is the Monument of* Sheikh Mohammed beni Arebi *Conqueror of* Spain. The Emperor being satisfied by this inscription that the Hero's body lay there, erects over the Monument a large *Kubbe*, and near it a *Jami* with an Hospital, where he orders the poor to be daily supplied with a sufficient quantity of meat and drink. He moreover exempts the charges from taxes, and confirms these constitutions with a *Chatisherif* (35). These pious works were, the *Turks* believe

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the first name, and because according to the nature of the language, *Mubyddin* is more like a firname than *Musa (Moses.)* And I can hardly believe it his proper name, since he is call'd in the Epitaph *Mohammed ben Arebi*. *Mohammed*, Successor of *Abdallah* Sultan of the *Saracens*, is also to be distinguish'd from him, in whose reign the *Saracens* defeated the fleet of the *Christians*, laid waste *Dalmatia*, burnt *Ancona*, but at last being about to take *Rome*, they were vanquish'd with great slaughter by the *Roman* Citizens at *Ostium* in the year of *Christ* 849.

(35) *Chatisherif*] *Holy Character*, under which appellation is properly compriz'd the Sultan's name, confirming any Mandate or Letter, and from thence the whole imperial Letter. Formerly such Mandates were wont to be penn'd by the Sultans themselves, and that in vulgar Schedules with the common Character, an instance whereof is the *Chatisherif* of Sultan *Mahomet* II, still extant in the Church of the *Virgin Mary*, *Maguliotisa*. But afterwards when the Luxury and Pride of the Emperors increas'd with the Bounds of the Empire, they deem'd it beneath the Imperial Majesty, that the Sultan should either write or sign a Mandate. Wherefore they appointed the *Nishanji Pasha*, who takes care of the Confirmation of the Imperial Mandates and inscribes the character of the Sultan's name artificially made, and commonly call'd *Turre*, not at the bottom as is customary to other Nations, but at the beginning over the first line of the Mandate. But if the Emperor intends a more than ordinary Confirmation over the *Turre* he uses to write with his own hand, *Mujibinje amel ohuna*, that is, "Ac- "cording to the underwritten be it "done." Such a *Chatisherif* (usually call'd also *Chati humayun*, i. e. the sublime Character) is held in so great Veneration, not only during the Emperor's life, but even after his death, that no *Turk* dares to touch it before he has religiously kiss'd it with his Mouth and Forehead, and wip'd off the dust of it with both Cheeks, which I observ'd the Prime Vizir *Chorlaly** *Ali Pasha* to do when I deliver'd him the *Chatisherif* of Sultan *Mahomet* II. It will not be improper to insert here for the sake of the curious the whole Mandate at large, which ran thus: "O thou who art allied to "Honour, *Subashi* of *Constantinople*, "since We out of our sublime cle- "mency have granted to *Christodu-* "*lus* the Architect, as a reward for "his perfect work, the Street call'd "*Kiuchuk** *Jafer*, Thou going to "the Temple *Maguliotisa*, describe "and mark it out with the adjacent "void places, and put the said "*Christodulus* in possession, giving "credit to this our sacred Mandate." From this writing, it may also be remark'd

believe (36) amply made up to *Selim*, since they ascribe to the virtues of this *Sheikh* and his favour with God the victories obtain'd in so large and powerful a Kingdom.

XX. When

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remark'd, that under Sultan *Mahomet Fatih* the manner us'd by the *Turks* in governing Cities was very different from what is now practis'd. For at that time one Imperial Mandate to the *Subashi* (an Officer now of the lowest order and little authority) was sufficient for what in our days cannot be effected without several Mandates, and the interposition of Persons of other orders. For if but a single House be granted to any man by the Sultan, it is notified by a *Chatisherif* to the Prime Vizir, who, if the House is in the middle of the City, sends a Mandate to the *Mimar Aga* or chief Architect, by which he is order'd to go and measure the House, and describe the Rooms and Court-yard in a particular manner. But if the House be near the Walls of the City, the Mandate is directed to the *Shebremini* or Inspector of the Walls and Streets. And whether the *Mimar Aga* or the *Shebremini* execute the orders, he sends for the *Naib* or Deputy of the Judge of *Constantinople* or *Pera* (if the House be in that City) and by him sends the description and delineation of the House to *Istambol Effendisi* or supreme Judge of *Constantinople*. Lastly, A Copy of the Mandate and the Architect's description are laid up in the Archives, call'd by the *Turks*, *Sijyl*, and thus the possession of the House is confirm'd to the Person, to whom it was granted by the Sultan.

(36) *Turks* believe] Though it is the common opinion of the *Turks* that the Souls of the Deceased can give no assistance to the Living, yet we read in the best *Mahometan* Divines, that the Dead appeas'd by the Prayers of the Living, interceed with God to grant their Petitions. They likewise own it to be meritorious and decent to reverence departed Saints, and religiously visit their Monuments. But they are chiefly commanded by their Law to invoke the names of *Mahomet* and his Successors, as *Ya* † *Muhammed! Ya Ebubekir! Ya Omer! Ya Othman! Ya Ali!* and write them on boards in very neat Characters, which they hang up in the *Jami* and other Buildings, and also describe them in large letters against the walls in the following manner. In the middle of the board they describe *Mahomet*, namely, that he had a ruddy Countenance, long Visage, straight Nose, blewish Eyes, black Beard eight inches long, broad Chest, slender Waste, round Hands, long Fingers, streight Legs, broad Feet, with longish Toes, &c. Though *Mahomet*'s picture might easily be drawn by this description, it is unlawful to paint any thing but his hands and feet, to draw any other part is reckon'd a sin. But the *Persians* are not so superstitious, they paint whole Pictures, and commonly insert them in their Historical Writings. Of this I saw an instance in a *Persian* Book which I had at *Constantinople*, containing the History of the *Persians* from the Creation to *Shah Ismail*, wherein the Portraitures of all the Prophets and Emperors were drawn, though not with great symmetry, yet with great elegance. Among the *Turkish* Emperors, only *Murad* IV. who conquer'd *Babylon* and was given to wine, order'd the walls of his bed-chambers in the Palace to be adorn'd with painted pictures, but even these were eras'd by his successors. There is a single house on the *Bosphorus* near the village call'd *Beicozi*, in which still remain some Pictures drawn by that Emperor's command, namely, of men hunting and shooting at wolves, stags, and also eating and drinking and the like. But the *Turks* firmly believe that Angels can enter no house where are dogs or portraitures of men. Wherefore they preserve no face-paintings, unless of the Emperors, whose Pictures for many ages have been carefully kept in the

† o.

He beheads *Hiuſan Paſha.*

XX. When he had thus ſpent ſome days in civil and ſacred affairs, he leads his forces big with the hopes of victory towards *Cairo.* In this march

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Sultanic Library, from whence with good preſents, by means of my friends at Court, I got them to be copied by the Sultan's *Muſavvir* or chief Painter *Leuni Chelebi**, and have them ſtill by me†. Whilſt I am writing theſe things, a diſcourſe I once had with a learned *Turk* concerning Pictures occurs to my memory. He objected to us that even at this day we worſhip Idols and Images and Pictures the works of men's hands. When I told him there was no difference between a *Muſulman* and a *Chriſtian* as to the worſhip of images, he wonder'd and declared his abhorrence of image worſhip. To which I replied, I would prove my aſſertion if he would liſten to me. "Don't you, (ſaid I) on your Tables deſcribe in gold Letters the "make and ſhape of your Prophet? "Don't you paint in lively colours his "hands and feet with the Roſe which "you ſay ſprung from *Mahomet's* "ſweat as it was dropping to the "ground? Don't you inſcribe on Tables of wood or gold the names of "the *Asbabi* (that is of *Mahomet's* four "ſucceſſors) and hang them up on "the walls of your *Jami* and Houſes "towards *Kyble* (the region looking "towards *Mecca* between the Eaſt and "South) and when you riſe in the "morning, don't you, after ſaying "your prayers, devoutly kiſs them "and wipe off the duſt with your "face? Now when you do this in honour to them whoſe names are "mention'd in the Tables, do you "pay this reverence or worſhip to the "Colours, Lines, or Tables? Not at "all, ſays he." Whereupon I replied. "But if any *Turk* or *Chriſtian* ſhould "ſpit upon or otherwiſe ſhow his "contempt of theſe Tables, does "not your law pronounce ſuch a "perſon worthy of death? Without "doubt anſwered he." Then ſaid I, "It is the ſame with us *Chriſtians* in "reſpect of the worſhip of Images. "For we worſhip neither the image "nor the wood nor any work of "man's hand, but reverence the perſon repreſented by the Image. If "ſo, replies he, it is certainly wrong "to call *Chriſtians Put pereſt* or Idol-"worſhippers. Admiring the candidneſs of the *Turk*, I ventur'd to add, "Is not your Prophet's Tooth "preſerv'd in the Royal Treaſury, "which you deem ineſtimable, and "the Sultan himſelf with great reverence, every year before the firſt "day of *Ramazan*, offers to be kiſs'd "by the Great men after publick "prayers on the occaſion? Do you "not religiouſly keep *Mahomet's Sanjak* or Standard and *Hircai Sherif* "or Holy Robe, the border of "which you dip every year at the "ſame time in water, and think that "water to be hallow'd and incorruptible, calling it *Abi bircai Sherif*, "the water of the Holy Robe, and "diſtributing it to the Great-men "that on faſt days at Sun-ſet, they "may infuſe one drop of it into a "large draught of water, with "which after thrice taſting they "quench their thirſt, by drinking it "at once? Don't you reverence, "preſerve, and worſhip the Tooth "of your Prophet though dead? "ſince theſe things are openly done "by you, tell me I pray, whether "you honour an inanimate thing, as "a Tooth, or Water for its own ſake, "or in reference to your Prophet's "immaculate Spirit (which you "talk off) and his Truſt in God?" "Certainly, ſays he, all theſe things "refer to him, for whoſe ſake they "are accounted Holy and ſanctifying." Wherefore I concluded with ſaying, "Much leſs can *Chriſtians* "be charg'd with idolatry, ſince "they refer the honour paid to the "Images and Relicts of Saints primarily to God himſelf, and but "ſecondarily

† The ſame that are publiſhed with this Tranſlation.

march when he was come to a certain place call'd by the Inhabitants *Chani yunus* (37), and there talk'd familiarly with his officers. *Hiuſan Paſha*, one of his Vizirs, with more boldneſs than prudence, asks him, "Moſt auſpicious Emperor when ſhall we enter *Cutbuiur Cais* (38)?" The Emperor perceiving his too great familiarity with his friends bred contempt, replies, "We ſhall enter indeed when God "pleaſes, but for thee it is my pleaſure that thou ſtay here." And upon theſe words, orders his head to be inſtantly ſtruck off.

He viſits *Kudſherif* and takes ſome Cities.

XXI. From thence he marches to *Gaza*, where hearing *Kudſherif* † was not far off, he was extremely deſirous to ſee a City, the fountain of ſo many Prophets, and the ſcene of ſo many miracles. Accordingly he goes thither with a few Attendants, and in three days performing what Religion requir'd, he returns to his army at *Gaza*. Then he purſues his march directly to *Elkair* (39), and by the way takes *Sifidulbahr* (40) and *Chanuljuni*. But he did not think it adviſeable to place there any Garriſons, becauſe theſe towns would not ſhake off his yoke if Conqueror, and if vanquiſh'd, would not be a ſafe retreat. Wherefore leaving only ſuch as were diſabled by wounds or the length of the march, he goes on. When the people of *Gaza* ſee this, and imagining the Emperor would never return but be cut off with his whole army by the ſword of the *Chercaſſians**, they kill the ſick and their Phyſicians committed to their truſt.

† *Jeruſalem.*

Vanquiſhes the *Chercaſſians**.

XXII. The freſh efforts of the *Chercaſſians** for the defenſe of the Kingdom had perhaps prompted the Inhabitants of *Gaza* to rebellion. For thoſe who had eſcap'd out of the former battle when they come to *Cairo* call a Council, and creating *Tumanbai* King, ſprung from their nobleſt family, ſtyle him in the inauguration *Muluk Eſhref* (41), and ſwear either to defend the Empire from *Selim*'s unjuſt tyranny or die valiantly fighting, and ſell their lives and extenſive dominion as dear

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" ſecondarily to the Prototype or Per-
" ſon repreſented. For they do not
" worſhip Saints, as Saints, or Holy
" Men, but as God's Servants or as
" they may be call'd, God's Saints."
This plain and intelligible explication of our Doctrine pleas'd the *Turk* but could not reclaim him from his Error.

(37) *Chani yunus*] *John*'s Inn. I can't ſay, whether they believe this to be the Houſe of *John* the Prophet.

(38) *Cutbuiur Cais*] A village or ſuburbs of *Cairo*, and ſeems to have been ſome narrow and difficult place, but in what quarter I can't find.

(39) *Elkair*] It is commonly by our Countrymen falſely writ *Alkair*, ſo *Alkoran* inſtead of *Elkuran*. This is the chief City of *Egypt*, and univerſally known, call'd alſo by the name of *Myſr*. I purpoſely omit the *Turkiſh* Fables concerning this City and *Joſeph* ταγματος, ſince they are largely ſet forth in many books publiſh'd of the *Egyptian* affairs.

(40) *Sifidulbahr* &c.] Properly ſignifies *White-Sea*. Theſe are two Cities whoſe antient names are to me unknown. For I have not yet been able to diſcover all the old appellations of the eaſtern Cities, which for ſo many ages have been conceal'd under the modern barbarous names.

(41) *Muluk Eſhref*] that is, Moſt Holy, or Moſt Auſpicious.

as poſſible. Under this General, they aſſemble all the remains of the *Chercaſſians** with ſome auxiliary troops of wandering *Arabs*, prepare great guns and other warlike Engines, and with a ſelect army of about forty thouſand men incamp in a place call'd *Ridanie*, fortifying themſelves with various ſtratagems, in expectation that *Selim*, fluſh'd with his former ſucceſs, would inſtantly attack their camp, and by being taken in their toils afford them an eaſy victory. But *Selim*, inform'd of their ſnares by his ſpies, as he was ſuperior in number, orders part of his forces to march round the enemies camp near Mount *Jebeli Maktab* (42) and at a given ſignal to fall on their rear. So in the firſt days (43) of the month *Jemaziul evvel* in the year 923 was fought ſuch a bloody and obſtinate battle, the *Chercaſſians** being ſurrounded on all ſides, as can hardly be deſcrib'd. The *Chercaſſians** are frequently overpower'd by numbers, ſometimes repell'd, and as often renew the charge, the King himſelf fighting always in the front and animating his ſoldiers by his example. The battle is continued ſome time with broken ranks, when at laſt *Tumanbai* ſees part of his men taken, part ſlain, and victory no way to be gain'd, with a ſelect band as a body-guard, he opens a paſſage with his ſword through the thickeſt of his enemies, and flies to *Sheikh Areb* Son of *Becaar* (44). Thus the *Turks*, though not with-

H. 923.
A. C. 1517.

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(42) *Jebeli Maktab*] I think it ſhould be *Machtab*, not *Maktab*, which ſignifies a Hill or Mount, on which the Monuments of the Antients and the famous Pyramids are plac'd.

(43) firſt days *&c.*] The *Turks* are wont in letters and eſpecially in imperial mandates to ſet down ſometimes the days of the whole month, ſometimes to divide the month into three decads, and if any thing is dated in the firſt ten days, they ſay *Evvailinde* (in the firſt days,) if in the ſecond decad, *Evaſitynde* (in the middle days,) if in the third decad, *Evachirinde* (in the laſt days) of the month. Thus *Jemaziul evveli evvailinde*, in the firſt days of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, that is, on ſome day of that month between the firſt and the tenth. And ſo of the reſt.

(44) *Sheikh Areb* &c.] He ſeems to have been one of the *Arabian Sheikhs* or Prelates, who are more concern'd in the eccleſiaſtical than civil form of Government, and pretend to be the lawful ſucceſſors of *Mahomet*. Of theſe there are ſeven races chiefly celebrated among the *Turks*, whoſe names I have forgot. For I live in a Climate deſtitute not only of *Arabian*, but all polite learning, where the name of a compleat Library, much leſs the thing itſelf is not to be found. But however it may from hence be inferr'd that theſe *Sheikhs* are highly reverenc'd by the Emperor himſelf, becauſe their head, (who reſides at *Mecca*, and though he is confirm'd by the Sultan, yet tranſmits his dignity to his Children) whenever he writes to the Sultan after the enumeration of his other proud Titles, calls him the Prophet's and his *Vekilimuz* (or Vicar) in the Empire of the World. He is ſaid to uſe the ſame form in his letters to the Emperor of *India*. I ſaw one of theſe *Sheikhs* when he came to Sultan *Muſtapha* Brother of the preſent Emperor (who was then in a Tent in a village call'd *Akbunar* near *Adrianople*) ſit all the while and familiarly converſe with him. He was lodg'd with *Cherkies** *Mehemed Aga* Maſter of the imperial Stables, an intimate friend of mine, who told me that this *Sheikh* whenever he talk'd of the Sultan, us'd to call him his *Bizum vekil*, Vicegerent or Lieutenant.

out

out the ſlaughter of their men, obtain a complete victory. On the *Turkiſh* ſide fell the chief Hero of his age, the renowned Genetal *Sinan Paſha*, whoſe death was ſo grievous to *Selim*, that he is ſaid long after the taking of *Cairo* to lament in this manner: *Myſri aldyk emma yuſufi aldyrdyk, Yuſuf ſiz, Myſr-den ne olur!* "*Egypt* have I taken, but *Joſeph* "have I loſt, without *Joſeph* what ſignifies *Egypt*?"

XXIII. Thus ſo fertile a Province ſeem'd to be ſubjected to the *Othman* Empire, but King *Tumanbai*, who was ſtill alive and ready in the neighbourhood for any commotion, inſpir'd a fear of loſing it. He was known to be fled to the *Arabians*, and there to wait *Selim*'s departure out of *Egypt* in order to attempt a change. Wherefore to prevent the danger threaten'd from that quarter, he ſends ambaſſadors with noble Preſents to *Sheikh Areb* Son of *Becaar*, deſiring him to deliver up his fugitive enemy, and adviſing him rather to gain his friendſhip by good offices than incur his indignation by fruitleſs obſtinacy. *Sheikh* either fearing *Selim*'s power or gain'd by his Preſents, ſhamefully delivers up *Tumanbai*, whom he had taken into protection, contrary to the law of Nations, and particularly againſt the *Arabic Rai* (45). But the bravery which could not affect the mind of a baſe friend, appeas'd the wrath of a generous enemy. For *Selim*, when the King was brought bound into his preſence and his fortitude plainly ſeen, could not refrain

He firſt uſes *Tumanbai* honorably, and afterwards hangs him.

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(45) *Arabic Rai*] *Rai Arebi*, with the *Turks*, *Emam*, vulgarly *amam*, but the *Arabic* word is moſt us'd. With the *Italians* it is *Parola*, (with the *Engliſh* and *French*, *Parole*) the given word of ſecurity, peace, covenant, protection, as *Berai* of the *Arabians*, which with the *Turks* is, *El emam uzre*, Securely! Mercy! Quarter! But the *Arabians* boaſt themſelves to be of all Mortals the ſtricteſt obſervers of their *Parole*, and perhaps, very juſtly. For if any one even in the heat of a battle kills a man to whom the *Rai* was given, he is by the Laws of the *Arabians* puniſhable with death. If they have taken an enemy (for they are continually at variance amongſt themſelves) they give him the *Rai*, and draw a circle round him, with a command not to ſtir out of it, which he dares not do, though he ſhould periſh with hunger or thirſt. But the Conquerors acquaint the Enemies that ſuch a one is taken and in ſuch a place included within the *Rai* circle, wherefore if they will releaſe him they muſt pay the ranſom promis'd by him. Which being done, ſome one of the Tribe which had taken the Priſoner, goes to him and erazes the circle with his foot, whereupon he is free. But being once within the circle he cannot purchaſe his liberty but by paying the ranſom. For though his Fellow-ſoldiers afterwards rout the enemies and have it in their power to free the Captive from the circle, yet if he dare go out of the circle without the conſent of the perſon to whom he had given the *Rai*, he will be accounted all his life, both by friends and foes, a man of no honour, neither will he be able ever after to regain his credit by any action. But if he has dar'd to go out of the circle himſelf and run away, he is by his own countrymen ſent back bound to his Enemies, to be ſentenc'd either to death or perpetual ſlavery as they ſhall think fit, nor can he be redeem'd at any rate. For, ſay they, a man, who values life more than *Rai*, is unworthy of liberty, neither is he to be called a man, much leſs an *Arab*.

giving him liberty, and bidding him daily eat at his table. Thus *Tumanbai* having purchas'd his freedom with his virtue, convers'd publickly and privately with *Selim*, and inform'd him of the ſtate of the *Egyptian* affairs, with the laws, genius, and manners of the people. But the miſerable *Tumanbai* ſhortly after demonſtrated by his ſad example how fortune ſports in human affairs. *Selim* could not but admire his heroical virtues, ſingular fortitude, ſound counſels, and grave manners. He thought it baſe to put ſuch a man to death, and as he ſeem'd to free him from all danger, he had reſolv'd to take him into his friendſhip and ſet him over the Kingdom of *Egypt*. Whilſt he was thinking on theſe things, it was talk'd among the people that *Tumanbai* had found great favour with the Emperor and obtain'd the Government of *Egypt*, and therefore it was hop'd that with the remains of the *Chercaſſians** and *Arabians*, he would, ſoon after *Selim*'s departure, expell his garriſons and reſtore the *Chercaſſian** dominion. Theſe diſcourſes could not be conceal'd from *Selim*, a watchful obſerver not only of what was done, but of what was ſaid: he was unwilling however to give credit to the reports, as thinking them rais'd by enemies. At laſt, when by the continuance of the rumour he ſuſpected ſome treachery, he order'd the ſon of *Sheikh Suvar Alibeg*, whoſe father had been lately faſten'd to an iron hook by the *Chercaſſians**, to hang up the miſerable King in the gate of *Cairo*, call'd *Zavil*, with theſe words: " How great " my mercy was, is already declar'd, but what the malignant ſpeeches " of the vulgar though on his ſide can effect, let the wretch himſelf " experience." The order is gladly executed by *Alibeg* as it gave him an opportunity to revenge the murder of his father, and the unfortunate *Tumanbai* hang'd on the 10th of *Rebiul evvel* in the year before mentioned, in the Gate *Zavil*. The terror infus'd into the *Egyptians* by this unexpected death of their King, is inexpreſſible. They who before with conceal'd indignation bore his unjuſt dominion, now run all in a ſuppliant manner to *Selim*, intreat his clemency, and promiſe perpetual and faithful ſervice to the *Othman* race. The Emperor pardons them on the condition that if they know of any lurking *Chercaſſian** they would inſtantly produce him in bonds. He had ſcarce made this declaration, when the common people, greedy of novelty, in expectation of obtaining pardon, ſearch every where for the *Chercaſſians** their former Lords, and drag them bound to *Selim* to be butcher'd. The next day, *Selim* orders a Theater with a Throne on it to be erected without the City on the bank of the *Nile*, and all the Priſoners to be beheaded in his preſence, and their bodies thrown into the river. Their number is ſaid to exceed thirty thouſand. The ſecond day after, in order to humble entirely the minds of the vanquiſh'd by a demonſtration of his power, he makes a triumphant entry into *Cairo*, but after a few hours ſtay departs the ſame day, and pitching his tents in a place near the *Nile* call'd *Raza*, allows his forces ſome time for refreſhment. A

certain witty *Arabic* poet has mark'd the Epocha of this butchery in the following line:

Hui ſhevi Sultan Selim!
Alas! this is Sultan Selim!

XXIV. The ſame year, on the ſeventh day of *Jemaziul evvel*, he marches to attack *Iskenderie* (46), which avoiding the Conqueror's indignation by a ſurrender, he ſettles the affairs of that city, and returns to the inland parts of *Egypt*, from whence, having made *Chairbeg* Governor of the Kingdom, he begins his march in the month *Shaban* towards *Conſtantinople*. In his way, to revenge the perfidiouſneſs of the inhabitants of *Goza*, he put them all to the ſword without diſtinction of age or ſex, and raz'd their City to the ground. Afterwards going to *Damaſcus* he delivers that City with the other adjacent towns in *Paleſtine* and *Syria* to be govern'd by *Gazelibeg* according to agreement. In ſhort, within the ſpace of one year, and in the ſame expedition, *Selim* added more territories to his Empire than any of his Predeceſſors had been able to ſubdue in their whole reign. For he not only conquered all the dominions of the *Cherceſſians** in *Aſia* and *Egypt*, but alſo reduc'd to his obedience as it were by the by, other ſtrong and famous Cities of *Aſia*, *Malatye*, *Dierbegi*, *Derende*, *Behtiſi*, *Kierkieb*, *Kiachte*, *Berejik*, *Antab*, *Antakie* (47). Beſides theſe even the Sheriff of *Mecca* (48) brought the Keys of his City to *Selim* whilſt he was about *Cairo*, and openly acknowledg'd his Sovereignty. Whereupon he was honorably receiv'd by *Selim*, who appointed his ſon, famous for virtue, piety, and learning, his ſucceſſor in the principality. By this man the tribes of the wild *Arabians*, (*Beni Ibrahim* (49), *Beni Sevalem*, *Abraham*, and range the ſpacious Deſarts of *Arabia* with unſettled habitations. All ſpeak *Arabic*, but in ſo different a dialect, that they can hardly underſtand one another. Hence the *Arabic* Tongue is juſtly call'd the moſt copious and almoſt boundleſs. For the ſame word ſignifies a hundred things of a very different Nature, and the ſame thing is expreſs'd by as many words which have not the leaſt analogy to each other. Moreover there is ſcarce any quality of a thing but what procures its ſubject a peculiar appellation. *Meninskius*'s *Theſaurus* of the oriental Languages affords numberleſs inſtances, which to copy is foreign to my purpoſe. Of the Flowers of all theſe Dialects the *Koran* is compos'd, and from thence it was believ'd by its followers

He takes *Alexandria*, and ſubjects the *Arabians*.

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(46) *Iskenderie*] *Alexandria*, a moſt noted Mart of *Egypt*, much frequented by foreign Ships, built by *Alexander the Great*, and given for an Habitation to the *Greeks*.

(47) *Malatye*, &c.] Of theſe Cities *Malatye*, *Derende*, *Berejik*, *Antab*, and *Antakie* or *Antioch*, are indeed pretty large, but the reſt are rather Towns than Cities.

(48) Sheriff of *Mecca*] He was before *Selim*, a Sovereign Prince, and govern'd *Mecca* and ſome other *Arabian* Cities with abſolute power. But from *Selim*'s time he has acknowledg'd the *Turkiſh* Emperors for Guardians and Protectors of the Muſulman affairs.

(49) *Beni Ibrahim*] There are above ſeventy Nations or Tribes ſprung from different Branches, which however all boaſt their extraction from

lem, *Beni Ata*, *Beni Asyie*, and *Beni Saad*, with many others (50), to whose very names I am a ſtranger, who inhabit the Deſarts between *Mecca*

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followers to be penn'd in a divine not human Language. For neither can any of theſe Tribes underſtand the whole, nor will any the moſt learned of the *Arabians* pretend to explain all the words. They add a pleaſant ſtory on this ſubject, which is firmly believed by them. They ſay, that in *Mahomet*'s time the *Arabic* Tongue was arriv'd to the greateſt perfection, and very elegant poets flouriſh'd, who, as in the *Olympic* Games, when any one produc'd a witty diſtich, affix'd it to a Pillar in the Forum erected for that purpoſe. To anſwer this with an oppoſite diſtich *Nazyri*, three months ſpace was allow'd to ſome other Poet. On the appointed day all the Poets aſſembled and examining each performance, gave the preeminence to him whoſe diſtich was moſt approv'd of, and call'd him Prince of Poets, honoring him alſo with a new *Macblaſe* or ſirname. *Mahomet* taking the opportunity of this cuſtom, fix'd up alſo on the Pillar one of the *Nazmi's* or Verſes of the *Koran*, which all the Poets labour'd for nine months to anſwer; but the victory was unanimouſly aſſign'd to *Mahomet*, his verſe declar'd divinely inſpir'd, and his Doctrine from thenceforward embrac'd.

(50) Many others] Among the reſt were the Monks inhabiting Mount *Sinai*. Of theſe ſomething very particular is related, which, ſince I don't think it mention'd any where but in a fabulous treatiſe of a *Sinaitiſh* Monk, I ſhall here inſert. They ſay, though fabulouſly, that *Mahomet* being of mean birth, us'd to drive in his youth hir'd Camels from place to place. In theſe journies, as he one day approach'd Mount *Sinai*, the Abbot ſaw a cloud hovering over *Mahomet*'s head as he lay aſleep in the open field, and defending it as it were from the Sun-beams. The Abbot thence conjecturing there was ſomething more in the Youth than was promis'd by his outward appearance, becauſe ſo ſingular an omen, in his opinion, could only happen to the future Lord of thoſe Regions, and therefore he went and ſaluted him very civilly, inviting him into his room and bidding him take his reſt quietly. When he thought he had gain'd his good-will by all kind of civilities, he ask'd him, if ever he ſhould become Sovereign of thoſe parts what his pleaſure would be concerning the Monks? *Mahomet* anſwer'd, "He "would free them as *Rubban*, (*Keepers* "*of Life* or *Courſe*) diſpers'd through "the World from all Tribute, and "hold them in great honour." He gave him this promiſe in an *Arabic* writing, and confirm'd it, for want of a Seal, with the Palm of his hand dipt in ink and impreſs'd on the Paper. Long after, when Sultan *Selim* was in *Egypt*, the Abbot of Mount *Sinai* humbly came to him with *Mahomet*'s true or forged Inſtrument, which the Emperor purchaſed of the Monks for four thouſand Gold Crowns, with a declaration of their being free from all Tribute, and a confirmation by his *Chatiſherif* of this and their other privileges. *Selim*'s Charter as tranſlated out of *Arabic* into *Turkiſh* I read at *Adrianople*, and remember it to be as follows: "Since the Monks of Mount *Sinai* "are come to our ſublime *Divan*, "and have humbly repreſented, that "*Muhammed el Muſtapha*, God's "Holy Prophet, (on whom be "Peace and Health) being hereto-"fore by their Monaſtery hoſpita-"bly receiv'd in his travails, and ac-"cording to their ſlender abilities "ador'd with all kind of honour "and reverence, graciouſly exempt-"ed this community of *Nazaræan* "Monks from their annual Tribute, "and in confirmation of it was "pleas'd to give an Holy writing "ſigned with his own hand, after "his Example We alſo out of our "great clemency do ordain that "the foremention'd Monks be free "from the yearly Tribute paid by "the reſt, and be ſuffer'd without

"moleſtation

Mecca, *Cairo*, and *Damaſcus*) were induc'd to ſubject themſelves voluntarily to *Selim*, and deliver him a writing for a teſtimony of their fidelity, with ſome of their principal countrymen in hoſtage.

XXV. Whilſt he was returning from this expedition, and was now arriv'd at *Aleppo*, in the month *Ramazan* of the year 925, he is met by a *Perſian* Ambaſſador ſent under the pretence of friendſhip to deceive the Sultan, and by a feigned ſubmiſſion divert the ſtorm which threaten'd the Kingdom of *Perſia*. To gain his ends the more eaſily, beſides noble preſents worthy both Emperors, he tries to ſooth the ambitious *Selim* with the addition of new titles, and flatteringly ſtyles him, *Shehin Shahi Alem, ve Sahib Kyrani beni Adem* (51), that is, "The Emperor of Emperors, and ſole Conqueror (or Autocrator) of "the ſons of *Adam*." Receives an Ambaſſador from the *Perſian* King. H. 925. A. C. 1519.

XXVI. So many and great victories, ſuch flattering congratulations, not only from the vanquiſh'd Nations, but alſo from the neighbouring Princes, ſwell'd *Selim* with ſuch Pride, that as if he was now Sovereign of the whole World, he look'd with diſdain on earthly Kingdoms, and even imagin'd that cœleſtial ones, if they could be reach'd, were to yield to his ſword. Wherefore, after his triumphant entrance into *Conſtantinople* amidſt the people's acclamations, he publickly binds himſelf the next year (as if the unconſtant fortune of war had been at his command) by an oath (52) not to recede till he had entirely ſubverted *Selim*'s Pride and Death. H. 926. A. C. 1520.

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"Moleſtation to enjoy their Churches "and Rites according to their obſo- "lete Law. To this end, we have "graciouſly order'd them an authen- "tick copy of the Inſtrument of "God's Holy Prophet, confirm'd "by our Inſcription. We therefore "enjoin every Perſon exerciſing do- "minion or juriſdiction throughout "our whole Kingdom, not to bur- "then the ſaid Monks of the Tribe "of *Jeſus* with Tribute or other Po- "litical contributions. And who- "ever ſhall act contrary to our *Cha-* "*tiſherif* and Mandate, know that "he ſhall be certainly puniſh'd and "chaſtis'd. Given at *Cairi*, &c." 'Tis certain the exemption of theſe Monks from Tribute remain'd in force through all the *Turkiſh* dominions till the time of *Soliman* II. Great-Uncle of the preſent Emperor, when the *Turks* began to collect the *Haraj* upon them, and that by means of *Kioprili ogli Muſtafa Paſha*, who made no ſcruple to charge the whole *Diploma* with forgery. To prevent this, ſome of the Monks of Mount *Sinai*, were ſent to *Adrianople* with the inſtrument of Exemption, in whoſe hands I both read and tranſcrib'd it. They indeed preſerv'd by their petitions to themſelves and Society, a freedom from Tribute, but could not prevail for the reſt of the Monaſteries.

(51) *Shehin* &c.] Though all the *Turkiſh* Emperor's Titles are very lofty, yet *Zilullah*, *God's Shadow*, is accounted higher than the reſt, becauſe given, as I have obſerv'd, by the King of *Perſia*. However at Court, when mention is made of the Sultan, theſe are never us'd, but the common appellations are, *Padiſhahi Alem penah*, Emperor, Refuge, or Protector of the World, and *Alioth-man Padiſhahi*, Emperor of the Sons of *Othman*. For by this means they pretend to ſhow, that the whole race of *Turks* acknowledge no other fountain of Nobility, than their firſt Emperor *Othman*.

(52) Oath] The *Turks* believe, their Emperor can ſay or think nothing, unleſs by divine inſtinct, and therefore

verted the rival Empire of the *Perſians*, and utterly extinguiſh'd a Nation perfidious to God and hateful to man, in a belief that he ſhould afterwards ſubdue alſo, without obſtacle, the *Chriſtian* Princes. But how deceitful are man's deſigns without God, and how frail is a clod of Earth when ſwoln with pride, the ſupreme Governor of the univerſe demonſtrated for a warning to others by the following inſtance. Want of money, both the external and internal Treaſuries (53) being exhauſted in the *Egyptian* expedition, obliges *Selim* to defer the firſt year his intended war, and turn his thoughts to raiſing new ſupplies upon the conquer'd dominions. As this proceeded alſo the next year more ſlowly than he wiſh'd, and as by the approach of winter he ſees the time for warlike expeditions to be over, he reſolves to viſit the monuments of his Anceſtors at *Adrianople*. To this end, he ſends all his Great men before, except *Ferhad Paſha* his ſiſter's huſband, who was *Caimecam Paſha* (54), and departs from *Conſtantinople*. In this journey,

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therefore what he confirms with an Oath, ought and may be done; but how falſe theſe notions are, experience has often demonſtrated.

(53) External *&c.*] The *Turks* have two Treaſuries and two Coffers, in which the publick Money is kept. The *Defterdar* or High-Treaſurer (mention'd in a former note) preſides over the external, call'd *Diſhbazine*. This money is call'd *beitulmali Muſlimin*, or the publick money of the Muſulmans, of which the Emperor himſelf without the utmoſt neceſſity cannot expend any part at his pleaſure, nor put to his private uſe without danger. For whenever he does ſo, the people always murmur, and ſometimes openly rebel. *Ieb chazine*, or the internal, is alſo call'd the Imperial Treaſure; which the Sultan may uſe as he pleaſes without the leaſt murmur or obſtacle. Over this preſides the *Haſnadar baſhi*, who in the women's Apartment is next in degree to *Kyzlar Agaſi*. For he is alſo an Eunuch, and uſually ſucceeds upon a vacancy to the Place of the *Kyzlar Aga*. In my time there were yearly brought into the two Treaſuries twenty ſeven thouſand Purſes, each containing five hundred Rixdolars.

(54) *Caimecam Puſha*] He is the Prime Vizir's Lieutenant, and created by the Sultan out of the Viziirs enjoying the privilege of three Horſe-tails. When the Emperor is at *Conſtantinople* or *Adrianople*, the *Caimecam* has no Authority, nor, like the reſt of the Vizirs, has he any thing to do in publick affairs, except to adviſe. But if the Sultan be only eight hours abſent from the City, his Authority is almoſt the ſame with the Prime Vizir's. Moreover when the Emperor undertakes any expedition, tho' the Vizir be preſent, a *Caimecam* is appointed, who, on the Vizir's departing from the Emperor eight hour's ſpace, has full power to act, ordain, alter, any thing except that he can't derogate from the Vizir's Mandate, nor depoſe or behead the old Paſha's. I obſerv'd there was never a good underſtanding between the Prime Vizir and the *Caimecam*. For Agreement between Rivals in power is rare. Beſides this, there is another *Caimecam*, to whom the Emperor, when he goes to *Adrianople* or on ſome expedition, commits the care of the Royal City. He is indeed next to a Vizir in degree, but in authority on the ſame foot with a Paſha in his Government, except however, that in what relates to adminiſtring juſtice and civil affairs, he can do nothing without the Prime-Vizir's Mandate. He has for aſſiſtants, though of an inferior degree, *Boſtanji baſhi* or Superintendent of the Royal *Serai* † Palace. and Gardens, with the Suburbs without the walls, and *Segban baſhi*

journey, he had ſcarce reach'd the village *Suaſhtdy* (55), when he perceives his blood to be in a ferment, and himſelf ſeiz'd with a light fever. Next day there appears in his thigh a mortal impoſthume, which ſo tormented and weaken'd him, that all the ſinews of his body and feet (56) were contracted and dried. The Impoſthume was indeed open'd by a ſkilful Surgeon, and remedies applied to remove the malignity of the diſtemper, but his death was perceiv'd to be inevitable; for the obſtinate ulcer baffled the care of the Phyſicians, and ſo infected his whole body with a peſtilential poiſon, that after forty days of torture rather than of ſickneſs, the ſplendor of the *Othman* Empire expir'd on *Sunday* the ninth day of *Shevval* about Sun-ſet.

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baſhi the next to *Yenigicher** *Agaſi*, or *Aga* of the Janizaries, and General of the Foot, to whom the cuſtody of the City, and command of its Garriſon is committed. By theſe three perſons the whole civil government of the city is manag'd. But the eccleſiaſtical is under the care of *Iſambol Effendiſi*, Judge of the Clergy, and next in degree to the two *Cadilaskers*, one of whom (as I have ſaid) is univerſal Judge of eccleſiaſtical affairs in *Europe*, the other in *Aſia*.

(55) *Suaſhtdy*] *i. e.* He has ſwam over the river. The name of a Village on the road (tho' not the great one) from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*. They ſay this name happen'd to the Village on the following occaſion. A little river runs by the Village, which ſwells in ſuch manner by the melted ſnows and Autumnal rains, that it overflows all the adjacent fields, and renders it very difficult for Travellers to paſs. A certain inferior tho' very rich Paſha, to remedy this inconvenience, builds a very handſome ſtone-bridge over the River. When *Bajazet* II. *Selim*'s Father, came with his whole army to this place, he wonders to ſee a ſtately Bridge, and deſires to know the Builder. When he was in his preſence, *Bajazet* deſires him to receive the money he had expended, and grant him the reward to be expected in the next world for ſo great a benefit to Mortals. (It muſt be obſerv'd according to the Law of the *Koran*, a *Turk* may either give or ſell to another all his good Works, Charities, Buildings erected to the Glory of God or Benefit of Mankind, ſo as the reward which he merits of God in the life to come, paſſes to the Purchaſer.) The Builder affirms he can't do it, becauſe he had no other work to qualify him to appear before the divine Majeſty. For, ſays he, I did not build this Bridge to gain the applauſe of Man, but for the publick advantage and the ſalvation of my Soul. The Sultan thrice renewing his intreaties, is as often denied by the Paſha. Inrag'd at this refuſal, *Bajazet* puts the Paſha to death, ruſhes with his Guards on horſeback into the rapid Torrent, and with great danger of his life ſwims over, ordering the reſt of the army to ſtay till the Waters were abated, and at the ſame time pronouncing this *Beit* or Diſtich:

Miſvet ile Kokma giuli al Eline Suſami.
Giechme namerd Kioprifini Ko aparſun*
ſu ſeni.

That is,

It is better to carry Pepperwort than ſmell to a Roſe got by intreaties. Paſs not over the Bridge of a ſordid diſcourteous man: it is better to be ſwallow'd up by the Waters.

(56) Feet] The *Turks* ſeem here to reflect on *Selim*'s oath, that he would not draw back his foot till he had ſubdued the whole *Perſian* Empire. And that therefore the divine vengeance firſt puniſh'd his feet by the contraction of the Sinews, as well to humble the Pride of the Man as to demonſtrate its Juſtice.

Conceal'd by the Vizirs.

XXVII. When *Selim* had thus render'd famous by his death a village before little known, *Ferhad Paſha*, who alone had ſtaid with him, conceals the Emperor's deceaſe from the people, but tells what had happen'd to the reſt of the Vizirs, who were anxiouſly waiting his coming to *Adrianople*, intreating them to feign him alive, and tranſact affairs in his name, leaſt any commotion ſhould ariſe before the ſucceſſor's arrival. Moreover he acquaints *Soliman*, *Selim*'s ſon, who then reſided at *Trapezond*, with his father's death, and adviſes him to come with ſpeed and aſſume the reins of the Government. *Soliman* upon the receit of the letter haſtens to *Conſtantinople*: Which being known, the Vizirs openly declare the Emperor's death, diſmiſs the army, and all except *Muſtapha Paſha*, who is left alone to guard the Treaſury, go with the whole imperial Court to the royal City to adore their new Sovereign.

Soliman is ſaluted Emperor.

H. 926.

A. C. 1520.

XXVIII. Thus all the Vizirs, cloath'd in mourning, ſalute *Soliman* Emperor at his arrival at *Conſtantinople* in the laſt days (57) of *Shevval* in the year 926, and expreſs their grief for his father's untimely death. *Soliman* himſelf the ſame day in the afternoon goes out to meet his father's funeral with all his Courtiers, and conducts the body in great pomp to the *Jami* built by *Mahomet* Conqueror of the City, and there orders it to be interr'd. The following Epitaph is inſcrib'd on his Tomb,

Beka Miulkine azm idup Sefer kyldy budir Tarich Kaiup Sultan Selim baky jihan Miulkin Sulimane. "This year Sultan *Selim* departed "to an everlaſting Kingdom, leaving the Empire of the World to "*Soliman*."

Selim's Character.

XXIX. Thus fell *Selim*, the Defender of the *Othman* Empire, after he had reigned nine years and eight months, and liv'd fifty four. The years of his Reign indeed were few, but ſuch whoſe acts are hardly to be parallell'd. For by his diligence and valour, not only the *Aſiatic* Provinces were freed from all incurſions of the Enemies, but ample room given to his ſucceſſors by the eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt, to increaſe their dominion to the Weſt. He had all the qualifications of a Hero, with an able head, ſtrong arm, and great contrivance; he was indefatigable where the ſafety of the ſtate was concern'd, very fit to manage affairs, and extremely quick-ſighted in diſcovering hidden factions and other practices. He frequently walk'd in diſguiſe about the forum, ſtreets, camp, night and day, and whatever he perceiv'd contrary to the publick good or his laws, he puniſh'd ſeverely. Where he could not go in perſon, he ſent his ſpies, eminent for their cunning, who mixing with all companies, daily reported to the Sultan what they

ANNOTATIONS.

(57) laſt days] That is, ſome day between the 20th and 30th of the month *Shevval*. Concerning this way of computing the day of the month, See Note p. 64.

had

had heard or ſeen. By this means he was ſo fully acquainted with every thing that paſs'd, that it became a common ſaying in his time: "The "Emperor will know to morrow what paſſes in the chamber between "man and wife." However this proceeding was of ſuch ſervice to the Empire, that in ſo remote expeditions, which in his time were undertaken, there was no rebellion but what was ſtifled in the very birth. By theſe things he would have merited everlaſting praiſe, if he had not by his proneſs to anger and cruelty ſullied the luſtre of his virtues and caus'd himſelf to be diſtinguiſh'd from the Emperor's of the ſame name by the appellation of *Yavuz* (58). It will not be improper before I cloſe this larger account of his actions, to relate a ſingle inſtance to this purpoſe. Two years before *Selim*'s death, there appear'd in *Turcomania* a certain Free-booter who infeſted not only that and the neighbouring countries with his robberies, but having gathered together a conſiderable band of companions, he attempted to become maſter of thoſe Provinces. To extinguiſh this flame *Selim* ſent *Ferhad Paſha* with good part of his forces, who when he came to *Amaſia*, hears the the whole band with their Ring-leader were routed by *Ilbiſtanbeg Mehmed*, Son of *Sheikh Savur*. So being unwilling to fatigue his army in vain with ſo long a march, and not daring to return without the Emperor's order, he incamps about *Amaſia*, expecting an anſwer to a meſſage he had ſent the Sultan. Mean while, a malicious ſlanderer comes to him, pretends he could not forbear, out of due fidelity to the Emperor, to diſcover a projected rebellion of the inhabitants: for, ſays he, there lurks among the Citizens of *Amaſia* a certain counterfeit *Murad*, who boaſting himſelf to be the Son of Sultan *Ahmed*, has drawn the whole City to his ſide, with above ſeven hundred Robbers. *Ferhad Paſha*, without examining the truth, acquaints the Emperor with what he had heard, and deſires his orders in this imminent danger. *Selim* truſting perhaps to his General's prudence, commands without any inquiſition that all the chief men of the country ſhould be impal'd. *Ferhad* executes the orders, and impales above ſix hundred innocent Perſons of note, others he beheads, and the reſt drags through the ſtreets at horſes tails.

Cautiously re-
belling is ſhun.

ANNOTATIONS.

(58) *Yavuz*] Concerning this name See Note p. 143. There is extant a moſt elegant Book about four Sultans, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, *Selim*, and *Soliman*, written by *Ali Effendi* ſo often prais'd by me, an Author no leſs grave than ſtudious of Truth and void of Flattery. This Book is very ſcarce among the *Turks*, from which I have tranſcrib'd ſome things relating to my ſubject.

Cotemporary with *SELIM* in *Europe*.

In *Germany*, { MAXIMILIAN I. 1493-1518. / CHARLES V. 1518-58.
In *England*, HENRY VIII. 1509-46.
In *France*, { LEWIS XII. 1498-1525. / FRANCIS I. 1525-47.

The End of the Reign of SELIM I.

The REIGN of SOLIMAN I. Sirnam'd *Canuni*, Tenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

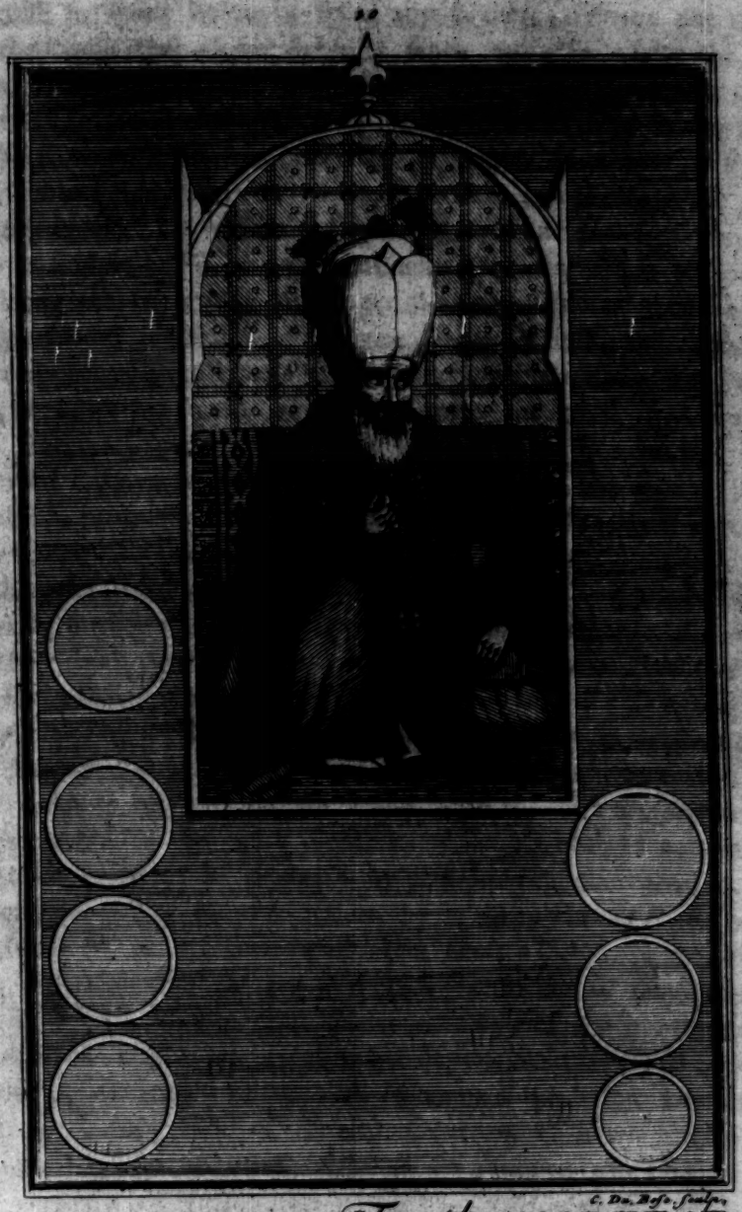
BOOK III. CHAP. IV.

Gazelibeg rebelling is slain.

SOLIMAN *Canuni* (1) had scarce mounted his father's throne when a great rebellion broke out in *Asia*. *Gazelibeg*, *Beglerbeg* of *Damascus* (by whose Treachery *Selim* obtain'd his victory over the *Chercassians*) when he is inform'd of *Selim*'s death, imagining all the virtues and fortune of the *Othman* Empire to be buried with him, revolts from his sworn fidelity, with a resolution to assume to himself the full Sovereignty of the countries of which he was Governor. To this

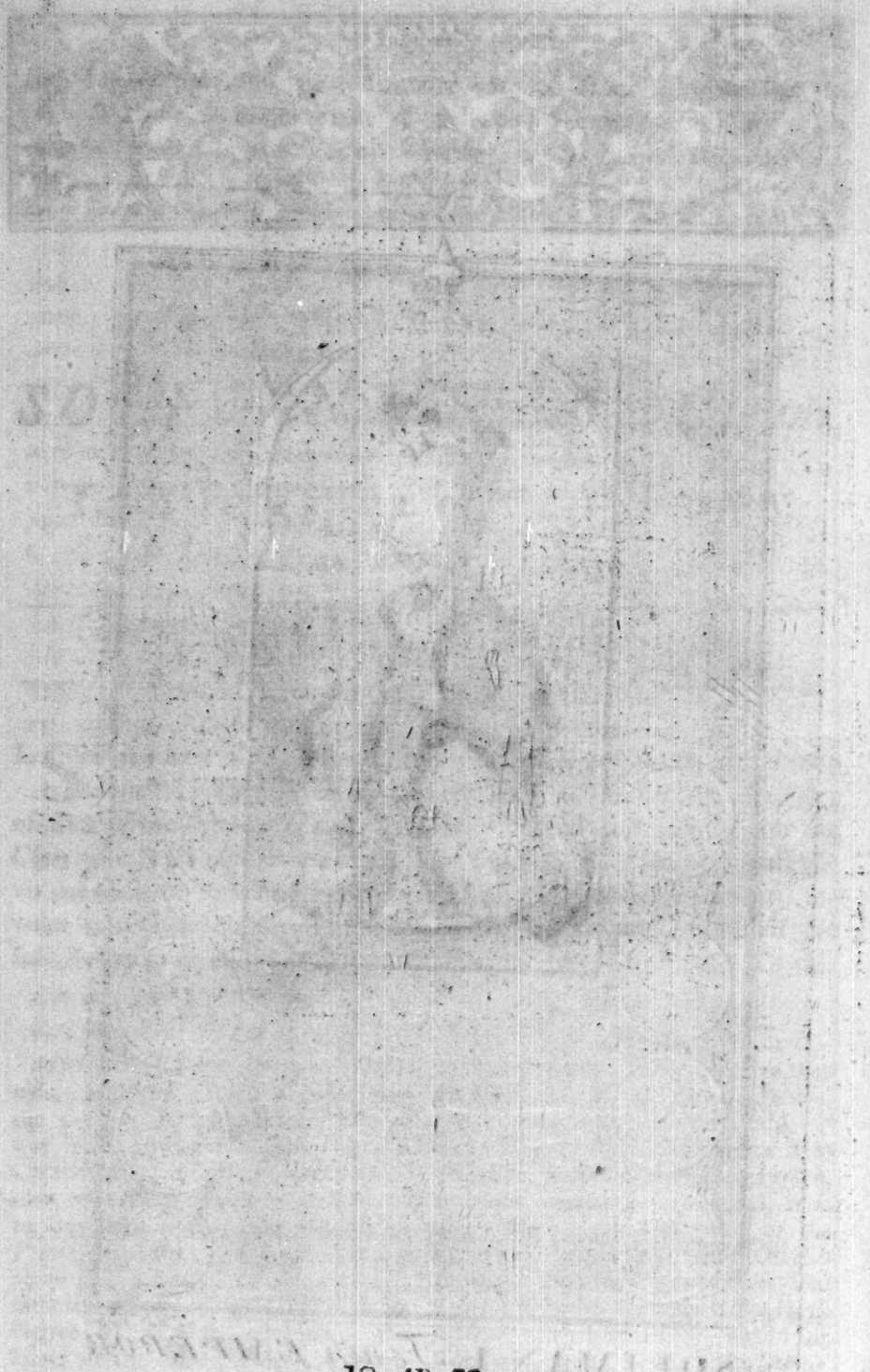
ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Canuni*] From the *Greek Canonista*, Institutor of Rules. For tho' the *Othman* Empire before *Soliman* was not govern'd without certain Constitutions, they were founded rather on custom than written law, or to say more rightly, the will of the Prince was instead of law. But *Soliman* first distinguish'd the civil and military offices, assign'd to each its degree of dignity, establish'd the Laws of the Court, Palace, Forum, and Army, and instituted what body of Laws there now is in the *Othman* Court and Common-wealth. His successors are so strictly oblig'd to observe these laws, that whenever any doubt occurs, they think recourse must be had to *Soliman*'s Canons, call'd *Tesbrifat*. Thus for instance, in a consultation about war, regard is had before all things to these Canons. If they believe they see a just cause of war express'd there, they decree it to be proclaim'd, if not, to be avoided. If a peace is to be made with some *Christian* Prince, the same Canons are consulted, least any thing be done contrary to the Law of the *Koran* or the *Othman* Empire. But his Canons order, that a peace is not to be made at *Constantinople* or other Royal City, but in the Confines, in the Field, under Arms, that the Peace may seem, not to be made out of fear, but granted to the Enemies by the Emperor's clemency and his care for the quiet of his People. And by reason of these Constitutions, he is seen in the imperial Library, among the rest of the Sultans, painted with a Book in his hand, from which Picture his Effigies prefix'd to his life was copied by my care.



C. De Bosc. Sculp.

SOLIMAN. I. *Tenth* EMPEROR
of the TURKS, *in the Year* 1520.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



12 AP 58

end, he assembles his forces, and so suddenly and unexpectedly besieges *Aleppo*, that a messenger sent to the *Othoman* Court with news of this rebellion could hardly escape. However the Town, defended by *Coja Mustapha Pasha* (2), made a brave resistance, and gave *Soliman* time to extinguish the flame before it spred any farther. *Soliman* not to deceive the expectation of his Subjects, sends into *Asia*, under the conduct of *Ferhad Pasha* (3), what forces were ready, and also orders them to be joined in their march by *Asiatick* Troops rais'd on every side. *Gazelibeg*, whose ardor was cool'd by the unexpected bravery of the besieged, when he sees himself too weak to meet in open field the army marching against him, raises the siege, and goes and incamps near *Damascus* in a place call'd by the inhabitants *Mustaba*, which he fortifies with strong works, hoping the imperial army would be forc'd by the scarcity of corn and season of the year to march back, and afford him another opportunity to invade the neighboring Provinces. But *Ferhad Pasha*, though he found *Aleppo* free from the rebel, yet mindful of the Emperor's order, he bravely follows him, and at last, contrary to the opinion of all, on the 27th of *Safer* in the year 927, attacks him in his fortified camp. A fierce and doubtful battle is fought for ten hours, the *Turks* being obstructed more by the situation of the place than the sword of the enemy. At length, the difficulties of the place being surmounted by the valour of the *Turkish* soldiers, the whole rebel army with their leader are slain. The Conqueror *Ferhad Pasha* enters *Damascus*, appoints *Aias Pasha Beglirbeg* of the City, and setling the affairs of those parts, returns with his forces to *Constantinople*.

H. 927. A. C. 1520.

II. *Asia* being in peace, *Soliman* resolves to turn his arms against *Europe*, in order to extend his dominion as far to the west of *Constantinople* as it reach'd to the east. To this end, that he might not, in the midst of his progress, be disturb'd by commotions elsewhere, as had often been the case of his predecessors, he leaves to *Ferhad Pasha*, with good part of his army, the care of *Asia*, sends a fleet into the *Archipelagus*, orders another for the *Black-sea*, consisting of fifty ships of war, with four hundred of Burthen to take care of the provisions for the *Hungarian* expedition. He himself departs from *Constantinople* by land with a great army to subdue all *Hungary*. But before he sets out he sends to *Yahiabeg*, Son of *Balybeg*, Governor of *Semendra*, to besiege, with what forces he had, *Belgrade* on a sudden before his arrival,

Soliman takes *Belgrade*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Coja Mustapha*] *Old Mustapha*. *Coja* also figuratively signifies a Person of Gravity and Wisdom, as *bir Coja adem*, an experienc'd, grave, prudent Man. So also *bir baba adem*, denotes, a benevolent Man, because as a *baba* (or father) he is a well-wisher to All.

(3) *Ferhad Pasha*] A very famous *Turkish* General, of great valour, fortitude, and wisdom, by whose conduct *Soliman* did great things in *Asia*, and took many Provinces from the *Persians*. He is call'd *Farates* by *Lonicerus* and other *European* Writers.

and

and hinder provisions or a stronger garrison from being thrown in. Whilst *Yahiabeg* closely besieges the City, *Soliman* arrives in person, and incamping in the field call'd *Zemin*, sends his Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* and *Ahmed Pasha* (4) Beglerbeg of *Rumeli*, with part of his forces to *Yahiabeg*'s assistance. These two Generals, the more to gain *Soliman*'s favour, to whom they knew the taking of the City as soon as possible would be very grateful, that he might have the way open to *Buda* the Metropolis of the Kingdom, by battery and undermining destroy the walls, renew their assaults every hour, and so weary the besieged, who make a brave resistance, that at length they are forc'd to yield to the fury of the *Turks*, and surrender (such was God's pleasure) on the 5th day of *Ramazan*, the bulwark of *Hungary*, which had often been attack'd but never subdu'd. Mean while *Soliman*, not to be idle, with the rest of the army takes partly by assault, partly by capitulation, *Burgaz* †, *Barij*, *Tiruje*, and *Bingurdlen*, and overrunning the adjacent country, firmly lays the fear of the future war beyond the antient bounds of the *Othman* Empire.

† formerly *Pyrgos*.

Orders *Sheb Suvar* to be kill'd.

III. After these conquests, in the month of *Ziulcade*, returning to *Constantinople*, he is inform'd that *Sheb Suvar ogli* Prince of *Marash* (5) was raising disturbances in *Asia* in order to shake off his yoke, but defer'd the execution of his purpose, because things were not yet ripe for rebellion. Wherefore he instantly sends orders to *Ferhad Pasha*, who had the custody of *Asia*, to behead the treacherous Prince. To attempt this openly seem'd dangerous to *Ferhad*, and therefore thinking it best to effect it by stratagem, sends him a friendly letter, telling him, he was by the Sultan appointed his assistant, and desiring him to come and consult with him about the publick affairs. The Prince ignorant of what was transacted, falls into the snare, and coming to *Ferhad*'s tent, is with his two sons, by soldiers planted for the purpose, put to death.

He takes *Rhodes*. H. 928. A. C. 1521.

IV. This rebellion being stifled in the birth in the year 928, *Soliman* having prepar'd a great fleet, sends the Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* before to take *Rhodes* (6), whilst himself goes by land to *Thessaly*, from whence taking ship at *Marmaros*, he sails over to *Rhodes* on the 4th day of *Ramazan*. At his arrival, he closely presses the City, and surrounds

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Mustapha Pasha*] whom I before mention'd left by the rest of the Vizirs at *Adrianople* to guard the Treasures at *Selim*'s death. See p. 172.

(5) Prince of *Marash*] *Marash* is a City set down in the modern Mapps by the same name. But the Family of *Sheb Suvar ogli*, though of no great account at Court, boasts even at this day the antiquity of its nobility among the *Asiaticks*.

(6) *Rhodes*] The Metropolis of the Island of *Rhodes* was thus call'd also by the Antients. The *Turkish* name is *Rodos*. Out of her Ruins arose *Malta*, an instance of the divine love to *Christians* not being yet extinct, and hateful to the *Othman* Power, which daily threatens it with destruction, by reason of the deplorable discord of *Christian* Princes.

rounds it with ſtrong works. In this ſiege are us'd, all the arts of aſſaulting and defending, hitherto invented by the wit of man. The *Turks* bravely attack, and the *Chriſtians* no leſs gallantly repel their aſſaults. Thus they fought five whole months with ſuch fury, that the diſpute ſeem'd to be for the Empire of the World, and not for a ſingle City. At length, the *Chriſtians*, exhauſted with continual ſlaughters and watchings, are forc'd on the 3d day of *Sefer* the next year, to ſurrender to *Soliman* that renowned City, famous under the *Grecian* and *Roman* Empires, fruitleſsly attempted by his Great Grandfather *Mahomet*. The taking of *Rhodes* was follow'd by the voluntary ſurrender of the leſſer neighbouring Iſlands *Iskankioy* (7) and *Butrum*. H. 929. A. C. 1522.

V. During the ſiege of *Rhodes*, *Chairbeg* (8) Governor of *Egypt* happen'd to die and leave an immenſe treaſure behind him. On news of his death, as if the great ſupport of the *Othman* dominion was remov'd, *Jumun-Kiaſhuf* (9) ſtirs up the *Egyptians*, tells them an opportunity preſented itſelf to recover their former liberty, and ſhake off their ſervile yoke, and by his ſpeeches and preſents, perſwades the whole Nation unanimouſly to reſolve upon an attempt to free themſelves from ſlavery. But *Soliman* hearing of theſe tranſactions, ſends his Vizir *Muſtapha Paſha* with five ſhips into *Egypt*, to ſtifle this flame before it broke out. *Muſtapha Paſha* with a fair wind arrives in a few days at *Eskenderie* †, ſurpriſes the rebels unprepar'd, who did not think their deſigns ſo much as known to the Sultan, and entirely routing and diſperſing them, reſtores the *Othman* dominion in *Egypt* to its former luſtre. But as it took him up ſome time to collect *Chairbeg*'s riches and ſettle the *Egyptian* affairs, *Soliman*, to whom the whole adminiſtration of the Government, ſeem'd too great a burden, made *Ibrahim Aga*, from a common Janizary of the ninth Company (10), Prime Vizir. He ſends *Muſtapha* into *Egypt*, and creates *Ibrahim* Vizir. † *Alexandria.*

VI. The news of this promotion, could not but grieve *Muſtapha*, who imagin'd his late victory deſerv'd rather an addition of honour *Muſtapha* rebels in *Egypt*, and is vanquiſh'd.

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Iskankioy*] The Iſland Κῶ, corruptly by the *Greeks* εἰς τὴν Κῶ, as *Iſtambol* from εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Indeed *Mich. Langius* does not like thoſe derivations, who ſeems to follow ſuch as are more ſtrange than true, deriving for inſtance *Iſtambol* from *Iſtadibol*, *i. e.* a City abounding with Artificers. But I ſhould adviſe him not to mix with what he calls the *Græcobarbarous* Idiom, more *Barbariſms*, whilſt he gives Etymologies in a Tongue unknown to him. For ſuch a proceeding plainly diſcovers his ignorance in both the *Turkiſh* and *Græcian* Learning which he boaſts of.

(8) *Chairbeg*] A *Perſian* by extraction, Governor of *Damaſcus* under Sultan *Gauri*, whoſe revolt to *Selim* has been related.

(9) *Jumun-Kiaſhuf*] An *Arabian Sheikh*, who in *Selim*'s time ſubmitted to the *Othman* Empire.

(10) Ninth Company] There are reckon'd one hundred and eleven Companies of Janizaries, call'd by the *Turks*, *Oda*, (or Chambers.) The eleventh *Oda* has the precedence, the firſt *Oda* holds the ſecond rank, and the one hundred and eleventh *Oda* the third, the reſt follow in order.

than ſuch an affront. But reflecting that he was ſervant to a Prince whoſe will was a law, he craftily conceals in his breaſt the wound he had receiv'd, and as if he was entirely ignorant of what had paſs'd at *Rhodes*, ſends the Emperor an account of his proceedings, requeſting him to give him as a reward for all his paſt ſervices the Government of *Egypt*. *Soliman* readily grants his petition, telling him, he reſerv'd nothing in the whole *Egyptian* Kingdom but the royal name and coin: every thing elſe he moſt willingly gave him. *Muſtapha* being inveſted with this power, and inrich'd with *Chairbeg*'s treaſures and the effects of thoſe he had conquer'd or proſcrib'd, aſpires to ſovereignty, and reſolves to ſubject all *Egypt* to his dominion. But the old axiom, nothing violent is laſting, was verified by his example. For whilſt he was meditating on theſe things, he imparted his deſign to *Mehemmed Effendi* ſcribe of the *Divan* (11), and created him Vizir, as thinking him a man of ſenſe and his particular friend. *Mehemmed*, either out of conſcience or deteſting his Lord's wicked purpoſe, reſolves to revenge treachery with treachery, and free *Egypt* from a tyranny, and the Sultan from a rebel. To this end, he endeavours with ſome accomplices to kill *Muſtapha* as he was bathing. But *Muſtapha* being inform'd of the danger by a faithful ſervant, eſcapes out of their hands through a back door, and flies with a few attendants to the *Sheikh* of the *Arabians* (12). There, by means of great promiſes, he eaſily aſſembles a numerous band of *Arabs*, and wages war with the ſcribe, whom for his unexperience he deſpiſes. Mean while the ſcribe had acquainted *Soliman* with what was done, and for a reward of his ſervice obtain'd the government of *Egypt*. Wherefore to ſhow his fidelity to the Emperor, he incourages the ſoldiers with a large diſtribution of money, and leading them againſt his former Lord and the Sultan's enemy, vanquiſhes him after a bloody battle, and cuts off his head.

Ibrahim marries *Soliman*'s Siſter.

VII. *Muſtapha*'s treachery, and *Ibrahim*'s virtues, caus'd *Soliman* not to repent of committing the higheſt office in the *Othman* Empire to a man of ſo mean a condition. Wherefore to render him the more

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Scribe of the *Divan*] *Divan Kiatibi*. Such an Officer belongs to every Paſha, and his buſineſs is to recite with a clear voice the complaints deliver'd in writing to the Paſha's *Divan*. They have now a more honorable name, *Divan Effendi*. For *Effendi* is an appellation of the learned. The Prime Vizir has two, who are not call'd *Kiatib*, Scribes, but *Teskiereji Effendi*, that is, Secretaries. *Teſkiere evvel*, vulgarly, *biuyuk Tekiereji*, the firſt or great Secretary, and *Teſkiere ſani* or *Kiuchuk Teskiereji*, the ſecond or minor Secretary. When the Vizir hears cauſes in the *Divan*, the firſt ſtands at his right hand, the ſecond at his left, and read with a loud voice by turns the Petitions or *Arzubal* receiv'd from the *Chauſh Baſhi*. The ſame alſo is done by them in the *Galibe Divan* before the Sultan. If the Sultan orders any thing to be done, they write it in a little book, which is afterwards confirm'd by the Vizir's hand, who uſually does it with the word *Sah*. But the Sultan's confirmation is by a *Chatiſherif*, or the Holy Character, of which I have before ſpoken.

(12) *Sheikh* of the *Arabians*] His Name is not extant.

faithful,

faithful, he gives him, in the year 930, his ſiſter (13) in marriage, and whilſt he is gracing the nuptials with his preſence, the joy is doubled by the Sultana being deliver'd of a ſon, who was nam'd *Selim* (14). H. 930. A. C. 1523.

VIII. Shortly after *Ibrahim Paſha*, with ſome gallies, departs to ſettle the *Egyptian* affairs; but being beat back by tempeſtuous weather he anchors in the *Propontis* under the Iſland *Kyzyl Adaſi* (15), about ſeventeen miles from *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon *Soliman* in his royal barge, inſtantly goes to the Vizir, views the fleet, and advising with him about the publick affairs, returns to *Conſtantinople*. *Ibrahim* having got a fair wind, ſails out of the *Hellеſpont*, but in the *Archipelago* meets with a ſecond ſtorm, which forces him into *Rhodes* with the loſs of ſome gallies. Finding the ſea not propitious to him, he leaves there his ſhips, and goes by land to *Aleppo*, and from thence to *Cairo*. At his arrival, he compoſes the troubled ſtate of the Kingdom, diſperſes by his authority the rebels, and taking the Ring-leaders, the ſons of *Omer* and *Becaar* (16), orders them to be hang'd, and their eſtates confiſcated. As among their effects was found a great quantity of Gold, he coins Ducats like thoſe of *Venice*, but of leſs value by thirty Aſpers, which to this day have retain'd the name of *Ibrahimi* (17). After this, he deliver'd

He is ſent into *Egypt*, where he coins falſe Ducats. A. C. 1525.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) His ſiſter] The *Turkiſh* Sultans are wont to marry their Siſters and Daughters to the Paſhas and Vizirs, though not of a fit age, nay ſometimes whilſt in their Cradles, of whom as Husbands they are to take care, and be at the charge of their Education; nor can they eſpouſe another wife, before their marriage with the Sultana be conſummated. When the Sultana is of mature age, ſhe is conducted with great pomp and magnificence from the *Serai*, with her portion to her Husband's Palace. But if, in the mean time, her Husband happens to die, or loſe his head by the Sultan's command, ſhe is inſtantly betroth'd to another Paſha, who ſucceeds to the right and charges of the former. *Murad* IV's Siſter had four Husbands in one year, and not one of the Marriages appears to have been conſummated. For as ſoon as the Nuptials were celebrated according to cuſtom, they were accus'd of ſome crime, and put to death by the Emperor, and their Riches with all their effects aſſign'd indeed to the Sultana as his lawful Wife, but in reality brought into the royal Treaſury.

(14) *Selim*] This is he who ſucceeded his Father *Soliman* in the Empire, famous for the memorable defeat of his fleet by the *Chriſtians* near *Naupactus*†, and for his drunkenneſs.

† *Lepanto.*

(15) *Kyzyl Adaſi*] *Red Iſland*, ſo call'd from a Red Stone which is found there. It lies in the *Propontis* ſeventeen *Italian* Miles from *Conſtantinople*. This is the greateſt of thoſe Iſlands which lie together, and are by the *Turks* call'd by the ſame name *Kyſyl adaler*‖. Here are three Monaſteries, viz. of the *Holy Trinity*, the *Virgin Mary*, and *St. George*, fill'd with *Greek* Monks. The leaſt of theſe Iſlands breeds ſuch quantities of Hares ſpotted with various colours, which they call *Moſcovitici*, that when they come out of their holes to feed, they fill the whole Iſland like ſheep. 'Tis ſaid, there were great numbers of them in the time of the *Chriſtian* Emperors. To hunt them is prohibited.

‖ *ler* is a plural termination.

(16) of *Omer* and *Becaar*] They ſeem to have been of the *Egyptian* Race of *Chercaſſians**, who, after Sultan *Gauri*, had eſcap'd *Selim*'s cruelty.

(17) *Ibrahimi*] It is a coin reſembling the *Venetian* Gold Ducats, but

H. 931. A. C. 1524. delivers up the Government to *Soliman Paſha*, and in the year 931, on the 30th of *Sheban*, arrives at *Conſtantinople*.

Soliman vanquiſhes the King of *Hungary*. H. 931. A. C. 1525.

IX. The next year, *Soliman* reſumes the war he had hitherto defer'd, againſt the *Hungarians*, and with a great army, on the 30th day of *Reſeb*, comes to *Belgrade*. He orders a bridge to be thrown over the *Savus*, and leads his forces over it into the plain of *Serem*. From hence he moves towards *Buda*, and in his march takes *Suliuk* and *Oſek*, under the conduct of *Balybeg*, and commands the bridge to be demoliſh'd, which afforded near *Oſek* a paſſage over the *Dravus*. Soon after, the *Hungarians* with the ſame deſign come thither; but when they ſee the bridge already deſtroy'd, they firſt wonder, and then are ſeiz'd with fear, becauſe it was a demonſtration to them, that the *Turks* had paſs'd the river, with a reſolution to conquer or die. *Ladoſh* (18) himſelf, King of *Hungary*, to prevent the devaſtation of his country, marches with incredible ſpeed, and incamps in ſight of the *Turkiſh* army in a place call'd *Mohaj*. The next day, being the 2ad of *Ziulkade*, both armies ingage, and ſo fiercely contend the whole day, that it was long difficult to perceive, to which ſide victory would incline. At length, about Sun-ſet, the *Hungarians* take to flight, the King himſelf falls in battle, and the reſt with the whole camp become a prey to the *Othmans*.

and takes *Buda*.

X. After this victory, *Soliman* marches directly to *Buda*, Metropolis of *Hungary*, which, diſpirited by the late ſlaughter, is eaſily taken the 3d of *Ziulhije*, and the next day *Peſthe* oppoſite to *Buda* on the other ſide of the *Danube*, voluntarily ſurrenders to the Conqueror. Whilſt *Soliman* is thus employ'd, ſome *Hungarians*, who had eſcap'd out of the late battle, ſet upon and kill ſome *Turks* diſpers'd over the fields in queſt of prey. Upon this, *Soliman* immediately runs a bridge over the *Danube*, and orders his troops, divided into parties, to go in ſearch of theſe *Hungarians*. His commands are ſo diligently executed, that ſome are ſlain, and others brought priſoners to *Soliman*, who by that means clear'd the country of theſe enemies. Winter approaching, he leads back his army, and by the way takes by aſſault *Baj* on the *Danube*, with *Segedin* and *Titeli* on the *Tiſa*. Having thus laid waſte the neighbouring

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by the confeſſion of the *Turks* themſelves lighter by thirty Aſpers. So great a quantity was coin'd at *Cairo*, as would ſuffice to pay two years tribute of *Egypt*. They are ſtill to be met with at *Conſtantinople* and other Places, though moſt of them have been melted down by the Emperor's order.

(18) *Ladoſh*] This is *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary*, whom the *Chriſtian* Writers do not deny to have receiv'd at *Mohatur* a great overthrow from the *Turks*, and to have periſh'd in the battle. †

† Our Author is miſtaken in the name of this Prince, for *Lewis* II. was then King of *Hungary*. But of this more largely in the additional Notes.

regions,

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regions, he enters *Conſtantinople* in triumph, the 3d of *Muharrem*, in the year 933, with his victorious army laden with captives and ſpoils. H. 933. A. C. 1526.

XI. Whilſt theſe things paſs'd in *Europe*, a falſe report of his death is ſpread in the fartheſt parts of *Aſia*. Whereupon many free-booters in the country of *Zuulcadir* (19) miſerably harraſs all the neighbouring Provinces with clandeſtine depredations and open incurſions. *Piri Paſha* indeed, Governor of *Adana*, bravely reſiſts, kills many, and puniſhes all he takes with death, but for want of a ſufficient force cannot quell the rebellion which had taken ſo deep root. *Calenderbeg* (20) Son of *Haji Bectaſh* the Arch Rebel, rejected all offers, nor would be perſwaded to ſubmit. To conquer his obſtinacy, *Soliman* ſends the Vizir *Ibrahim Paſha* with a good army into *Aſia*, who finds *Calenderbeg* near *Kaiſarie* (for ſo far had he penetrated) and bravely attacking him, after a bloody conflict, the plunderers valiantly fighting for their lives, defeats him, and kills above thirty thouſand of his men. Suppreſſes the rebellious *Aſiaticks*.

XII. The next year is begun with religious diſturbances. For there appears at *Conſtantinople* one *Cabyzi Ajem*, a man of great learning among the *Turks*, and well vers'd in the law and ſeveral ſciences, who not only privately in ſchools, but publickly in his diſcourſes in the *Jami*, endeavours to perſwade the people, that the *Chriſtian* doctrine ſtands upon a firmer foundation than the *Mahometan*. This ſo unexpected an opinion of a man of his wiſdom could not but offend the ears as well of his brethren as of the common people. Wherefore when they find he is not to be brought by private admonitions to a recantation, they ſeize and carry him before the Mufti. There he not only openly and freely repeats what he had inculcated on the people, but ſtrives to demonſtrate, by a compariſon with the *Koran* and other ſtrong arguments, the excellency of the *Chriſtian* law and precepts of the Goſpel. He is again admoniſh'd to forſake his opinions, and not fully by a foul defection from the law, a life hitherto adorn'd with A *Turk* for maintaining the Goſpel is put to death. H. 934. A. C. 1527.

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(19) *Zuulcadir*] It is falſely writ by the *Chriſtians Dulcadir*, by the change of the *Turkiſh* letter *Zal* into *Dal*, [the firſt being diſtinguiſh'd from the laſt by only having a point over it.] It is alſo call'd by another name among the *Turks*, *Alaideulet Memlekieti*, the Province of *Alaideulet*. This country is bounded on one ſide by the *Cappadocian* Mountains, and people, call'd by *Cedrenus*, *Manzures*: towards *Syria* by *Aleppo* antiently *Beræa* (with a ſingle ρ Βυροία to diſtinguiſh it from Βυρροία in *Macedonia*) towards *Perſia* by *Armenia Major*, towards the *Othman* Dominions at that time by *Amaſia*, towards *Caramania* by *Adana*, which ſome think to be the antient *Tharſus*, tho' at preſent *Terſus* and *Adana* are diſtinguiſh'd by the *Turks*.

(20) *Calenderbeg*] Who *Haji Bectaſh* was, is unknown. But his ſon *Calenderus*, the *Turks* own, brought the *Othman* affairs to ſuch extremities, that the Empire ſeem'd to be on the brink of deſtruction. For all *Turky* in *Aſia* as far as *Cæſaria* being ſubdu'd at once by him, acknowledg'd him for Sovereign. But the blind fortune of the *Othmans* was able to reduce to nothing even the moſt ſharp-ſighted Warriors. Wonderful are the ſecret works of Providence!

ſanctity. But diſregarding both exhortations and threats, he is at laſt by the Emperor's command puniſh'd with the loſs of his head, and an edict publiſh'd, that whoever ſhould, even by way of diſpute, prefer the Doctrine of *Chriſt* before *Mahomet*'s, ſhould undergo the ſame penalty.

All the *Albanians* at *Conſtantinople* put to death.

XIII. About the ſame time, ſome thieves at *Conſtantinople* break into a *Chriſtian* Merchant's houſe near *Selim*'s Temple (21), murder the Merchant, and not only carry away his money, but alſo his goods.

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(21) *Selim*'s Temple] It ſtands on the Mount which hangs over the Gate *Phenar*. Elegance and Art ſo ſhines in the whole Structure, that to deſcribe its proportions would be acceptable to the ſons of *Dædalus*. It is ſquare, and built with ſquare Stones, the length of the ſide being fifty, and the height ſeventy, Cubits. The Roof contains the ſame ſpace with the Floor. No Arches are drawn from the Angles, but the roundneſs of the Roof riſes from the walls themſelves, ſo that from the point of the Angles is drawn the Arch of a Circle almoſt Horizontal. In this whole ſpacious building, (which is wonderful) there is not they ſay any iron to be found. The Architect was a *Greek* of *Conſtantinople*, who beſides this built another and more ſtately Temple at *Adrianople*, in which are nine hundred and ninety nine Windows. The Sultan indeed had order'd a thouſand, but the Architect deſignedly left out one Window. Wherefore when the Windows were counted at the finiſhing of the building, and found to be one leſs than the imperial Mandate, the Sultan in a paſſion commanded the Architect to be hang'd. He petitions for leave to plead his cauſe, affirming he would readily undergo his ſentence, if the Sultan after hearing his reaſons ſhould think fit to condemn him. His requeſt being granted, "If (ſays he) O Emperor, "there can be found in the whole "World an Architect, who, without infringing the Rules of Architecture, can open another window "in this building, let me be put to "death, but if not, then am I worthy your royal clemency. Beſides "there was alſo another reaſon "why I left out the thouſandth window, becauſe a thouſand may appear to the illiterate vulgar to be "of leſs value than nine hundred "ninety nine." The Architect was not deceiv'd in his expectation, for he was not only pardon'd his omiſſion, but royally rewarded. In this magnificent building, among other remarkable things are four Towers, where the *Ezan* is cried, ſeemingly too ſmall for their height, of which two only can be ſeen at a diſtance from the four great roads: but by very high winds they were obſerv'd by their ſhadow to be moved. Two very lofty and thick Porphyry-Pillars adorn the larger Portico before the Gate, in both which is ſeen a white line from the top to the bottom, as if drawn with a Pencil. How this ſhould happen is ſcarce to be conceiv'd, unleſs both Pillars are ſuppos'd to be cut out of the ſame piece of Porphyry, and ſo the white line which lay conceal'd in the middle appear'd on both Superficies. There were alſo other Pillars in this Portico plac'd oppoſite to one another, which agree in variety of colours. They were brought from *Troas*, whoſe Ruins afforded large Materials for other *Turkiſh* Buildings. The *Jami* I am ſpeaking of, is a ſquare of ſeventy Cubits. For that is the figure the *Turks* are fond of in their Structures. But the Porticoes are generally Quadrangular. When the work was finiſh'd, the Architect being ask'd by the Sultan, in which Building he had ſhown moſt ingenuity and art, is ſaid to reply, that he had employ'd on that of *Adrianople*, moſt expence, but moſt skill on that of *Conſtantinople*.

Next morning complaint is brought to the Emperor's *Divan*, and upon a ſtrict enquiry it appears, that the fact was committed by ſome *Albanians*. Whereupon the Sultan, ſince the names of the actors were not diſcover'd, and the circumſtances of the thing ſhow'd many more guilty, orders that the *Albanians*, whether inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, or ſojourners only on account of trade, ſhould be all ſearch'd after to a man, and put to death for this ſingle murder (22).

XIV. At the ſame time this butchery was acting at *Conſtantinople*, a great quarrel aroſe at *Aleppo* between the eccleſiaſtical Judges, *Molla* and *Kaziler* †, which the Citizens deſpairing to ſee an end of, enter into a conſpiracy, and kill them in the very *Jami* at the morning prayers.

Inhabitants of *Aleppo* puniſh'd for killing the Judges.

† See Note p. 31.

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(22) ſingle murder] The Sultan ſeems here to have acted more than tyrannically, though not againſt the laws. For it is ordain'd among the *Turks*, that if one thouſand and one men tumultuouſly kill any perſon, and refuſe to confeſs who gave the firſt blow, all the thouſand and one are to die. I ſaw an inſtance of this in my time. At *Conſtantinople* under *Caimecam Muſtapha Paſha* (who being taken near *Gran* by the *Poles*, was after ſeven years releas'd by my Father's interceſſion) a *Greek* Countryman coming from *Kiuchuk Chekmoje*, a Town about two hours diſtant from *Conſtantinople* in the road to *Adrianople*, meets eleven Janizaries, who firſt reprimand him for ſlowly alighting from his horſe, and then ſtab him to death with knives. Other *Turks* accidentally riding that way, (for the Janizaries had been on foot to drink wine) when they ſee what they are about, civilly admoniſh them not to commit ſuch an heinous and illegal deed upon a ſubject of the Emperor. The Janizaries alſo give them abuſive language, who, when they come to *Conſtantinople* inform the *Caimecam* of what they had ſeen. For the *Turks* believe, that as God will reward them hereafter for giving a voluntary evidence, ſo he that refuſes his evidence againſt his conſcience will be in the ſame ſtate with the guilty perſon himſelf. The wife alſo of the murder'd man exhibited a Petition, imploring Juſtice of the Judge with a torrent of tears. Wherefore the Janizaries are ſought for and taken drunk in the village. Next morning, when they are come to themſelves, and underſtand they had kill'd a man, and many witneſſes had appear'd againſt them, ignorant of the laws, they reſolve, when the Judge ſhould ask which of them kill'd the *Raya* or Subject, to anſwer they did it all together, not imagining it poſſible, that for one man, eſpecially a *Chriſtian*, eleven Muſulmans and Janizaries would be put to death. Being therefore brought into the *Divan*, they confeſs they all kill'd the man, and when ask'd which of them ſtabb'd him firſt, reply, they know not, but remember that they all at once ſtruck at him with their knives. Upon hearing the cauſe, the Judge ſtates the caſe in this manner to the Mufti: "If eleven Muſulmans without juſt cauſe kill a "*Gauri* ‖, that is, a Subject of the "Emperor and pays tribute, what is "to be done?" The Mufti ſubſcribes with his own hand, "Though "the Muſulmans ſhould be one thou"ſand and one, let them all die!" The Judge reading the Mufti's ſentence, and pitying ſo many Janizaries, asks the woman whether ſhe would accept of a price (call'd *Diet*) for the blood of her Husband, and offers two thouſand Crowns for the life of the eleven Janizaries. The poor woman anſwers, that by the Sultan's auſpicious Government and clemency ſhe wants not money, but juſtice; and with wonderful firmneſs refuſes the offer. So when ſhe could not be perſwaded to accept the ranſom, the eleven Janizaries were put to death.

‖ Infidel.

prayers. *Soliman* being inform'd of this deed, inſtantly orders ſome Paſhas to lead thither an army, and put all the inhabitants guilty and not guilty to death. But *Ibrahim Paſha* the Vizir interceeded, and by his great intereſt with the Emperor, obtain'd that the chief men and heads of the conſpiracy only, ſhould be puniſh'd with various kinds of death, and the common people, as being rather led on by the conſpirators than guilty of the crime, baniſh'd to *Rhodes.*

Soliman's expedition into *Hungary* prevented by rains.

H. 935.
A. C. 1528.

XV. Whilſt *Soliman* is thus employ'd in domeſtick affairs, about the end of the year, *Alaman Kiraly* (23) takes *Buda* from *John* King of *Hungary* (24), and ſtrengthens it with new works and a *German* garriſon. Whereupon *Soliman*, to revenge the injury done to a King under his protection, in the year 935 marches from *Conſtantinople* with a great army, and near *Filibe* on a ſpacious plain incamps with deſign to aſſemble his *European* forces. In this place the Mufti, without juſt reaſon, incurs his diſpleaſure, and with reproaches is depriv'd of his office: but the innocence of the holy man, which the Emperor could not ſee, is made appear by heaven itſelf! For God diſpleas'd (25) at this

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(23) *Alaman Kiraly*] The name formerly given by the *Turks* to the Emperor of *Germany*. But now he is honour'd in their letters with the appellation of *Nemche* Kiraly*, King of the *Germans*, and *Chaſar**, *Cæſar*, and alſo *Ruma imperaduri.*

(24) King of *Hungary*] How treacherouſly *Soliman* executed the Guardianſhip committed to him, and how baniſhing the Queen with her Son *Lebeſſus* or *Logoſh Sanjac*, he quickly ſeiz'd the Kingdom of *Hungary*, is too well known to be much inlarg'd upon. However it will not be improper for underſtanding the heinouſneſs of this treachery, to inſert the following narrative as related by the *Turks* themſelves. For when *Soliman* was invited after King *John's* death to deliver *Buda* from the *Germans*, the young King with the Noblemen of *Hungary*, came in a ſubmiſſive manner to meet him in his camp. The Sultan ordering an entertainment to be prepar'd, bid the Vizir invite the Nobles, and his Son *Selim* to invite the young King to dinner, ſaying, "Remember, Son, I am "thy natural and his *Achreti*, (*i. e.* "of the other World or) Spiritual "Father. And if I die, do you "cheriſh him as your Brother, and "readily take care of him and his "Kingdom." The entertainment being ended, the Vizir ſays to the Sultan, "Behold! moſt potent Em"peror, it is this day in thy power "to ſubject the whole Kingdom of "*Hungary* by one ſtroke of the "Sword." The Sultan was highly offended with this Speech of the Vizir's, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo, and ſaid, "Certainly the *Othman* "Empire is not to be inlarg'd, by "treachery, deceit, perfidiouſneſs, "nor by the unjuſt ſlaughter of "Princes ſuing for Protection, but "by arms and open war; but that "*Hungary* will one day be ſubject to "the *Othman* dominion, what is now "tranſacting, ſufficiently preſages." The *Turks* are naturally ſo fruitful of fine ſayings, but withal ſo barren of good actions, that it is a common ſaying among them, *Othmanly eyu ſoiler, ſena iſhler*, the *Othmans* ſay well, but do ill.

(25) Diſpleas'd] Of all the Nations in the World, the *Turks* are the moſt given to ſuperſtition. Neither is there any where greater veneration paid to Eccleſiaſticks than among the *Turks*. The Emperor may indeed baniſh but not put them to death, and of all the Sultans, *Murad* IV. alone commanded a Mufti to be pounded to death in a marble Mortar,

this proceeding, ſends that very day as a puniſhment for it, ſuch terrible and laſting rains, that they not only ſwept away like a deluge, Coffers (26) full of treaſure, but even endanger'd the lives of the Sultan and his whole army †.

XVI. All the warlike proviſions being thus deſtroy'd by the violence of the torrents, he is forc'd to defer his intended expedition. However he appoints his troops to winter in the neighboring provinces, that the army might be the readier in the Spring. Mean while, he makes new collections of money and freſh preparations, greater than what were deſtroy'd. Every thing being ready, he marches the next year with ſpeed through *Hungary* to *Buda*, and incamping under the very walls, cloſely beſieges the City. Having fortified his camp, he batters the walls with his Engines, and by continual aſſaults ſo weakens the garriſon, which made a brave defenſe, that they promis'd to ſurrender on condition of having their arms and lives. *Soliman* accepts of the terms, and aſſures them of ſafety, provided they deliver up the Town: but whilſt they are going out, they are revil'd by the *Turks*, and eſpecially by the Janizaries, for their cowardice. A certain *German* ſoldier not bearing theſe affronts, "I do not command (ſays he) but am "commanded," and with that, draws his ſword and ſtabs the Janizary who was reproaching him. The reſt cry out, the articles are violated and againſt the Sultan's order, (ſay the *Turks* in excuſe of their countrymen) ſuddenly fall upon the *Germans*, and before the tumult could be appeas'd, put them all to the ſword (27). Thus whilſt for the ſake

He retakes *Buda* from the *Germans*.

H. 936.

A. C. 1529.

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Mortar, ſaying, "The Heads, "whoſe dignity exempts them from "the Sword, ought to be ſtruck with "the Peſtle." An inſtance of this ſuperſtition happen'd in the laſt *Turkiſh* war with the Emperor of *Germany* under *Ahmed* II. which I ſaw with my own eyes, and have related in the ſecond part of my Hiſtory.

(26) Coffers] The *Turks* uſually place the money carried with them in an expedition, in the Tents of the Sultan and Vizir in the middle of the camp, and guard it with *Spahiler* or Horſe, who relieve one another. The Coffers are often empty, but however they are always expos'd, cover'd with Arras, to the view of the ſoldiers, leaſt they ſhould think the Emperor without money, and ſo behave the more remiſsly in a battle. This in my opinion is certainly a great means to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage. Beſides the *Turks* ſay, that the Enemies, in the Reign of *Egre Sultan Mehemmed*, penetrating into the camp as far as the Treaſure, the *Othman* ſoldiers flew thither to its aſſiſtance, and from vanquiſh'd became victors.

(27) to the ſword] We frequently read in Hiſtory, the *Turks* upon a ſurrender either kill'd or made Priſoners the Garriſons contrary to the Capitulations confirm'd by oath, as happen'd to the Garriſons of *Conſtantinople*, *Buda*, *Babylon*. The *Turks*, ſince they can't deny it, becauſe they are convicted of it by living proofs, yet, that they may not ſeem to have been guilty of breach of Faith, affirm nothing was ever done by them

† It muſt be obſerv'd, that in this and many other places where mention is made of any miraculous interpoſition of Heaven, the Author gives it in the words of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians, whom he faithfully copies.

sake of preserving their liberty and effects they surrender so strong a City to the *Turks*, they lose both with their lives.

Moldavia made a fief of the Empire.

XVII. Whilst *Soliman* after the taking of the City, staid in the neighbourhood some days to refresh his army, *Teutuk Lagotheta* (28) is sent in ambassy by *Bogdan* (29) Prince of *Moldavia* to the *Turkish* camp. Having

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contrary to Agreements without just cause. For this people, most subtle in devising excuses, presently recur to the *Koran*, where they easily find a hundred passages to their purpose. Thus, for instance, suppose a Garrison surrenders on condition of being dismiss'd without arms, if but a knife or ax be found upon any one soldier, they cry out the articles are violated by the *Christians*, and use them as they depart with great severity. And if it be agreed, that the Garrison shall march out with their arms, cannon, and baggage, and they happen to do it a little beyond the appointed hour, or give a rough answer, or afford any the least frivolous pretence, the *Turks* make no conscience to break the capitulation, and violate their oath. Hence it is more adviseable and better for *Christians* to perish within their walls by famine, fire, and sword, than experience the treachery and barbarousness of the *Turks*.

(28) *Lagotheta*] He was of the noblest *Moldavian* race, from which even at this day five hundred families derived their original, though many of them are so fallen from their former splendor, that they look more like Husbandmen than Nobles. He understood the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Polish*, and other neighbouring Tongues to perfection, was well skill'd in politicks, and of great wisdom. Being sent ambassador to the *Othman* Court, and admitted to the Prime Vizir, he is said to bid his servant bring his shoes with him into the audience-room; whereupon the Vizir asking him whether he was afraid they would be stole, he replies, from those who desire all things, every thing must be kept; and when the Vizir tells him he need not fear, for the *Turks* were now friends not enemies: I wish, (says he) they were as well friends to the head as to the feet! He built at *Constantinople* a Palace call'd at this day *Bogdan Serai*, the *Moldavian* Palace, in which is a Church dedicated to St. *Nicolas*.

(29) *Bogdan*] This is a *Sclavonic* name taken from the *Greek* Θεοδωρος. The *Moldavians* gave him the sirname of *Negrul* or *Black*. The *Moldavian* annals say, that *Stephanus the Great*, after a Reign of forty seven years, five months, after so many exploits, and famous victories obtain'd over the *Turks*, *Hungarians*, *Polanders*, *Walachians*, and *Tartars*, when his body, not mind, was now impair'd, and death approach'd, sent for his only son and heir of the Kingdom with his Nobles, and spoke to them in the following manner: "O "*Bogdan* my son, and you my fellow soldiers, witnesses and partakers of so many and great triumphs! See, I have now finish'd "the course of my frail nature, and "have before my eyes the setting of "my life like the evening shadows. "I shall not return through the "Paths, which as a mortal, as a "worm I have trod; Death is at "hand, but that is not the object of "my fear, (for I know I have been "hastening to the Grave from my "birth) the danger which hangs "over this Kingdom from that "fierce and roaring lion, *Soliman*, "who so greedily thirsts after *Christian* Blood, is what disturbs my "thoughts, and creates my dread. "He has already swallow'd up by "stratagem and craft, almost the "whole Kingdom of *Hungary*, subdu'd by his arms and bound to "him by the *Mahometan* superstition *Crimæa* and the hitherto unconquer'd Tribes of the *Tartars*, "overrun our *Bessarabia*, impos'd "his yoke on the *Walachians*, who, "though our enemies, are however "*Christians*; in short, he holds in "subjection

Having obtain'd an audience, he declares his miſſion from the *Moldavian* Prince and People, to offer the Sultan both *Moldavia's* (30) upon honorable

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" ſubjection the nobleſt part of *Europe* and *Aſia* with the imperial " Seat; nor content with this, he " extends his threatening arms on " every ſide, ſets no bounds to his " power, and thirſt of dominion. " Since things are thus, can it be " thought that after the ſurmounting " of ſo many obſtacles, he will with- " hold his hands from *Moldavia* ſur- " rounded with his Provinces? It is " rather to be fear'd, that when " *Hungary* is entirely ſubdued, his " whole forces will be turn'd againſt " us. For he is prompted to a mor- " tal hatred of the *Chriſtians*, not " only by his deprav'd nature, but " by the laws of the *Koran*. If I " look round on my neighbours, I " am forc'd to deplore the wretched " ſtate of our affairs: The *Polanders* " I know to be inconſtant, and une- " qual to the *Turkiſh* fury. The " *Hungarians* already groan under " his yoke. The *Germans*, it is my " opinion, are ſo embroil'd at home, " that they will not or cannot, look " abroad. Since this is the melan- " choly ſituation of all around us, I " think it adviſeable, of ſo many " evils to chuſe the leaſt. For to " ſpread the ſails againſt ſtorms and " tempeſts, is the part of a mad, " not prudent pilot. Our forces " are inferior, aſſiſtance uncertain " and remote, the danger certain " and nigh. Wherefore I judge it " better to ſoften this raging wild " Beaſt than rouze him by the noiſe " of arms. For I do not ſee our ca- " lamitous ſtate can be any other way " reliev'd, than by moderating the " unquenchable flame of his fury " with the dew of ſubmiſſion. And " therefore in theſe my laſt hours I " exhort you, as a Father and Bro- " ther, if with the preſervation of " your civil and eccleſiaſtical laws, " you can obtain peace on honorable " conditions in the name of a fief, " that you chuſe rather to try his " clemency than his ſword. But if " he preſcribes other conditions, it " will be better for all to periſh by " the hand of the enemy, than be " idle ſpectators of the profanation of " your Religion, and calamity of " your Country. But the God of " your Fathers, who alone performs " wonders, will one day pour upon " you his inexhauſted Grace, and " mov'd by the tears of his ſervants, " raiſe up one who will reſtore you " or your poſterity to their former " power and liberty." *Bogdan*, in obedience to his Father's laſt will, ſends in the ſeventh year of his Reign Ambaſſadors to *Soliman*, and firſt ſubjects to him *Moldavia* by the name of a fief; but now alas! there is no man of letters, I believe, who is a ſtranger to the miſerable tyranny *Moldavia* groans under.

(30) Both *Moldavia's*] *Moldavia* is divided into *Upper* and *Lower*. Lower *Moldavia* extends from *Jaſſy*, the preſent ſeat of the Prince eaſtward to *Bender* by the *Moldavians* call'd *Tigine*. On the South it is bounded by *Galatium* on the *Danube*, on the Weſt, by *Walachia* and the *Tranſylvanian* Mountains, which run along the road call'd *Tetras*, and belong to the *Moldavians*, and not to the *Tranſylvanians*. Upper *Moldavia* begins at *Jaſſy*, and has the ſame eaſtern bounds with the Lower, but on the weſt is bounded by the *Tranſylvanian* or *Carpatian Alps* to *Snyatin* a Town of *Podolia*. To Lower *Moldavia* belong'd formerly all *Beſſarabia*, call'd by the *Tartars Bujak*, where lie the two famous Cities *Akkierman*, (by *Herodotus* nam'd Ὀφίη, by the *Moldavians*, *Czetate Alba*, by the *Romans*, *Julia Alba*, noted for *Ovid's* baniſhment, near which at this day is ſeen a Lake call'd by the *Moldavians*, *Lacul Ovidului*, *Ovid's* Lake) and *Kilia*, antiently *Licoſtomon*, near the mouth of the *Danube*, where it falls into the *Black Sea*. Beſides theſe in Lower *Moldavia*, which is now ſubject to the *Moldavian* Prince, were the fortified Towns, *Tigine* on the Banks of the *Tyras* [or *Nieſter*] (ſhamefully ſurrender'd

table terms, particularly that their Religion should be preserv'd entire, and the country be subject as a fief to the Empire. Nothing could be more grateful to *Soliman*, whose more weighty affairs hinder'd him from turning his arms that way, and yet the defeats receiv'd from the *Moldavians*, oblig'd him to have always an eye to their motions. Wherefore readily accepting the offer'd terms, he confirms them with his own hand, and delivers him the instruments to be carried to his Prince at *Soczava* (31). Afterwards in his return from that year's expedition he is met near *Septia* a City of *Servia* by *Bogdan* with some of his Barons, and presented by him with four thousand gold Crowns (32), forty bred Mares, and twenty four Falcons, with a promise

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surrender'd to the *Turks* by *Hera* a certain *Moldavian* Prince, and by them call'd *Bender*.) *Giergina* on the *Siretus* near *Galatowe*, in whose Ruins were found some antient coins. That it was built by the Emperor *Trajan*, appears from a marble-stone dug up in my time, with this inscription, *Imp. Cæsari, Divi filio Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Ger. Dacico, Pont. Max. Fol. R. dift.* XVI. *Imp.* VI. *Cons.* VII. PP. *Calpurnio, Publio, Marco, C. Aurelio Ruso.* There was also on the river *Milkow*, which parts *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, another Town commonly call'd *Craczuna*, with the *Taiphalia* of *Herodotus* on the river *Prut* not far from *Falczy*, whose largeness is demonstrated by the ruins discover'd in my time: *Soroca*, formerly *Olchionia*, on the *Tyras*, surrounded with a flint-wall, and *Jassy* on the river *Babluy* four miles from *Hierasus*. Upper *Moldavia* contains the strong Towns of *Soczava*, formerly the Metropolis, *Nemcza*, *Romanus*, and *Chotinus*. The inhabitants of Upper *Moldavia* are noted for their riches, of Lower, for their warlike bravery, and both after all their losses for their hospitality. But these things, if God grant me life and leisure, will be more largely explain'd in a separate Treatise.

(31) *Soczava*] Before the *Turks* turn'd their arms against *Europe*, this was the Metropolis of the principality and seat of the Prince, but after the taking of *Constantinople*, the *Moldavian* Despots, that they might be nearer the *Turkish* borders, removed their Throne to *Jassy*. It is indeed no large City, but very strong by nature and art, and still remarkable for the ruins of the Palace. Besides other things worthy of note, whereas there has not been found in any Town of *Moldavia*, any inscription or mark, by which the names of the founders or antiquity of the place can be discover'd, in the walls of this alone appear ingrav'd on a very large stone seven Towers cover'd with an Imperial Crown upheld by two Lions. Moreover in the foundations of the Towers is an Area on which are seen two scaly fishes with their heads plac'd across downwards, and their tails in the same manner upwards, and under them the head of a wild Bull holding between his horns a star of six rays. This is also a sign that these things were not plac'd here by the first founder, because the head of a wild Bull began long after to be us'd in the arms of the Province. But of this more fully elsewhere.

(32) Crowns] The *Turks* themselves dare not deny that *Moldavia* was subjected to them by the name of a fief. The instruments of the Sultans, by which they ratified the conditions, were formerly kept among the publick records of *Moldavia*, but in my time by the command or permission of *John Sobiesky* King of *Poland*, in his invasion of *Moldavia* in the year 1686, they were taken, and I know not whether very wisely, burnt publickly at *Jassy*, with this Declaration to the crowds of people, "Behold! "his

miſe to ſend yearly to *Conſtantinople* the like preſent in token of his feudal ſubjection. The Emperor admits the Prince to his preſence, and again ratifies the conditions made with the Ambaſſador, gives him a larger *Cucca* (33) adorn'd with jewels, with a *Chylaat fahire* †, and a horſe with all the imperial trappings. Moreover he orders four of his guard (34) to attend him, which cuſtom is ſtill obſerv'd whenever the Prince of *Moldavia* comes to the *Othman* Court.

† A Robe. vid. p. 159.

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"his royal Majeſty thus frees you "from the *Turkiſh* yoke." Among other numberleſs privileges granted them according to the times, the chief was that wherein it was expreſsly ſaid, that *Moldavia* voluntarily and without compulſion offer'd her obedience to the *Turkiſh* Empire, and therefore it is the Sultan's will that all her Churches, religious Rites, and Laws be untouch'd, and nothing more requir'd of the Prince, but that he ſend every year by faithful *Boyars* to the reſplendent Port four thouſand gold Crowns, forty bred Mares, twenty four Falcons, in the name of *Piſhkieſh*, a preſent or gift. The *Turks* punctually kept their agreement to the time of *Peter Rares*, in whoſe adminiſtration, they requir'd both an *Haraj* or greater ſum in the name of a Tribute, and that he ſhould once at leaſt in three years ſalute the Threſhold of the ſublime Port. *Peter* boldly refus'd this; and that the ſeeds of future calamities might not be ſown in his name, he reſign'd the Diadem and retir'd to *Cziczeu*, a City of *Tranſylvania*, where he purchas'd no inconſiderable eſtate with his money. But *Stephanus Junior*, choſen in his room, either out of ambition, or with the conſent of the Senate, promis'd to pay annually twelve thouſand Crowns; and in time, out of too great thirſt of rule, his ſucceſſors ſo increas'd the ſum, that tho' at preſent there are paid in to the imperial Treaſury ſixty thouſand Crowns by way of Tribute, and twenty four thouſand as an *Eaſter* Offering, many more are exacted by theſe inſatiable Blood-ſuckers. For as there is no law againſt avarice, ſo there is no end of the *Turkiſh* demands and extortions. All depends on the will of the Prime Vizir, and to make any remonſtrance againſt his pleaſure, is deem'd Capital.

(33) *Cucca*] It is a Creſt or ornament of the head made of Oſtrich Feathers, with which are adorn'd only the *Bulukagalari* (or Tribunes,) the *Segbanbaſhi* or chief officer of the *Segban*, who is next to the *Aga* of the Janizaries, and the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. A leſſer *Cucca* is worn by the *Sohaki*. The *Cucca* is ſet on the heads of the new Princes of *Moldavia* or *Walachia* by *Mubzur Aga*, (who is about the Vizir, Keeper of his Court, and his Deputy over the whole Militia of Janizaries,) after which a robe is put on them by the Vizir himſelf, becauſe they may be ſaid to belong to the *Ojac* or Regiments of Janizaries.

(34) of his guard] Neither Paſha's nor Vizirs in general are created with ſo much pomp as the Princes of *Moldavia*. For Paſha's as ſoon as the Prime Vizir has put on their robe, immediately go home, and next day receive the Patents of their Paſhalate, with the Standard call'd *Sanjak*. But the Prince of *Moldavia*, after receiving the robe from the Prime Vizir in token of his power, is conducted with the whole *Divan* and with the acclamations of the *Chauſhi** to the Patriarchal Church, where the *Conſtantinopolitan* Patriarch, attended with all the Clergy and *Greek* Nobles, waits to conſecrate the Prince. When the Prince comes into the Court of the Church, he alights from his horſe on a ſquare ſtone plac'd there for that purpoſe, all the *Chauſhi** repeating with a loud voice the Prayer uſual on theſe occaſions. "May the moſt "high God grant a life of many "years to our Emperor and our "Prince *Effendi* (a corruption of the "*Greek*

Besieges *Vienna.* 1529.

XVIII. About the end of the year *Soliman* leaving the Cities he had taken, goes with all his forces to *Vienna*, and lays close siege to the

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(*Greek* ἀθάνατος) and may he long "live in prosperity!" Then the Prince's whole company, honorably wait in the Court and Street his coming out. Mean while, the Singing-men, the moment the Prince treads the Threshold of the Church, sing Ἄξιον ἐστίν, a Hymn compos'd in honour of the *Virgin Mary*; which ended, the Prince ascends a Throne appointed for the Princes of *Moldavia*. The Deacon in reciting τῶν ἐκτενῶν mentions the new Prince in this manner: "We pray also for our most pious, "most serene, and most excellent "Lord *N. N.* may he be crown'd with "strength, victory, stability, health "and security, and may the Lord "our God farther co-operate with "him, guide him in all things, and "put all his adversaries under his "feet." After this, the Patriarch in his sacred vestments, with four or more Metropolitans goes up to the Altar. The Prince also approaches the royal entrance to the Altar, where, being sign'd by the Patriarch with both hands in the face with the sign of the Cross, he lays his head on the Holy Table, which the Patriarch covers with an *Homopher*, and reciting the Prayers that were us'd at the inauguration of the Orthodox Emperors, anoints his forehead with the holy oil. After these ceremonies the Prince returns to his Throne, the singers chanting this *Polychronion*: "Grant, O Lord God, long life "to our most pious, most serene, "and most excellent Lord *N. N.* "Lord of all *Moldovlachia*, preserve "him, O Lord, many years." Then the Patriarch also goes from the Altar to his Throne, and commanding silence, preaches a short Sermon to the Prince, which is follow'd by the foregoing *Polychronion*, pronounc'd by the Patriarch. At last, when all is over, the Patriarch and Prince, accompanied with all the People, go together out of the Church. In the Porch, the Prince after kissing the Patriarch's right-hand, and being confirm'd by him with hand and voice and the sign of the Cross, he mounts his horse, and with the same Parade as he came, returns home, and dismisses his attendants with presents. After some days *Mir alem Aga*, the Emperor's Standard-bearer, brings the larger Standard call'd *Sanjak*, with the imperial Musick, *Tublebans*, from the Palace to the Prince's house, and is met in the Porch by the Prince. There he takes the Standard, and kissing it, according to custom, with his mouth and forehead, delivers it into the Prince's hands. The Prince upon receiving it, kisses it in the same manner, and gives it to his Standard-bearer to keep, saying, "May the "blessed and great God grant the "most potent, most gracious, and "most just Emperor long life, and "multiply his days." Then the Prince gives the *Mir alem Aga*, a robe, and dismisses him with the usual present. After spending a few days in dispatching his affairs with the Court, he is conducted to the great *Divan*, where the Prime Vizir with the rest of *Kubbe Vizirleri* and the two *Cadiuleskiers* stand at the Emperor's right-hand. *Capuchilar* Kiet*budaſi* or chief Porter, arrays the Prince with a Robe in the Porch of *Arzodaſi* or Audience-room, *Mubzur Aga* bids him put the *Cucca* on his head, and cloaths all the Prince's Barons, which are usually twenty eight, with new Robes. Thus adorn'd and supported on each side with two *Capujibaſhi's*, with the chief Porter before and the Court-Interpreter behind, (who is commonly a *Chriſtian Greek*) he enters the Audience-room with four of his Barons. At the entrance he bows his head to the ground three times, and stands upright when he comes to the middle of the room, which is not extraordinary large. Then the Emperor from the Throne (*Tachi*) turning to the Vizir, bids him tell him, "Since his faithfulness and sincerity "has reach'd the ears of my Majesty, "I gra-

the City. He assaults it forty days with various engines, blows up part of the walls with mines, and commands his men to enter the breaches.

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"I graciously confer on him as a reward the Principality of *Moldavia*. It is also his duty not to fail in his fidelity and services for the future. Let him protect and defend the Provinces under his subjection, and dread to commit any thing against or beyond my Mandate." To this the Prince replies, "I vow on my life and head to lay out my whole endeavours in the service of my most just and gracious Emperor, so long as he does not withdraw the aspect of his clemency and Majesty from the Nothingness of his Servant," (*i. e.* from his unprofitable Servant.) Upon these words the Prince goes out of the room, accompanied as when he enter'd, and mounting an imperial horse at the inner Gate of the Court, salutes the prime and other Vizirs as they depart, who answer with a nod; after which, the Barons and his whole Company leading the way, he returns home. When he is about to go to his Principality, whether the Sultan be at *Constantinople* or *Adrianople*, one of the Court-officers as *Sylahdar aga*, *Chocadar aga*, *Miriachoraga*, *Capujilar Kiebaiasi*, or one of the Senior *Capujibashi's*, is order'd to set him on the Throne. There are also two *Peiki* or imperial Guards, equipp'd with their Gold and Silver ornaments, and two *Akkiullahla*, (so call'd from the white Hat they usually wear,) and also as many *Capuji's* and *Chaushi's* as the Prince pleases. The office of these is, when the Prince mounts or alights from his horse, to make the usual acclamation *alkysh*, and in the towns and villages to take care of necessaries for the Prince's Court. The *Chaushi* go a little before him on foot, when he enters and leaves any town, and the *Capuji's* hold his stirrup when he mounts or dismounts. In this manner he is attended till he arrives to the place of his residence, where all the great men both civil and military to the number of two thousand come to meet him. To all these the Prince gives his hand on horseback to be kiss'd, and having inquir'd of their health bids them all remount. Then the Barons attending him on each side according to their rank, and the military officers going before, he enters the City with a slow pace for the greater pomp, and first unlights in the Court of the Cathedral Church dedicated to St. *Nicolas*. The Metropolitan, accompanied with three Bishops (for *Moldavia* counts so many Sees, whereas *Walachia* has but two) and the rest of the Clergy, offers the Cross and Holy Gospels for the Prince to kiss, the imperial Musick being silent during this ceremony. When the Prince comes into the Church, after the ἄξιον ἐστὶ is sung, and τὰς ἐντευξεις read, he approaches the Altar, and when Prayers are over, is anointed by the Metropolitan with the Holy Chrysm, unless he has been inaugurated by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, which happens when he is promoted to his dignity at *Adrianople*, or the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is absent. For he is, and is call'd, God's anointed. When all is over and the *Polycbronion* shouted, he repairs with the sound of Trumpets and Drums and other Musick to his Palace, and alighting at the *Divan*, stands before the Throne plac'd there, whilst the Barons who came with him take their places. Then the Officer appointed by the Emperor to attend him, gives the *Chatisherif* or imperial Mandate to *Divan Effendisi* or the scribe of the Court, who is a *Turk*, to be read. He rehearses the Mandate with a loud voice, sentence by sentence, which the great *Postelnik* interprets to the rest in their native Tongue. After that, the imperial officer arrays the Prince with the robe he had brought with him, and helps him with his right hand into the Throne, at which moment the guns are fir'd, and the *Chaushi* make the usual acclamation. The Prince in his turn gives the officer a Robe lin'd with Ermin, but to the scribe only a plain *Caftan*. Thus

breaches. But as often as they attempt it, they are repuls'd by the valour of the garriſon, though not without loſs. The *Chriſtians* would at laſt have been forc'd to yield to the conquering ſword of the *Turks*, if they had not by fraudulent promiſes (35) deceiv'd the politick *Soliman* himſelf. For by an ambaſſador they ſend the ſalutation *Eyuvallah* to the Emperor, own themſelves exhauſted, and promiſe to be his ſubjects and vaſſals. On this account they deſire a truce, and prolong, under various pretences, the confirmation of the articles of the treaty; by which means they not only gain time to recover their ſtrength, but alſo incourage the drooping garriſon with hopes of the autumnal rains. Neither were they diſappointed. For whilſt they are yet buſied in treating, the rains at the uſual ſeaſon ſuddenly fall in ſuch abundance, that the beſieg'd are inſpir'd with hopes of preſerving the City, and the *Turks* ſo annoy'd, that they deſpair of ſucceſs, and are even in danger of their lives. Many of them periſh'd with cold and moiſture, and more whilſt they faintly aſſault, are deſtroy'd by the ſword and fire of the enemy.

He raiſes the ſiege.

XIX. Theſe continual calamities and daily ſlaughters, induce *Soliman* to raiſe the ſiege (36). But there was need of no leſs wiſdom to

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eſtabliſh'd in his Throne, the Prince admits the Nobles to kiſs his hand, and after ſaluting them, retires to his inner room. Then follows a ſplendid entertainment for the imperial officer, who is conducted to it by ſome of the Prince's Courtiers. This ſuffices to ſhow the manner of confirming the Princes of *Moldavia*; they who deſire a larger account may conſult my Hiſtory of *Moldavia*, which, I hope, will ſhortly be publiſh'd.

(35) promiſes] The *Turks* ſay that the *Chriſtian* Garriſon of *Vienna* perceiving the City could be no longer defended, ſent to the Sultan to deſire a ten days ceſſation of arms, in which ſpace they could inform their Sovereign of their circumſtances: for they were bound by their military oath not to open their Gates to Strangers without his privity: but if in that time they ſhould receive no anſwer, they were freed from their oath, and would even againſt his will ſurrender the City to the Sultan, intreating moreover that he would not any more batter St. *Stephen*'s Tower, nor deſtroy ſo famous and beautiful a ſtructure to no purpoſe. The Sultan yielded to their intreaties; and to give his own men alſo ſome reſpite, granted a Truce both for the City and Tower, on condition that they would inſtead of the Croſs, place a Creſcent on the top of it. This indeed the beſieg'd did do, but deferr'd the promis'd ſurrender.

(36) raiſe the ſiege] The more fabulous *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians ſay, When *Soliman* was ſtill intent on the ſiege, but doubtful of the good ſucceſs, *Mahomet* appear'd to him in a dream, and told him, unleſs he appeas'd the angry Deity with the ſacrifice of forty thouſand rams, he would not eſcape the danger. *Soliman* interpreting the dream in a literal ſenſe, ſent to the Vizir to get forty thouſand rams. The Vizir ſaid it was impoſſible, for in ſo long a ſiege all the proviſions were very near conſum'd, and the remainder would hardly ſuffice to ſatisfy the hunger of the ſoldiers. Beſides the neighbouring country was ſo ravag'd by the incurſions of the *Tartars*, that there was no hope left of collecting a new ſtock of proviſions. Whereupon *Soliman* aſſembled all his officers and told them his dream. They anſwer'd, the Letter of this

to lead back his army with safety. The enemy's forces were at hand, to whom after so great losses in the siege he saw himself inferior. On the other hand, his army was incumber'd with great numbers of captives of both sexes, which the *Tartars* and other light horse had taken as far as the bridge of *Iskender* (37). To keep these seem'd dangerous, to send them away imprudent. Wherefore, to be freed from this apprehension, he orders all the captives without distinction of age or sex to be kill'd in his presence. After which he unexpectedly commands the Tents to be unpitch'd, and so before his retreat was known to the enemies, he leads the remains of his forces to *Buda*. There he allows the army some days of refreshment, and receiving of the *Vayvod* (38) of *Transylvania* (whom they call *Dav*) the tenths of the tribute he had rais'd in *Hungary*, confirms him in his principality.

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divine revelation was not to be consider'd, but the internal sense, namely, the forty thousand rams signified forty thousand Musulmans, who under the walls of the City should suffer Martyrdom for their faith. When the Sultan came to *Buda*, he review'd his army, and found just that number missing, and for that reason bound his successors by the strictest curse (*Lanet*,) never to besiege *Vienna* for the future. This story, though it wants the testimony of their more accurate Historians, is so firmly believed by all, that they do not scruple publickly to affirm, that their defeat at *Vienna* in our time was entirely owing to their treading the ground forbidden them by *Soliman*'s curse, and thereby raising God's indignation against them, who is the avenger of broken vows.

(37) *Iskender*] This is certainly the bridge of *Ratisbon*, which for its famousness and the elegance of the building, the *Tartars* seem to denote by the name of *Alexander*. I can't forbear here to say something of the Geographical studies of the *Tartars*. It seems a paradox, but however is founded on truth and experience, that no nation in the world has so good a knowledge of all places as the *Tartarian Hords*. Geographical Books or Maps they have none, but by tradition alone have an exact knowledge of all narrow Passages, Mountains, Valleys, Towns, Villages, Rivers, Bridges, Fords, Lakes, and talk of them to one another so often, though they never saw them, till they are firmly implanted in their memories. Hence very justly the *Turks* have made it a proverb: *Tatarun kylavuzu yoktur*. The *Tartars* never want a guide, and yet never lose their way. Where they have once been they know the way as perfectly as if they were natives of the place, and hand it down so exactly to their posterity, that even they after several ages will readily find it. In this they employ their whole study, as in a point, without which they could never successfully perform their daily incursions. But to all places they give particular names, according to their fancy, so that Strangers, though ever so well acquainted with the countries, cannot without great difficulty understand what they mean by their imaginary names.

(38) *Vayvod*] This is a *Sclavonic* word, signifying the General of an army, but by the *Poles* given to Governors of Provinces. As *Vayvod Kiowsky*, *Posnianesky*, &c. The *Turks* are wont to call by this name the *Christian* Princes of *Moldavia*, *Wallachia* and *Transylvania*, who are Tributary to them, especially in the imperial Mandates and Letters of the Prime Vizir, as *Bogdan Vayvodesi*, *Iflak* or *Erdel Vayvodesi*, though formerly the Princes of *Moldavia* were, as appears in Historians, call'd *Tekkiur* of Kings. Sometimes this Title is given to Governors of large Cities, which are not Bashas, as *Pera Vaivodesi*, *Galata Vaivodesi*, &c.

He circumcises his three sons.

XX. From thence returning to *Constantinople*, he celebrates with great pomp in the month *Rebiul evvel* the circumcision of his three sons, *Mustafa*, *Mahomet*, and *Selim*. At this solemnity are present not only all the Vizirs and Bashas of the Empire, but also the Ambassadors of the *Christian* Princes, and of *Persia*, with great and valuable presents, so that almost the whole world seem'd to be got together to congratulate the Sultan. The ceremony being over, a very splendid entertainment is made for all that are present. The Emperor bids *Mufti Kiemal Pasha zade* and *Caziulasker Kadri Chelebi** † Preceptor. sit (39) on his right hand, and on his left, his *Hoje*† and *Muhi eiledin Chelebi**. A second table is prepar'd for the Vizirs, a third for the Bashas, a fourth for *Ulema* or the learned in the law. The rest of the civil and military officers were order'd to place themselves according to their rank; a separate table is provided for foreign ambassadors, among whom at that time the *Persian* and *German* had the precedency (40).

Buda besieg'd by *Firindos*: ‡ *Bohemians*.

XXI. Whilst *Soliman* was thus employ'd, a sudden message from *Hungary* disturb'd his mirth. For *Firindos* (41) King of the ‡ *Chekhi* thinking the Emperor taken up with these affairs, unexpectedly besieges *Buda*, and for twenty seven days attacks it with all his forces. But the Janizaries, who were left there in garrison, bravely repulse the assaults of the enemies, and give *Mehemed beg*, son of *Yahia Pasha*, Governor of *Semendria*, time to come to their relief with the forces of his *Sanjak*. But as he found himself too weak, he endeavour'd to elude the enemies strength by stratagem. To this end, he spreads a report among the captives taken from the bordering countries, that he was *Ibrahim Pasha* the Prime Vizir, and that the Emperor was coming in three or four days with the rest of the army; and with this information, he suffers them to make their escape. Whereupon they instantly repair to the Camp of the *Christians*, acquaint them with what they had been told, and by their report strike them with

Annotations.

(39) sit] This Custom began to be disus'd under *Soliman*, and at present the Emperors suffer no man to sit with them at table.

(40) Precedency] A Letter of a certain learned person to *Dav. Chytraus*, inserted by *Lonicerus* in his *Turkish* History, largely describes the diversions us'd on this occasion, particularly the conflict between a Lion and a Hog, which I shall relate in his words. "Wild beasts (says he) "also fought. Among the rest, a "Hog brought from the *German* "Ambassador's house so battled it "with three lions one after another, "that he not only withstood their "attacks in a notable manner, but "if he had not been tied by one leg, "would perhaps have got the better and put them to flight. Most "certainly he receiv'd the last in "such a manner with his snout, that "he tumbled him over and over, and "made him shamefully run away, to "the great confusion of the *Turks*, "who compar'd themselves to Lions, "and the *Christians*, especially the "*Germans*, to Hogs."

(41) *Firindos*] *Ferdinand* at that time King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. But the *Turks*, as I think, have heedlessly put the Emperor's name for that of one of his Generals.

such

ſuch terror, that leaving their great ordnance and other warlike proviſions, they raiſe the ſiege, and think themſelves very happy in being able to avoid the danger by a ſeaſonable retreat (42).

Who is defeated by *Soliman*.

XXII. Thus *Buda* was reliev'd, but that the King of the *Chekhi** ſhould retire without loſs was grievous to *Soliman*. Wherefore to be reveng'd for this affront, in the year 938, he invades his Kingdom with a great army, and where-ever his ſcouts could penetrate, deſtroys all with fire and ſword. On news of this invaſion, *Firindos* ſpeedily comes with no inconſiderable army, gives him battle, and for ſome time bravely maintains the fight. But at laſt he yields to the *Othman* valour, his army is routed and forc'd to fly for refuge from their purſuers to *Gradiſca* his ſeat (43). This victory not only added to the *Turkiſh* Empire above twenty Cities and Towns, but ſo terrified the petty Princes of the *Sclavi* and *Hirvati* (44), that they voluntarily ſubmitted to *Soliman*.

H. 938.
A. C. 1531.

The *Italians* are driven out of the *Morea*.

XXIII. Mean while, before this victory had reſtor'd peace to the *Othman* borders, the *Italians* (45), aſſiſted by other Princes, with a great fleet, invade the *Morea*, take the City *Coron*, and miſerably lay waſte the whole Province. *Soliman* being inform'd of it, made *Mehemed beg* Governor of *Semendria*, Son of *Yahia Paſha*, (who had lately given him a great inſtance of his prudence and bravery in relieving *Buda*) *Beglerbeg* of the *Morea*, and giving him good part of the army, bids him go and wreſt the City out of the enemy's hands, and with Muſulman reſolution (46) attack and be reveng'd of them.

H. 940.
A. C. 1533.

ANNOTATIONS.

(42) retreat] Some *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians, but of little authority, ſay the City was reliev'd in another manner. For the *Turks* being beat from one of the Bulwarks, a *Jewiſh* woman, when ſhe ſees the *Germans* crowding through one of the Gates, tears off the ſleeve of her ſhift, and lighting it, fires off a great gun, call'd by the *Turks*, *Baliemez*, which made ſuch a ſlaughter, that the *Turks* had time to recover themſelves, repulſe the enemies, aſtoniſh'd with this unexpected blow, and renew their defenſe. The Gun was afterwards by *Soliman* bound with a ſilver-circle like a Crown, and the *Jewiſh* woman with her whole family declar'd free from tribute.

(43) his ſeat] *Gradiſca*, is a noted Town of *Sclavonia*, which is erroneouſly, I think, ſaid by the *Turks* to be *Ferdinand*'s Seat, ſince no *Chriſtian* Writer mentions *Ferdinand*'s reſiding there any time.

(44) *Sclavi* and *Hirvati*] Theſe are one and the ſame Nation. However the *Turks* call them *Hirvati*, who are under the dominion of the *Chriſtians*, as on the other hand, thoſe who have embrac'd *Mahumetiſm* or obey the *Othman* power, are commonly nam'd *Serbadly*, that is, *Of the Borders*.

(45) *Italians*] In *Turkiſh*, *Ifreni*, by which name are generally call'd the people of any part of *Italy*.

(46) Muſulman reſolution] that is, reſolve to conquer or die. Both which they deem pleaſing to God, for they believe the dead perſon to be crown'd with Martyrdom, and the Conqueror to be rewarded for his labour in the next World. Hence this ſaying is often in their mouth, when they are going upon an expedition, *ya ſacbt*, *ya bacbt*, either a Throne or Happineſs. *Ya Shebid*, *ya Gazi*, a Martyr or Conqueror.

Mehemed

Mehemed beg ſpurr'd on by thirſt of glory and the words of his Prince, ſwiftly marches to the place where he was ſent, beſieges the City on a ſudden, and preſſes it ſo cloſely, that at length the *Italians*, deſpairing of relief, ſurrender their City on condition of having their lives, and are forc'd to march out of the *Morea*.

Olame ſtirs up *Soliman* againſt the *Perſians*. H. 940. A. C. 1533.

XXIV. Two years after, *Olame* Prince of *Azerbejan*, hitherto ſubject to the *Perſian*, flies for refuge to *Soliman*, puts himſelf under his protection, and ſuggeſts the means of taking *Babylon*. Perſwaded by his reaſons, *Soliman* ſends *Ibrahim Paſha* with forces into *Aſia*, with orders to winter about *Aleppo*, and execute his deſigns the next ſpring. *Ibrahim* did as he was commanded, but finding more obſtacles in taking *Babylon* than he expected, turns to *Van* (47), which he takes in the firſt aſſault.

Chairuddin is made *Soliman*'s Admiral.

† *Algiers.*

XXV. Mean time *Chairuddin Paſha*, who had hitherto exerciſ'd pyracy in the *White-Sea*, offers his ſervice to *Soliman*, and petitions to be Admiral of a fleet, that he might ſubject to the *Othman* dominion the Kindoms of *Tunez* and *Jezair* †. The Emperor bids him repair to *Aleppo*, and conſult with *Ibrahim Paſha* (48), for that he had committed the affair to his direction. Whereupon *Chairuddin* departs, and having perſwaded the Vizir that the conqueſt of theſe Kingdoms was both eaſy and advantagious to the *Othman* power, is made Admiral of the fleet.

Some *Perſian* Princes turn to *Soliman*. H. 941. A. C. 1534.

XXVI. The next year, *Soliman* marches with the reſt of the army to the aſſiſtance of his Vizir *Ibrahim Paſha*, who was ſtill about *Van*. Departing from thence, when he was come to *Tigris* (49), Sultan *Muzaffer* King of *Gilan* (50) with ten thouſand men, and *Mehemed chan*, join with him againſt *Perſia*, and promiſe to be his future Vaſſals. *Soliman* incouraging them with the promiſe of his favour, leads his army to *Sultanie*, and after a ſhort refreſhment, marches towards *Bagdad* about the beginning of winter.

He takes *Bagdad*, and hangs his *Defterdar*.

XXVII. *Tekkiele Mehemed chan* (51) Governor of *Bagdad* under

ANNOTATIONS.

(47) *Van*] a City belonging to the *Turks* on the borders of *Perſia*, too well known to be deſerib'd.

(48) with *Ibrahim*] The *Turkiſh* Sultans, if they have granted the Prime Vizir full power to adminiſter the affairs of the Empire, eſpecially when he is ſent into any expedition, are wont to tranſact nothing without his privity, and if they do, his authority is immediately believ'd to be ſinking. Hence if the Emperor orders any thing which ſhould be commanded by the Vizir, that common ſaying is inſtantly heard at Court, *Semeri yere urdi*, The Trappings are thrown to the Ground, that is, he is fallen from his honour and dignity.

(49) *Tigris*] formerly *Tauris*, or as others ſay *Perſepolis*, the antient reſidence of the *Perſian* Kings, and Metropolis of the Kingdom.

(50) *Gilan*] formerly *Hyrcania*.

(51) *Tekkiele Mehemed*] A famous *Perſian* General, and Governor of *Bagdad*, by whoſe management *Soliman*'s Vizir and *Defterdar* are ſaid to be corrupted: which danger he eſcap'd merely by the favour of blind fortune.

the King of *Perſia*, being inform'd of this march, and finding himſelf too weak to withſtand the *Othman* forces, abandons the City, leaves the country to the mercy of *Soliman*, and retires with his men farther into *Perſia*. Thus *Soliman* without oppoſition enters the City, and whilſt he is ſpending ſome days in viewing the monuments of the antient Heroes, he takes notice of a place dedicated to *Imam azem* (52), from whence not only the City could be defended from the aſſaults of the enemies, but alſo the inhabitants eaſily reſtrain'd, ſhould they endeavour a change. This place he immediately orders to be ſtrongly fortified, well ſtor'd, and garriſon'd with Janizaries. After this, having leiſure, he carefully examines the *Defterdar's* † accounts, and finding he had not only converted to his own uſe ſeveral bags of money, but prompted by avarice, had alſo betray'd his deſigns to the *Perſians*, orders him, accus'd of High-Treaſon, to be hang'd. The *Defterdar* being brought to the gallows (53), asks for pen, ink, and paper, ſaying he had ſome matters to impart to the Emperor before he died. Pen and paper being brought him, he writes a letter to *Soliman*, acquainting him, that *Ibrahim Paſha* the Prime Vizir was alſo guilty, and brib'd by the *Perſians* to make an attempt upon the Emperor's life. This letter, though at firſt it was ſuppreſs'd (54) by the Sultan, was the cauſe of that famous and prudent Vizir's loſing, ſhortly after, his life.

† Treaſurer.

XXVIII. Whilſt he thus ſtaid at *Babylon*, frequent meſſages come from the borders, that the *Shah* of *Perſia* was marching with a great army to beſiege *Van*. Whereupon he returns without delay to *Tybris*, and entering into the great *Jami* built at the immenſe charge of Sultan *Haſſan*, hears the mention of the names of *Mahomet's* four ſucceſſors (55) with his own by the *Chatyb* (56). Next day he goes and

He deters the *Perſians* from the ſiege of *Van*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(52) *Imam azem*] It is ſuppos'd to be the burial-place of that founder of the ceremonies of the Muſulman Sect, whom they commonly praiſe under this name. His ſucceſſor was *Imam Shafi*, who though not rejected, yet is not ſo much follow'd as the other by the *Turks*.

(53) to the gallows] The Teſtimonies of dying perſons find great credit with the *Turks*. For they believe whatever is confeſs'd in his laſt moments by a man going to die a natural or violent death, to be ſo true, as not only to exceed the evidence of forty witneſſes, but even to remove all doubt, though the whole World ſhould be of a contrary opinion. Hence it is no wonder, *Soliman* ſhould credit this teſtimony, and though other proofs are wanting, put his Vizir to death.

(54) ſuppreſs'd] It is univerſally known how artfully the *Othmans* can diſſemble, eſpecially in caſes of treaſon, or where their enemies are concern'd. Hence it is a common ſaying among them, *Kieſilmin El, upiulmek gierek*, We ſhould kiſs the hand we can't cut off.

(55) ſucceſſors] See their names p. 135. Of theſe the three firſt are denied by the *Perſians*, and only *Ali* acknowledg'd.

(56) *Chatyb*] A Reader, as in our Churches the Deacon, alſo a Preacher, who from the Pulpit makes mention of the Emperor's name in the prayers.

incamps at *Dergejine*, to be more ready to oppoſe any attempts of the enemies. By this means, he not only deters the *Shah* from the intended ſiege, but ſtrikes him with ſuch terror, that he inſtantly ſends ambaſſadors to the Emperor to ſue for peace. *Soliman* calmly hears them, but diſmiſſes them without an anſwer.

Leads home his forces, and puts *Ibrahim Paſha* to death. H. 942. A. C. 1535.

XXIX. In the year 942, when he ſees nothing more to be fear'd from the *Perſians*, in the month *Sefer* he leads his victorious troops through *Chavit* towards *Derjiſhe*. Here the Chan of *Bytlis* (57) comes to the Emperor's camp, and obtaining an audience, not only promiſes future ſubjection to the *Othman* Empire, but humbly offers the Keys of all the towns in his juriſdiction, and in return is highly honour'd by *Soliman*. After his departure, the Sultan purſues his march through *Amze* towards *Aleppo*, and at length in the month *Rejeb* enters *Conſtantinople* in triumph, but on the third day, orders his formerly belov'd and brave General *Ibrahim Paſha* to be put to death.

Takes *Giurjiſtan* by *Mehemed chan*. H. 943. A. C. 1536.

XXX. The next year ſeem'd to require a freſh expedition into *Perſia*, to prevent the loſs of his late conqueſts. But the length and fatigue of the march diſcouraging the Emperor himſelf, he ſends *Mehemed chan*, who had lately ſubmitted to his dominion, with a good army into *Giurjiſtan* (58), *Mehemed*, to demonſtrate his fidelity and diligence

ANNOTATIONS.

(57) *Bytlis*] A noted town of *Perſia* on the borders of *Georgia*, on a river of the ſame name. This river abounds with a ſort of fiſh call'd *Moruna* the largeſt of the river-kind, which are no where elſe to be found, except in the *Danube* and *Volga*. They never winter in this river, but in the ſpring they go into the ſea, and in autumn return into the *Volga*, nor is there one to be found in winter in the *Caſpian-Sea*. The *Ruſſians*, who are poſſeſs'd of the mouth of the *Volga*, knowing this, ſtop up the paſſages with fences made of reeds, in which they catch innumerable quantities of theſe fiſhes as they are going into the ſea early in the ſpring. But the Inhabitants of *Bytlis*, when they ſaw their yearly prey to be thus kept from them, agreed with the *Ruſſians*, that on the day before *Palm-Sunday*, for the ſake of the *Chriſtians* of *Bytlis*, one fence at leaſt ſhould be open'd, and left ſo for three days. By which means even on the ſecond day great plenty of *Morunas* are taken in the river *Bytlis*. If theſe things be true (as they were told me by an eye witneſs a *Turk*, inhabitant of *Tiflis*) the ſwiftneſs of this fiſh is very wonderful, ſince it can ſwim over the whole *Caſpian-Sea* within twenty four hours.

(58) *Giurjiſtan*] A famous nation inhabiting between *Pontus* and the *Caſpian* Sea, antiently call'd Ἰβηρία, now the *Georgians*. Some believe this name to be given them by their Patron St. *George* after their embracing the *Chriſtian* faith: but the falſeneſs of this opinion is from hence evident, that long before the times of St. *George*, mention is made of the *Georgians* by *Pliny* and *Mela*. They profeſs the *Greek* and Orthodox Religion; but except the art of hunting, throwing the dart, and ſtealing, you will hardly find any other art or ſcience among them. But about three years ſince they are reported to have brought *Greek* Types from *Holland*, printed a Book, containing the praiſes of the *Virgin Mary*, and to apply themſelves now to *Greek* Learning. Their *Chan* or Prince alſo profeſſes Chriſtianity, yet cannot without a previous profeſſion of *Mahometiſm* aſcend the throne: but afterwards obtains the King of *Perſia*'s licence to ſay prayers either in a *Jami* or *Chriſtian*

diligence to the Emperor, inſtantly leads the forces where he is order'd, enters *Georgia*, and by many bloody battles ſo humbles the inhabitants, that ambaſſadors are ſent to the Emperor, and the whole country put in ſubjection to him on certain conditions.

Haſrud beg defeats the *Chriſtians* in *Boſnia*.

XXXI. About the ſame time, a great number of *Moldavians*, *Poles*, *Bohemians*, *Germans*, and *Spaniards*, voluntarily aſſemble, and invading *Boſnia*, beſiege *Sulien*. Theſe *Haſrud beg* the brave Governor of *Boſnia*, without ſtaying for the Emperor's aſſiſtance, ſuddenly attacks, though with a ſmall force, and ſtrikes with ſuch terror, that raiſing the ſiege, they only think of ſaving themſelves by flight. But *Haſrud beg*, not ſatisfied with relieving the City, briskly purſues the Runaways, and overtaking them near *Kilis*, vigorouſly attacks and puts them to rout. After the victory he beſieges *Kilis*, takes it in a few days, and by that means adds to the Empire a whole *Sanjak*, of which he ſends the joyful news to *Conſtantinople*.

Chairuddin lays waſte *Apulia*.

XXXII. Whilſt the Empire is thus inlarg'd in *Aſia*, it is no leſs augmented in the Weſt. For *Chairuddin Paſha* (59) (who as I have ſaid, was by *Soliman* made from a Pyrate, High-Admiral) lays waſte all the *African* Coaſts in the *Mediterranean*, takes the towns which refuſe to ſubmit, and deſtroys the countries with fire and ſword. Having thus ſubdu'd all the ſtrong places of thoſe parts, in his return, he arrives in *Apulia*, takes the town of *Cuſtube*, and overrunning the adjacent country, carries away a great number of captives.

Kiorſis attempted in vain.

XXXIII. About the end of the year, the Emperor equips another fleet, and ſends it into the *Adriatic* ſea under the command of *Luſti*

Annotations.

Chriſtian Church. From whence he may juſtly be ſaid to be amphibious as to his Religion. One of theſe *Chans* was forc'd on ſome account to fly the laſt century into *Ruſſia*, whoſe ſon, being maſter of the ordnance in the army of *Peter the Great*, was taken by the *Sweeds* and died at *Stockholm*. When I came to *Moſco* in 1712, I found him there, and receiv'd from him, tranſlated into *Greek*, the Genealogy of the *Chans* of *Georgia*, intermix'd with ſtrange fables. In this Genealogy *David* King of the *Jews* is made the founder of the race, one of whoſe Grandſons by *Solomon* went from *Judæa* to *Georgia*, and there eſtabliſh'd a Kingdom, and at laſt, I know not how, was baptiz'd by his father in the name of the *Holy Trinity*. Perſwaded of theſe idle ſtories, he boldly affirm'd himſelf to be related in blood to our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* as man. Hence the Reader will eaſily infer the ignorance of this people.

(59) *Chairuddin*] Etymologically, *the Goodneſs and Grace of Faith*: a famous Pyrate, and afterwards High-Admiral of the *Othman* Empire, the terror of the *Chriſtians*, by whom he is commonly call'd *Barbaroſſa*. After him the *Turks* had another famous *Capudan Paſha* under Sultan *Muſtapha*, *Mezomortus*, to whom the *Turkiſh* Navy owes all its reputation. Though, as *Capudan Paſha*, he enjoy'd three horſe tails, with the honour of a Vizir, he never laid aſide his Sea-habit, ſaying, the *Turkiſh* dreſs did not ſuit with ſailors, and fine cloaths were the greateſt reproach to a Mariner. So from his time, all the Admirals and Captains of ſhips have been us'd to wear only the ſea-habit.

Paſha,

Paſha, (*Ibrahim*'s ſucceſſor in the Vizirſhip) and *Chairuddin Capudan Paſha*, to take *Kiorfes*† from the *Venetians*. He himſelf accompanied with his Sons *Muſtapha* and *Mahomet* leads the land forces through *Avlonia* (60), in order to chaſtiſe in the way the *Arnaudi*

† *Corfu. ol. Corcyra.*

ANNOTATIONS.

(60) *Avlonia*] A Country and City of *Albania*, which with *Epirus* is call'd by the *Turks Arnaud*. The Inhabitants of this Country are oblig'd to follow the *Turkiſh* camp with eight thouſand men. Their ſoldiers are very warlike and ſtout, and excel in ſhooting with the Muſket. Formerly they were Orthodox, but now ſo ſunk in *Mahometiſm*, that they exceed the *Turks* themſelves in ſuperſtition. No ſort of literature is cultivated among them, but ſuch of them as apply themſelves to any art, are found to make good progreſs in it. Among the arts, they excel chiefly in two, Aquæducts, and the cure of ruptures. As for the firſt, their skill will not be queſtioned by any that have ſeen the Aquæducts of *Conſtantinople*. And yet without any Mathematical Learning, Precepts, or Inſtruments, they make theſe Aquæducts, meaſure the height of Mountains, diſtance of places, more exactly than a Geometrician can, and judge very well of the quality and quantity of water. When they are ask'd of the grounds of this art, they know not what you mean, nor can explain themſelves. They perfectly cure by a method as rough as ſucceſsful, ruptures in perſons of any age. When I was at *Conſtantinople*, in order to ſee their method more exactly, I caus'd my Secretary, now in years, to be cur'd of this diſtemper in my Palace. Accordingly the price of the cure being agreed upon, they bound the Patient to a pretty broad board with ſwathing bands from his breaſt to his feet; then with a ſort of razor they open'd the *Hypodermium* under the belly, and drawing out the inner coat a hand's breadth, thruſt up in their place the inteſtines that were fallen down into the Cods. After this, they ſow'd up the *Hypodermium* with a coarſe thread, and when they had made a knot in the thread that it might not ſlip out, they cut off with the ſame razor the part of the *Hypodermium* which hung over the ſtitches, and anointing it with Hog's greaſe, burnt it with a hot iron. After the burning they left the wound in the belly ſtill open, and lifting up the legs of the Patient almoſt dead, pour'd the whites of nine new-laid eggs into the wound. This as it bubbled up or work'd in an hour or two, they took for a good ſign of a cure. For if after the third hour no ebullition or working appears, they deem it mortal, becauſe from thence the Patient's weakneſs is apparently ſo great, that he can't poſſibly receive any benefit from the Medicine: though ſcarce one or two in a hundred happen to die; and this they aſcribe rather to weakneſs or age than the inſufficiency of their art. On the ſecond and third day they repeated the infuſion, the Patient being kept all the while on his back, ſo depriv'd of his ſenſes, that he ſeem'd really dead. Neither did they allow him any thing to eat or drink, ſuppoſing it ſufficient, if his tongue was frequently moiſten'd with a drop of water. On the fourth day they laid the patient bound to the board on the floor, where he ſoon recover'd his ſenſes, and complain'd of his pains with a weak voice. They refreſh'd him with a moderate draught of warm water, and the three next days gave him a little broth made of any thing, only taking care not to overload his ſtomach with meat. The ſeventh day the bands were loos'd, and the Patient gently laid in a bed. But that he might not draw up his legs or move himſelf, two of them ſtood by him continually, and repeated the infuſion of whites of eggs every day. From the ninth to the twelth day the wound receiv'd only ſix whites, which as ſoon as infus'd, ſeem'd to bubble up more than before. The fifteenth

Arnaudi, who had rais'd diſturbances. But they would have rendred *Soliman*'s paſſage very difficult, if they had not, by the perſwaſions of their countryman *Aias Paſha*, ſubmitted to the Emperor. *Arnaud*‡ being thus ſubdu'd without blood-ſhed, he ſtay'd almoſt a month to ſettle the affairs of the country, after which he paſſes into the Iſland of which he was now maſter. When his forces were landed, he commands all the towns and villages to be burnt, and cloſely beſieges the City. At length after many conflicts and mutual ſlaughters, the City is reliev'd by the approach of winter, and the Sultan forc'd, the ſea growing tempeſtuous, to retreat and ſail back to *Conſtantinople*.

‡ *Albania.*

XXXIV. In the year 944, an army of twenty thouſand men of different Nations under one *Cohpan* (61), enters through *Serem* (62), the *Othman* borders with deſign to beſiege *Semendria*. But before they got thither, they are met by *Mehemed beg*, the Governor of the City, who ſuddenly attacking them, diſperſes the whole army. Having thus clear'd his territories of the enemies, he ſends his ſon *Arſlan beg* to acquaint the Sultan with what had happen'd, who rewards him for his news with a *Sanjak* (63).

Mehemed beg defeats the *Chriſtians*. H. 944. A. C. 1537.

XXXV. Theſe victories, obtain'd by his Generals, lead the Sultan to greater undertakings. Wherefore the next year he ſends his Admiral *Chairuddin* and *Soliman Paſha* General of the foot, with a conſiderable army into *India* (64), where they diligently execute his orders, and annex the whole Kingdom of *Yemen* (65) with the adjacent Provinces to the *Othman* Empire.

Soliman takes *Yemen* by his Generals. H. 945. A. C. 1538.

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fifteenth day the wound ſcarce held the white of one egg, yet they repeated the infuſion as long as they perceiv'd any to go into the wound and bubble up. When this ceas'd, they laid to the wound a plaiſter of pitch, oil, and other mixtures, and ſuffer'd the Patient to move his feet, and lie on his ſide. Mean while, they conſtantly in the morning before the Patient ſwallow'd any thing gently drew the end of the thread which hung out, to try whether the band might be broken. After the twentieth, thirtieth, or fortieth day, according to the age or ſtrength of the Patient, they drew out the thread, and with another plaiſter made a perfect cure. By this rough method, of which I was an eye-witneſs, theſe illiterate people are us'd to cure ſo difficult a diſtemper.

(61) *Cohpan*] Who he is can hardly be trac'd. That the *Turks* gave the name of *Spaniards* to the *Germans*, was occaſion'd, I believe, from the Emperor *Charles* V. being alſo King of *Spain*.

(62) *Serem*] By this name came to the *Turks* the large Plain, which beyond the *Savus*, lies between *Alba Græca* and *Peterwaradin*, whoſe inhabitants are alſo commonly call'd *Serin ogli*.

(63) *Sanjak*] This was formerly the moſt honorable office among the *Turks*, but ſince *Soliman*'s civil and military regulations, it is the loweſt ſort of Governments, becauſe they that are inveſted with it, have no *Tug* or Horſe-tail, but only a Standard which is call'd *Sanjak*.

(64) *India*] The borders of *Arabia Fælix*. For I have not read that a *Turkiſh* army was ever in *India*.

(65) *Yemen*] A large Kingdom widely extending between the *Perſian* Gulph and Red-Sea, which both an-

and lays waſte *Moldavia.*

XXXVI. Whilſt theſe things were performing by his Generals, he himſelf with numerous forces, as a friend (66), enters *Moldavia*, but contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants, from the *Danube* to *Socznava*, then the Metropolis, deſtroys all with fire and ſword. Moreover pitching his tents near the City, he demands the yearly tribute. The *Moldavians* ſeeing no way to withſtand ſo great a ſtorm, humbly ſue to him for peace, and promiſe the payment of the annual tribute, only they petition that the choice of a Prince may remain in the ſtate (67), and that he may, as before, be inveſted with regal authority

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tient and modern Geographers make part of *Arabia*, and have uſually call'd it *Arabie* Εὐδαίμων or *Felix*. But no *Turkiſh* or *Arabia* Hiſtorian ever reckon'd the Inhabitants of *Yemenia* among the *Arabians*; from whence I may conjecture, that the opinion of the *Europæan* Geographers, though confirm'd by ſo many ages, does not reſt upon firm grounds. For the better underſtanding of this matter, it muſt be obſerv'd all the inhabitants of *Aſia* and *Africa* are divided by the *Arabians* into three Tribes, *Tartars*, *Perſians* and *Zengi*. Under the name of *Tartars* they include all the Nations between the northern Ocean and the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, viz. *Tartars*, *Calmuks*, *Siberians*, *Chineſe*, &c. By *Perſians* they mean the preſent inhabitants of *Perſia*. By the common name of *Zengi*, they call whoever have fix'd their habitations about *Perſia* from the very borders of *China* to the weſtern Ocean, in *Aſia* and *Africa*, the *Indians*, *Arabs*, *Egyptians*, *Abyſſinians*, *Ethiopians*, Inhabitants of *Morocco*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Fez*, the *Moors*, with the *Negroes*, and whatever other barbarous Nations poſſeſs that Tract of land, and derive the name from the ſhort curl'd Hair, with which all theſe Tribes, and theſe alone are diſtinguiſh'd by nature; from whence alſo ſuch Hair was wont to be call'd *Mui zengi* by the *Perſians* who have long Hair, (as for *Aſia Minor*, I have ſhown in a former note, that they commonly reckon'd it part of *Europe* or the *Roman* Empire.) But the name of *Arabians* is aſcrib'd only to thoſe Tribes, which wander in the deſert plains between *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Mecca* and *Bagdad*, the ſame that in the modern Maps are call'd *Arabia Deſerta* and *Petræa*. If therefore in the former ſenſe, the *Europæan* Geographers underſtand by the name of *Arabians*, all the *Zengi*, they muſt deſcribe *Arabia* larger than has been uſually done in Maps and Commentaries. But if in the latter ſenſe, they call thoſe only *Arabians*, who call themſelves by that name, it is evident, that what they term *Arabia Felix* is beyond the bounds of *Arabia*. For their very name *Sarihindi*, *yellow Indians*, which is given them over all the Eaſt, abundantly ſhows the *Yemenians* not to be of *Arabian* but *Indian* extraction. The *Turks* aſſign a twofold reaſon of this appellation. Some think them call'd *Yellow*, on account that their Emperor is wont to wear only yellow garments, which are forbid to private perſons, as the green colour muſt not be worn among the *Turks* by Foreigners. Others imagine, their natural yellow complexion, which appears whitiſh in reſpect of the *Ethiopians* gave birth to this name: in which diſpute to know what is neareſt the truth, is, I think, of no great moment, ſince it ſuffices that theſe are unanimouſly call'd *Indians*, and not *Arabians*, and therefore that *Yemen* alſo is not properly part of *Arabia* but of *India*.

(66) friend] The *Moldavian* Annals ſay, that the *Turks*, on pretenſe of a *Poliſh* expedition, only deſir'd a paſſage of the *Moldavians*, and afterwards turn'd their arms againſt them, and miſerably laid waſte all *Moldavia*.

(67) in the ſtate] The *Turks* for almoſt a whole Century permitted according

authority (68). *Soliman* grants their requeſts, confirms the Prince (69) choſen by them, and reſtoring the captives, aſſembles the Nobles next day, and ſeverely reprimands them, ſaying, that unmindful of the favours receiv'd from the Muſulman Emperors, they had dar'd to draw the ſword againſt ſo powerful an Empire, and not only burnt the Town of *Kili*, but ſlain many Muſulmans. Though for this proceeding all by the *Mahometan* Law were guilty of death, he as a demonſtration of his clemency, was ready to give them life and liberty, on condition they would deliver up the Treaſures of their late Prince (70). As the wretched *Moldavians* could refuſe nothing, the *Defterdar* with a company of Janizaries comes into the town, and plunders both the publick and the Prince's private Treaſury (71), where are found beſides great quantity of money, the diadems of the Princes, ſcepters, croſſes, and holy images adorn'd with precious jewels, which *Soliman* abuſing as he pleas'd, leads back his forces to *Conſtantinople*. In his return, he orders *Kili* (72), deſtroy'd by the *Moldavians*, to be rebuilt,

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according to agreement the *Moldavians* to chuſe their Prince, but in proceſs of time, they began to appoint them Princes themſelves, and uſually out of the Sons of the Princes whom they detain'd as hoſtages at *Conſtantinople*. At length they granted this dignity to ſome *Conſtantinopolitan Greeks*, as forty years ago to *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, thirty years ſince to *Antonius Roſſeta*, and in my time to *Ducas Rameliota*, and *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, Son of the famous *Alexander Maurocordatus* firſt Interpreter of the *Othman Port*, and Collegue of *Rami Mehemed*, *Reis Effendi* at the peace of *Carlowitz*. But of theſe things more largely in the Deſcription of *Moldavia*, which I intend ſhortly to publiſh to the World.

(68) regal authority] This remain'd hitherto inviolate to the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. They fill at pleaſure all the great offices, make new laws, and have full power of life and death over all. For after the Prince is authoriz'd, no complaints of the death of any Perſon, Baron or other, though ever ſo innocent, are heard at the *Othman* Court. But if he has exacted any thing tyrannically and illegally from his Subjects, he is accountable for it.

(69) Prince] The *Moldavian* Hiſtorians call him *Stephanus junior*, natural ſon of *Bogdan*.

(70) late Prince] It is the way of the *Turks* always to fix crimes upon thoſe they intend to puniſh. That the *Moldavians* had burnt *Kili*, 'tis certain, but not with the conſent of the ſtate, but through the revenge of ſome private perſons, neither were theſe ſo much to blame as the *Bujak Tartars*. For a diſpute about felling woods ariſing between thoſe *Tartars*, in conjunction with other new colonies of *Turks* and the Inhabitants of *Kiegeczy*, theſe laſt drove the *Turks* out of the woods, and upon their making a ſecond attempt, put them to flight, and purſuing them to *Kili*, ſet the town on fire. Thus the *Moldavians* formerly contended for their privileges, but now the Tyranny of the *Turks* forces them to ſubmit not only their Timber, but alſo their Heads to the Ax. How long, O Lord, ſhall Wickedneſs reign!

(71) Treaſury] *Hezar fenn*, an accurate *Turkiſh* Hiſtorian, ſays, great riches were found in this Treaſury, and among the reſt he mentions a gold croſs adorn'd with ſo many precious Stones, that no man could pretend to value it. I am told it is ſtill preſerved entire in the imperial Treaſury.

(72) *Kili*] By the *Moldavians* call'd *Cilia*, formerly *Lycoſtomon*; it is ſituated on the largeſt Mouth of the *Danube* on the north, through which

rebuilt, and becauſe there was no woods in thoſe parts, he gives them the timber of a bridge he had run over the *Danube*.

Chairuddin defeats two *Chriſtian* fleets.

XXXVII. Mean while, *Chairuddin*, in his return from the Kingdom of *Temen*, unexpectedly meets near *Crete*, the enemy's fleet conſiſting of three hundred ſhips, and after a fierce and obſtinate battle, gives them a memorable overthrow, takes many of their ſhips and ſinks moſt of the reſt. Next day, he finds another fleet of the enemies conſiſting of ſeveral Nations under the conduct of *Andrevirius* (73) in the port of *Preveſa*, and couragiouſly attacks them. The enemies aided by the advantage of the place, behave with great bravery, and render the victory long doubtful, but at laſt the *Chriſtians*, perceiving themſelves overpower'd, make off in the night, but are forc'd to leave ſome of their ſhips to the *Turkiſh* Admiral as a reward of his pains. Whilſt he is returning after theſe victories to *Conſtantinople* in a too great ſecurity, *Andrevirius*, now out of danger, beſieges *Nova*, and taking it, puts all the *Mahometan* inhabitants to the ſword to appeaſe the diſcontents caus'd by his late defeat. But *Andrevirius*'s conqueſt
H. 946. was ſhort liv'd, for *Chairuddin* the next year attacks *Nova* with a freſh
A. C. 1539. fleet, and recovering the loſt Town, kills in revenge of his countrymen all the *Chriſtians* there, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The *Germans* are repuls'd at *Buda*.

XXXVIII. In the year 947, war is rekindled in *Hungary*. *John de zapol* King of *Hungary*, who had under *Soliman*'s protection ma-
H. 947. nag'd his affairs with good ſucceſs, departing this life, left an infant
A. C. 1540. ſon call'd *Iſtifan*† Heir of the Kingdom. The King of *Germany* (74), thinking it eaſy to dethrone a child with an army of eight thouſand choſen men, beſieges *Buda*. King *John*'s widow inſtantly acquaints *Soliman*, who was made the young Prince's Guardian, with this unexpected invaſion, and implores his aſſiſtance. Whereupon *Soliman* ſends before his Vizir *Sofi* (75) *Mehemed Paſha* with a good army

† *Stephanus.*

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alone ſhips muſt paſs into the *Euxine Sea*, not far from *Akkierman*. Both theſe Towns belong'd formerly to *Moldavia*, but now to *Bujak*, call'd *Beſſarabia* by the *Moldavians*.

(73) *Andrevirius*] This ſeems to be the name of ſome *Chriſtian* General corrupted by the *Turks*: But who he was I have not been able to find. ‖

(74) King of *Germany*] Not *Charles* V. who was then Emperor of *Germany*, but his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* and *Bohemians*, who by reaſon of his affinity (for he married *Ann* Daughter of *Vladiſlaus* VI, Siſter of *Lewis* II. who was kill'd in the battle of *Mohach**) thought he had a Title to the Kingdom of *Hungary*. But when he ſaw he could do nothing by force, agreed with *Johannes de Zapol*, that he ſhould hold the Kingdom during his life, and after his death yield it to *Ferdinand*.

(75) *Sofi*] *Sofi* among the *Turks* ſignifies the more ſtrict obſervers of the Laws, but thoſe that carry their obſervance to exceſs are call'd *Zabid*, that is, Hypocrites. However the word ſeems to come from the *Greek* σόφος, hence φιλόσοφος is with them pronounc'd, *feiluſuf*.

‖ Whom our Author here calls *Andrevirius*, was the famous *Andreas Doria* (call'd by *Jovius*, *Auria*,) a *Genoeſe*, and at the time here mention'd, in the ſervice of the Emperor of *Germany*.

and

and in a letter to the Queen incourages her with a promiſe of coming in perſon with all his forces to her aid. *Mehemed Paſha*, in purſuance of his orders, marches with all ſpeed to *Buda*. Though he found the enemies ſtrongly intrench'd, yet not diſcouraged by that obſtacle, he commands his men to attack them. The *German* King finding by his ſcouts that the *Turks* were not very numerous, divides his army into two bodies, and with one carries on the ſiege, with the other oppoſes the aſſaults of the *Othmans*. So about the end of the year for thirty days there were continual skirmiſhes, with ſuch doubtful ſucceſs, that neither ſide could boaſt of the advantage. But *Soliman* perceiving the town would not by this means be reliev'd, but was rather in danger of being taken, as the *Germans* had now deſtroy'd the fortifications, comes in perſon with the reſt of his forces in the ſpring to his Vizir's aſſiſtance. H. 948. A. C. 1541. The *Germans* hearing of *Soliman's* approach within four days march of their camp, raiſe the ſiege without hazarding a battle, and leaving their great ordnance, retire in the night. *Mehemed Paſha* deeming it a diſhonour to ſuffer the enemies to depart without ſlaughter, vigorouſly purſues them, and getting before to the place where they were to imbark, takes ſome, and kills others, as they were negligently approaching. Some few throwing away their arms, ſav'd themſelves by flight. The enemies being thus diſpers'd, *Soliman* enters *Buda*, ſends into *Tranſylvania*, *Stephanus* the heir of the kingdom with his mother, becauſe he believed them incapable (the one for his youth, and the other for her ſex) of defending the kingdom (76), and aſſigns them a *Sanjak* for their ſubſiſtence. After this, he places a ſtrong garriſon of Janizaries in *Buda*, under the commannd of a governor of his own name, *Soliman Paſha*, and converting the Churches into *Jami*, and appointing a *Cady*, returns with glory to *Conſtantinople*.

XXXIX. This rapid courſe of victories, not only inſpir'd his ſubjects with reverence, and his enemies with terror, but alſo induc'd the *Chriſtian* Princes to implore *Soliman's* aid againſt the unjuſt oppreſſions of their neighbours. To this end *Firanche* Padiſhahi* (77) in the *Soliman* makes an alliance with the *French*.

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(76) the kingdom] What I took notice of in a former note, that the *Othmans* ſay well, but do ill, is here verified by *Soliman*. When he had under the appearance of virtue acquir'd the good-will of all the *Hungarian* Nobility, having now got an opportunity, he ſhows his cloven foot, and like an inſatiable monſter, ſwallows up the Kingdom belonging to an Orphan. The *Chriſtians* may learn by this inſtance, what is to be got by the protection of the *Othmans*. I wiſh *Charles* XII. of *Sweden*, (in other reſpects one of the Heroes of his age,) had duly weigh'd this before he committed himſelf to the faith of the ever perfidious *Othman* Court. Certainly, the event has ſufficiently demonſtrated how prejudicial his proceeding has been to his Kingdom and all Chriſtendom, and it is to be fear'd will ſtill prove more detrimental.

(77) *Firanche* Padiſhahi*] The *Othman* Court gives the title of *Padiſhah* to no *Chriſtian* Prince but the King of *France*. The occaſion and riſe

H. 949. A. C. 1542. the year 949, when he could no longer withstand the *Spaniards*, sends an Ambassador extraordinary to *Soliman*, with a letter, setting forth the injuries he had receiv'd from the *Spaniards*, and humbly intreating the Sultan to free him from the power of his enemies. *Soliman* admits the ambassador, makes an alliance with *Firanche* Padishahi, and to gain credit to his promises, sends *Chairuddin Pasha* with a numerous fleet to *Spain*, whilst he puts his army into winter-quarters about *Adrianople*, in order to an early invasion of *Germany*.

Takes some Towns in *Hungary*. XL. The *French* being thus assisted, annoy the *Germans* on one hand, whilst on the other, *Soliman* enters *Hungary* with a great army, and immediately takes *Lipoſa*, *Bezzovi*, and *Sholkovaſs*, which had been two years before recover'd by the *Germans*. Then penetrating farther into *Hungary*, he becomes master of *Usturgun Beligrad* (78), *Tatarbysari* (79), and *Ustuni Beligrad* (80), converts the best churches into *Jami*, and fortifying the towns with strong garrisons, marches back to *Constantinople* in order to triumph. But when he approach'd the City, and had now commanded the *Alay* (81) to be prepar'd, he receives

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rise of this title is very remarkable, as reported by the Turks. They say a Grand-Daughter of the King of *France* having vow'd a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*, was taken near *Cyprus* by *Turkiſh* Pyrates, and presented to *Soliman*. On account of her birth and beauty she was plac'd among the most beloved Concubines, and so attracted the Sultan's affection by her *French* airs, dancings, and love-verses, that she had an absolute influence over him, and manag'd all affairs. Not long after there arriv'd ambassadors from *France*, who seeing it impracticable to get her out of the *Seraglio*, made a virtue of necessity, and told the Emperor, " the King of *France* " esteems it the greatest happiness, " that providence has destin'd his " Daughter (for so they say he call'd " her, not Grand-Daughter) for the " bed of so potent an Emperor, and " hopes the band of perpetual al- " liance and amity between the two " greatest Monarchs of the World " will be confirm'd by this union of " blood." So by the instigation of this Sultana, *Soliman* not only granted all the *French* King's requests, but also gave him the Title of *Padiſhah*, and order'd that the *French* Ambassador should have access to his person before all others. This indeed seems to be a fable, especially since I do not find it mention'd in any *Christian* Historian or Genealogist. However the *French* do not scruple to boast at *Constantinople* their King's affinity with the *Othman* race, and on that account claim the precedency of all *Christians*. For this reason the Emperor of *Germany* has never an Ambassador extraordinary at the *Othman* Port, but only a Resident; and if affairs of greater moment happen, as the confirmation of a peace, or prolongation of a truce, a Plenipotentiary (*Murachas*) is sent, who takes place of all.

(78) *Usturgun Beligrad*] *Strigonium*, or *Gran*.

(79) *Tatarbysari*] *i. e.* Castle of the *Tartars*. At the same time seems to be taken the City of *five Churches*, in *German*, *Fünf Kirchen*.

(80) *Ustuni Beligrad*] *Alba regalis*, call'd by the *Germans*, *Stulweiſſenburg*.

(81) *Alay*] *Alay* is not so much a triumph as the marshalling of the soldiers in a certain manner, which is always done when the Emperor either departs from or returns to the City. But a triumph after a victory is call'd *Donanma humayun*, a majestick triumph. In a battle, when the soldiers are drawn up, the *Alay* is also said to be made, which as I shall have no occasio

receives the melancholy news of the ſudden death of his ſon *Mahomet*, which ſo affects *Soliman*'s otherwiſe invincible mind, that laying aſide all triumphal pomp, he enters the City mournfully like one that was vanquiſh'd. In remembrance of his ſon and for his ſoul's health, *Soliman* afterwards built at *Conſtantinople*, in the way leading to the gate *Engi Capu* (82), a large *Jami*, and adorn'd it with a College and Hoſpital, which to this day is call'd *Shehzade Jami*.

XLI. In the year 954, *Elkaſib Mirza* being greatly injur'd (83) by the *Perſians*, flies to the Sultan, and ſhows him how he may eaſily ſubdue all *Perſia*. He offers to be Guide and General to his forces, and repreſents matters ſo plauſibly, that *Soliman*, perſwaded by his diſcourſes, ſupplies him with a large ſum of money to raiſe an army and recover his dominions (84). Early in the ſpring the Sultan himſelf moves towards *Perſia* with numerous forces. In this march the Emperor is met by his ſons *Bajazet* Governor of *Iconium*, and *Muſtafa* Governor of *Amaſia*, who having kiſs'd their father's hand, are ſent back to their governments (85).

Marches againſt the *Perſians*. H. 954. A. C. 1547. H. 955. A. C. 1548.

XLII. After

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occaſion to mention elſewhere, I ſhall deſcribe in this place. The whole army is divided into five parts, namely, *Sagkol* the right hand, *Solkal* the left hand, *Dib alai* the main body of the army, *Charcaji** the forerunners (or vanguard,) and *Dondar* the bringers back (or rear,) who are commanded to force thoſe that run away or give ground to renew the battle. In the front are the *Serden giechdi**, who are follow'd by the Janizaries led by their *Aga*. After theſe are drawn the great guns guarded by the *Topchys** and *Jebeji*, or Keepers of the Artillery. Then comes the Prime Vizir with his Court and *Segbani*. On his right hand ſtand the *Aſiatic* horſe, on his left the *European*. After the Vizir comes the Emperor, if he is preſent, ſurrounded with his Courtiers and *Boſtanji*. On his right hand are the *Spahi* of the red Standard, and on his left, the *Spahi* of the yellow, who are call'd alſo *Sibladari*. After the Emperor are carried the money-coffers, with innumerable waggons and camels laden with proviſions and other neceſſaries. Laſt of all are the above-mention'd *Dondar*. Much the ſame order is obſerv'd in the heat of a battle. The *Serden giechdi** charge firſt, then the Janizaries and the reſt of the foot. Mean while the horſe endeavour to attack the enemy in flank, and when repuls'd are ſeconded by the *Spahi* of both wings. Then ſucceeds the Vizir with his horſe. The *Aga* of the Janizaries takes notice of the weak part of the foot, and ſupports them with new ſupplies. The Emperor at a little diſtance from the battle with his men, has an eye to the whole army, and if any part is preſs'd by the enemy, ſends aid from his own and other Regiments. The *Egyptian* foot give place to the *Aſiatic*, and the *Albanian* to the *European*. But of theſe things more largely in another place. Beſides theſe, the company of Merchants and Artificers are by the *Turks* call'd *Urdi alai*, who by the imperial mandate follow the camp, that nothing may be wanting there, of what is found in a City.

(82) *Engi Capu*] One of the twenty eight principal gates of *Conſtantinople* looking towards *Sylivri*, of which elſewhere.

(83) injur'd] They ſay his wife was raviſh'd by the King of *Perſia*.

(84) dominions] The name of which is not mention'd by the *Turks*, nor can I find it elſewhere.

(85) ſent back &c.] Some of the *Turkiſh* Chronographers ſay, *Soliman* was

Recovers *Van*, and routs the *Perſians*.

XLII. After this, he enters the borders of *Azerbejan*, in order to carry war into the *Perſian* Provinces. Whilſt he remain'd here a few days, Sultan *Burhan* (86), deſcended from the antient Sultans of *Shirvan*, comes to the camp, and ſurrenders himſelf and territories to the Emperor. Preſently after, he commits the cuſtody of *Tibris* to *Elkaſib Mirza*, the author of this expedition; but he ſeeing himſelf neither ſafe from the attacks of the *Perſians*, nor able to effect any thing for the *Othman* advantage, demoliſhes the Palaces of the *Shah*, and leads back his forces to the imperial camp, which was now before *Van*. *Soliman*, with this addition of ſtrength, makes a vigorous aſſault, which ſo terrified the beſieged, that they offer'd to ſurrender on condition of having their lives. The Emperor, to prevent the effuſion of blood, agrees to it, and on the 19th of the month *Rejeb*, is again maſter of ſo ſtrong and noble a City. Having taken poſſeſſion, he leads his forces to *Amze*, where he ſurpriſes and routs part of the *Perſian* army, and then ſends his victorious troops into winter-quarters about *Aleppo*.

Seizes the *Shah*'s treaſures, and ſubdues the *Georgians*.

XLIII. Mean while, he is inform'd by his ſpies, that the *Shah*'s immenſe treaſures lay weakly guarded in the towns of *Iſpahan*, *Kieſhan*, and *Camid* (87). Whereupon, allur'd by the hope of ſpoil, he ſends *Elkaſib Mirza* with ſome light armed troops to ſeize the riches. *Mirza* by known ways penetrates into theſe inner parts of *Perſia*, and routing the guards before they knew any thing of his coming, gets poſſeſſion of the treaſures, and deſtroying the adjacent country with fire and ſword, returns to the Emperor laden with ſpoil. *Elkaſib* privately offers part of the prey to the Vizir *Azyzalla* to be made aſſociate to the Governor of *Babylon*, and eaſily obtains his deſire of the covetous Vizir. When he comes to *Babylon* with the imperial mandate, he repents of having deſerted the *Perſians*, ſends private letters to the King, begging pardon, and promiſing to be for the future faithful to him even amongſt his enemies, and a diligent ſpy upon the motions of the *Turks*. His Collegue *Mehemed Paſha*, who carefully watch'd all his actions, quickly accuſes him of this treachery,

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was told that his ſons were come with intent to dethrone him. And therefore, ſince on account of his reputation, he did not care to imbrue his hands with his own blood, he commanded them to return to their homes; but afterwards, upon a fuller diſcovery, put *Muſtafa* to death, as will hereafter be related.

(86) Sultan *Burhan*] *Burhan* is the ſame with what the *Greeks* call ἀποδεικτικὸν, and the *Latins*, *Demonſtrativum*; hence the *Turks* were wont to call a *demonſtrative Syllogiſm*, *Debili burhan*: but turn'd into a proper name, it denotes ſomething ſtrong, and as it were invincible; ſuch kind of names were once frequent among the *Turks*, but now are almoſt diſus'd.

(87) *Iſpahan*, &c.] Formerly the Metropolis of the Province of *Arak*, but now of all *Perſia*. *Kieſhan*, is corruptly call'd in the Maps *Caſian*, and *Camid*, it may be, in modern deſcriptions is call'd *Com*.

and receives the Emperor's order, to ſend him in irons to the Port. But before the order came to *Babylon* he was inform'd by ſome of his friends (whom he had gain'd with *Perſian* money) of what was tranſacting, and as there was no other way to eſcape, flies into *Giurjiſtan*. This retreat brings to *Soliman*'s remembrance the late treachery of the *Georgians*, who about a year ſince ſurpris'd the Governor of thoſe patts, *Muſtapha Paſha*, when little expecting ſuch perfidiouſneſs, he had incamp'd in a narrow place, and cut his whole army in pieces. Wherefore *Mehemed Paſha*, to revenge this deed, is inſtantly ſent with a good army, who entring *Giurjiſtan*, after ſeveral battles fought with various ſucceſs, at laſt entirely routs all their forces. After the victory, he takes ſeven of their ſtrongeſt caſtles, and razes them to the ground, and then as the ſeaſon of the year would not ſuffer him to make farther progreſs, he winters his troops in *Diarbekir*. Early in the ſpring he re-enters *Giurjiſtan*, and meeting no oppoſition, reduces above twenty towns to the *Othman* dominion; and when he had confirm'd the Province in the Emperor's obedience, and plac'd garriſons in the fortreſſes, he goes to *Conſtantinople* to give an account of his proceedings. H. 956. A. C. 1549.

XLIV. His Empire being thus eſtabliſh'd in the Eaſt, *Soliman* thinks of inlarging his dominion to the Weſt. To this end, he ſends *Mehemed Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Rumeli*, with the *Europæan* army to take *Temiſhwar* † the ſtrongeſt City of all *Hungary*. Accordingly *Mehemed* having made himſelf maſter of the neighboring towns, *Bachi**, *Buchgergi**, *Ratzu*, and *Chenad** (88), he lays cloſe ſiege to *Temeſwar*. Mean time an army comes to the relief of the town, which when *Mehemed Paſha* perceiv'd was ſuperior to his own, he acquaints the Emperor by letter with his danger, deſiring a ſpeedy ſupply of forces. Whereupon *Soliman* without delay ſends his Prime Vizir *Mahmud Paſha* with the reſt of the army to join *Mehemed*. Thus ſtrengthen'd, he routs the enemies, and then takes the City by ſtorm, and annexes the whole territory of *Temeſwar*, which was almoſt as large as a *Beglerbeglic*, to the *Othman* Empire, and leaves the cuſtody of it to *Caſim Paſha* (89) with a good garriſon. He takes *Temeſwar*. H. 959. A. C. 1552. † *Temeſwar*.

XLV. Whilſt the *Othman* dominion is thus extended in *Europe*, affairs are not ſo proſperous in *Aſia*. *Shah Iſmail*, ſon of *Tomaſh*, after the departure of the Muſulman army out of his borders, enters the countries ſubject to the *Othmans*, and ſuddenly takes *Erdiſh* and *Aglaſh* (90), and miſerably puts to the ſword all the *Turks* he could The *Turks* defeated by the *Perſians*.

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(88) *Bachi** &c.] Cities, as it ſeems, lying between the *Danube* and *Savus*, which country is by the *Turks* call'd *Bacha** *ovaſi*.

(89) *Caſim*] A famous *Turkiſh* General, afterwards advanc'd to the Vizirſhip. He founded or inlarg'd the new colony at *Galata*, where are now the Magazines, and therefore call'd it after his name.

(90) *Erdiſh* &c.] Towns on the borders of *Shirvan*, in Maps corruptly call'd *Ergiſh* and *Elata*.

find in theſe towns. *Iskender Paſha* is ſent into the field with good part of the *Aſiatic* army to repreſs this boldneſs. *Shah Iſmail* bravely meets him, and joining battle, routs him with the ſlaughter of the beſt part of his army. Thus fortune ſmil'd on the *Perſians* in leſſer battles, in order to ſhow them her ſting in greater. For inrag'd at this ill news, *Soliman* ſeverely reprimanding *Iskender Paſha* for his diſhonorable flight, reſolves with a more numerous army to humble the *Perſians* flush'd with this victory. But as the ſeaſon of the year was too far advanc'd to carry war into thoſe parts, he ſends before the Prime Vizir *Mehemed Paſha*, and commands him to winter with what army he had ready about *Tokad* (91), and in the year 960, in the month *Ramazan*, near a place call'd *Erkile*, he himſelf joins the Vizir's camp with the reſt of his forces. Here he receives certain information, that his ſon *Muſtapha* (92) (whom on the ſame ſuſpicion he had laſt year put under ſtrong cuſtody) was in a plot againſt his life, and had many complices. Whereupon after finding the thing to be true, he orders his ſon to be ſtrangled. After this, when he was come to *Aleppo*, *Ibangir* (93) another of his ſons departed this life, and the Emperor commands his eldeſt ſon *Selim* to winter with the forces in *Maraſh*.

H. 960.
A. C. 1553.

Soliman takes Revan, and lays waſte Perſia.

XLVI. Aſſembling his whole army in the year 961, he enters *Shirvan*, and ſends an Herald to the *Shah* (94), to tell him he is ready for

H. 961.
A. C. 1553.

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(91) *Tokad*] A City of *Natolia* not far from *Amaſia*, according to ſome, the ancient *Eudocia*.

(92) *Muſtapha*.] Fourth Son of *Soliman*, who was ſaid to excite all his Brothers againſt their Father. The *Turks* ſay, *Soliman* with great policy ſuffer'd their attempts to go unpuniſh'd above a year, in hopes of leading them to repentance, and afterwards perceiving their obſtinacy, caus'd only *Muſtapha* to be ſtrangled as Author of the rebellion. *Ibangir* alſo by ſome is thought not to die a natural death, but to be poiſon'd by his Father's command. After theſe rebellions of his ſons, *Soliman* made a law, that the Sons of the Emperors ſhould not for the future have any Governments, but be detain'd in the royal City; and tho' ſome, ſince this law are reported to have had *Sanjaks*, 'tis never ſo now.

(93) *Ibangir*] He is ſaid to have been crook'd-back, ſo that a Globe ſeem'd to be plac'd on his back, and for that reaſon to be call'd by *Soliman*, *Ibangir*, as much as to ſay, *Atlas* or *Bearer of the World*. See the preceding note.

(94) *Shah*] The *Turks* are forbid by their law, to wage war without acquainting the enemy of their coming. This is done, (they ſay,) both that the *Othman* bravery may not be eclips'd by ſubduing their adverſaries with fraud and ſtratagem, and that the enemy may be call'd to the precepts of the *Koran* and *Mahometan* Faith. Upon a refuſal, they think themſelves not only innocent of the effuſion of blood, but if they die, believe they become in God's ſight, Martyrs, and if they conquer, *Gazi*. However, they do not always ſo ſtrictly obſerve this cuſtom, but often interpret the law according to urgent emergencies, nor proclaim war before they have ſheath'd the ſword in the Bowels of the enemies, as I perceiv'd was lately the caſe of the *Venetians*, from whom in four months Sultan *Ahmed*, by his General *Ali Paſha*, wreſted all *Peloponneſus*. But it is wrong

for battle, and challenges him to meet him in the field, if he dar'd truſt his fortune to the valour of his men. But the *Perſian* anſwering his challenge with neither words nor deeds, he beſieges *Revan* (95) the ſeat of the *Perſian* King, in the month *Shaban*; takes it in a few days, and deſtroying the royal gardens, palaces, country-houſes, ſets fire alſo to the City, the glory of *Perſia*. From hence he leads his forces towards *Neh jivan* (96), and by the conduct of Sultan *Huſein* (97) lays waſte all the country between *Tybris* and *Meragye* (98), utterly deſtroying the cities, towns, and villages with fire and ſword. Having taken this ſevere revenge of the *Perſians*, at the approach of winter he ſends his forces into quarters about *Amaſia*.

XLVII. The next ſpring, before *Soliman* led forth his army, *Shah Kuly* (99) Sultan comes to him near *Arzirum* (100), imploring his clemency, and delivering himſelf to his protection. From thence going to *Bagdad*, he receives ambaſſadors from the *Perſian* King, humbly ſuing for peace, which after ſeveral conferences is at laſt concluded, and by it the cities *Van*, *Meraſh* (101), and *Muſul* (102) are made the boundaries of the *Othman* Empire. Makes peace with the *Perſians*.

XLVIII. Whilſt the Emperor was thus employ'd in *Aſia*, a certain Impoſtor appear'd in *Dobruje* (103) under the name of Sultan *Muſtapha*, Routs a counterfeit *Muſtapha*.

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wrong to blame the *Turks* for what is the common practice of all Mortals.

(95) *Revan*] A famous City of *Perſia*, corruptly written in modern Maps *Ervan*.

(96) *Neh jivan*] corruptly in Maps *Nah Schuan*.

(97) *Huſein*] He ſeems to be one of thoſe *Perſian* fugitives, who frequently at that time ſubmitted to the *Othman* dominion. For *Amadia*, which is a Province of *Shirvan* or *Azerbejan*, is at preſent in ſubjection to *Perſia*. Hence ſeems to be taken the *Hebrew Madian*, and *Greek*, *Midian*.

(98) *Meragye*] corruptly in Maps, *Marraga*.

(99) *Shah Kuly*] One of the *Perſian Chans*, who revolted to *Soliman*, famous only for Muſick. There are ſtill extant moſt elegant airs of his, compoſed for inſtruments, of which there are two ſaid by the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Muſicians to be inimitable, namely, *Shah Kuli Sakili* in ﻧﻐﻰ *Huſeini*, and *Kiophpare* in ﻧﻐﻰ *Hyſar*, in metre call'd *Diviek*.

(100) *Arzirum*] Etymologically, *Grecian* or *European* Land. For the *Turks* are wont to call whatever lies weſt of *Arziram*, with all *Aſia minor* or *Anadol*, parts of *Europe*. But *Arzirum* is the Metropolis of that *Armenia major*, which obeys the *Turks*, not far from the borders of *Media*, ſix days journey from *Trapezund* on the *Euxine Sea* to the South. This is one of the principal *Piſhalicks* of the *Othman* Empire, and is given only to Baſhas of three horſe-tails.

(101) *Meraſh*] A City of *Aſia* on the River *Murafius* near the *Euphrates* between *Aleppo* and *Malatia*.

(102) *Muſul*] According to ſome, the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(103) *Dobruje*] A Country on this ſide Mount *Hæmus*, extending along the *Danube* from *Driſta* in *Wdlachia* to the Mouths of that River. A Champain Country, neither water'd with rivers, nor diſtinguiſh'd with woods: though at the extremity near *Driſta* there is a wood, call'd by the *Turks*, *Deli orman*, *the fooliſh wood*. The Inhabitants are originally *Turks*, and remov'd hither out of *Aſia*, but now are call'd *Chitaki**, famous for their ſingular hoſpitality. If a Traveller

pha, who getting together about forty diſſolute men, had not only cruelly laid waſte this, but alſo all the neighboring provinces. But before the impoſtor, by reaſon of the diſtance, could be reſtrain'd by the Emperor, *Bajazet*, the Sultan's ſixth ſon, having by an admirable ſtratagem, drawn him into a ſnare, takes and ſends him in chains to his father, by which means he eaſes him of great care, being now about to diſpatch *Mehemed Paſha* with an army to oppoſe the counterfeit *Muſtapha*.

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veller paſſes through a village, let him be of whatever Nation or Religion, all the Houſe-keepers appear at their doors, and very kindly invite him to come in, and accept of ſuch a dinner as God has ſent them (for that is their expreſſion.) So the Perſon, whoſe invitation the Traveller accepts, entertains him and his horſes, if he has not above three, without any reward, for three days with ſuch civility and hoſpitality according to his abilities, that the like is hardly to be found. He ſets before him, Honey, Eggs, with which the country abounds, and Bread bak'd under aſhes, but very fine. They prepare a little Houſe deſign'd for the reception of Strangers with Couches in the middle round the fire-place, which the Travellers uſe as they pleaſe. Becauſe they have no wood, they burn the dung of Cattle dried in the Sun. They build ſtone Cottages, but without lime or mortar, ſo that the walls ſeem to be rather a heap of Stones. However to keep out the cold, they dawb the outſide of the walls with dung. They have Wells, by reaſon of the dryneſs of the ſoil, above a hundred fathom † deep. The country produces bred-horſes of great ſwiftneſs, which are reckon'd by the *Turks* next to the *Moldavian*. I have often paſs'd through this region, becauſe it is in the way from *Moldavia* to *Conſtantinople*, and ſhall relate what happen'd to me once in my journey. I us'd to be entertain'd by a certain Inhabitant of the Village *Alibegkio*, a Perſon of great note and riches among them. Coming to this man's houſe the 22d of *July*, St. *Phocas*'s day, and ſeeing all his Labourers, (of whom he had hir'd above a hundred of the *Chriſtians* by the year) ſtanding idle, I ask'd him, why his people were not at work. He reply'd, though he was a *Mahometan*, he never ſuffer'd any work to be done on that day. My wonder being more rais'd by theſe words, I ask'd him the reaſon of this ſolemnity; He anſwers with a ſmile, "I admire, that "you, who are a *Chriſtian*, do not "know this to be St. *Phocas*'s day." What, ſay I, have you to do with St. *Phocas*? My Friend, replies he, ſay not ſo. That Saint has ſufficiently ſhown his virtues among us by Miracles. For it is tranſmitted to us by our Fore-fathers, that our people, ignorant of St. *Phocas*'s ſanctity, ſent their *Chriſtian* Labourers on this day to gather in the Harveſt, and upon their urging it to be St. *Phocas*'s day, forc'd them with blows to do as they were order'd. Accordingly they obey, though unwillingly, and load the Carts with Corn. But as they are returning home, there appears to them a Man, venerable for his age, with a burning Torch in his hand, who ſeverely threatens the Labourers for profaning his Feſtival, and at the ſame time fires the Corn in the Carts with his Torch, the flames of which, like lightning, running through the country, conſum'd not only the Corn yet ſtanding, but what was already hous'd. Our Fathers, inſtructed by this loſs, reſolv'd to keep this Saint's day as religiouſly as the *Chriſtians*, and abſtain from all Labour. Which reſolution being obſerv'd, we don't remember the like fire has ſince happen'd to us.

† Ὀργυιὰς.

XLIX. About

XLIX. About this time, a war was kindled again between the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, in which the *French* King (104) being unsucceſsful, and preſs'd by his enemies, deſires the Emperor to ſend a ſecond fleet to his aſſiſtance. *Soliman*, not thinking any requeſt of his ally ſhould be denied, ſends *Carly Elibeg* (105) with a ſtrong fleet againſt *Spain*. *Elibeg* finding no oppoſition at ſea, ravages the coaſts of *Spain* with ſome Iſlands, and ſetting fire to what he could not bring away, carries off the inhabitants in bonds. He caus'd by theſe proceedings the *Spaniards*, dreading his farther progreſs, to recall their troops and ſend them againſt him, by which means the *French* army, commanded by *Corbon* (106), obtain'd a compleat victory, forty thouſand *Spaniards* being, as it is ſaid, ſlain on the ſpot. Aids the *French* with a fleet.

L. *Soliman*, incourag'd by this ſucceſs, ſends another fleet under the conduct of *Peri Reis* to *Hurmiuz* (107), to ravage the Coaſts: who ſucceeding at firſt, plunder'd all the maritime provinces of that Kingdom, and laden with ſpoils returns towards *Conſtantinople*; but whilſt he was ſailing with too great ſecurity in the *Egyptian* ſea, he is purſu'd by the enemy's fleet, his ſcatter'd ſhips are attack'd, and partly ſunk, partly taken, eſpecially ſuch as were incumber'd with the ſpoils. Some few of the lighteſt eſcape, in one of which was *Seid ali Kapudan*, who aſſembling the diſpers'd ſhips that had not been in the battle, or had ſav'd themſelves by flight, re-attacks the enemy's fleet ſailing back in diſorder, and by a ſtrange turn of fortune, gets the advantage, and ſinks ſeveral ſhips. Thus *Soliman* was attended with good ſucceſs on ſea and land, and Sends another into *Hurmiuz*.

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(104) *French* King] *Francis* I, who by his continual wars with the Emperor *Charles* V, afforded *Soliman* ample room to ſeize the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

(105) *Carly Elibeg*] He ſeems to have been an old Admiral, but not the *Capudan Paſha* himſelf. It may be conjectur'd from the name *Carly*, that he was ſome Renegado *Chriſtian*.

(106) *Corbon*] He ſeems to be *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, General of the Emperor *Charles*'s army, who revolted to him from the *French*. The *Turks* often uſe to confound the names of the *Chriſtian* Generals. But as neither the *German* nor *French* Annals mention this battle, I take it to be a fiction of the *French* to induce *Soliman* the more readily to aſſiſt them. An Artifice I have known them in my time to uſe at *Conſtantinople*.

(107) *Hurmiuz*] This name is by the *Turks* given to two Countries and Seas, *Portugal* and the Iſland *Ormuz*, (the ἄρμιζα of *Ptolemy*) and alſo to the Sea of *Portugal*, and the *Perſian* Gulph, becauſe Pearls are found in both, call'd by the *Turks*, *Hiurmiuz*. As it is well known, that the *Turks* had a great fleet for a long time in the *Red-Sea*, call'd by them *Babril Kulzum*, or more uſually *Suvid Dengiſi*, and alſo that *Selim* endeavour'd to unite the *Red-Sea* to the *Mediterranean*, from which purpoſe he deſiſted not, till the Channel he had almoſt perfected was over-whelm'd with ſand, (on theſe accounts I ſay) I ſhould think the *Perſian* Gulph was here meant, if it was not ſaid the fleet return'd towards *Conſtantinople*, which could not be done, but by ſailing all round *Africa*, a thing never yet perform'd by the *Turks*.

very often an inconſiderable loſs was the forerunner of a great victory. For at the ſame time *Toigun Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with his forces took three towns (108) from the *Chriſtians*, and carried away numberleſs captives. On the other hand, the Governor of *Jizair* (109), *Salih Paſha*, ſubdu'd *Bijane* (110) and three other caſtles in *Spain*.

Sends another fleet to aid the *French*. H. 963. A. C. 1555.

LI. In the year 963, a freſh occaſion of acquiring glory occurrs. *Francha* Padiſhahi*, when he did not ſucceed againſt the *Spaniards* according to his wiſh, deſires a third fleet to be ſent to his aſſiſtance. *Soliman* rejoicing that he could break one egg with another, without hurting his own hands, readily grants his requeſt, and ſends *Capudan Piale Paſha* (111) with a great fleet into the *Spaniſh* Sea, to join the *French*. *Piale* diligently executes his orders, and in conjunction with the *French* forces takes *Miſine* (112), *Rije* (113), with *Marioca* (114), and three leſſer neighboring Iſlands (115), and laying waſte all the coaſts of *Apulia*, about autumn returns to *Conſtantinople* with rich ſpoils.

Makes new regulations in the State.

LII. His Empire being thus eſtabliſh'd and ſtrengthen'd on every ſide, *Soliman* gives his army ſome reſpite, and ſpends almoſt ten years in better regulating his civil affairs. His firſt care was to finiſh the *Jami* founded by him three years before, which he does in ſo beautiful a manner that next to *Sancta Sophia*, there is not, it is thought, the like in the whole world, and calls it by his own name *Suleimanie* (116). After

Annotations.

(108) three towns] I cannot learn their names.

(109) *Jizair*] or with the article *El* † *jizair*, call'd in Maps *Algiers*. It is ſubject to the *Turks*, but uſes its own laws, like *Tunis*. However in time of war they are oblig'd to ſend the Sultan ſix or eight men of war. If the Sultan is at peace with the *Venetians* and other *Chriſtian* States, they are free from all obligations to him, and may always purſue the exerciſe of Pyracy, like the Knights of *Malta* among the *Chriſtians*. A Paſha is given them by the Sultan, but he can do nothing arbitrarily as in other places. As for Neceſſaries, Victuals, and Cloaths, he is largely ſupplied by the Inhabitants, but beſides this, he has no right, nor power of commanding any thing in the Emperor's name. Very often they depoſe him by their own authority, but to ſave the honour of the *Othman* Court, accuſe him to the Sultan of miſdemeanours, and petition for a better. The Court rather connives at, than allows theſe proceedings, but for fear of an open revolt, always condemns the Baſha, and declares the Inhabitants of *Jizair* to be juſt.

† the

(110) *Bijane*] Perhaps *Nizza*, a Caſtle in *Piedmont*, which the *French* aided by the *Turkiſh* forces took about that time.

(111) *Piale Paſha*] A famous *Turkiſh* High-Admiral, whoſe Market-place and *Jami* are to be ſeen at *Conſtantinople*.

(112) *Miſine*] *Meſſina* in *Sicily*.

(113) *Rije*] *Regium Julium* in *Calabria*. This, and *Meſſina* by a common miſtake of the *Turks* are plac'd in *Spain*.

(114) *Marioca*] The Iſland *Majorca*, the principal of the *Balearides*.

(115) three leſſer] perhaps *Minorca*, *Ivica*, and *Formentero*, but this is only conjecture.

(116) *Sulamanie*] This Temple is on a high hill looking towards the Harbour, and built with ſo much art and elegance, that no ſtructure deſerves to be compar'd with it. This I have

After this, perceiving many things to be perform'd irregularly in the Court and Kingdom, and the confus'd degrees of offices to beget contention and ſtrife among his officers, makes new regulations both civil and military, enjoins them as laws to the whole Muſulman Nation, and aſſigns to every one his rank at Court, in the City, and in the Army. Thus the arms but not the mind of *Soliman* is at reſt, who like a butting goat, retires only to ſtrike his enemies with the greater force. For he had diſcover'd by his former expeditions, that the *German* Empire was too powerful to be overthrown with the bare hoofs of horſes, and greater preparations and longer time requiſite to break down the barriers by which it was defended. Wherefore during theſe ten years, he makes the greateſt warlike proviſions, repleniſhes his exhauſted treaſures, aſſembles troops from all parts, and now endeavours to execute the deſign, in which only *Muhomet Fatih* had gone before him, and which he himſelf had already attempted in vain.

LIII. To this end, in the year 974, he goes with a mighty army from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*, and diſpatching ſome troops under the command of the Prime Vizir *Pertev Paſha* to ſeize *Giule* (117), follows more ſlowly with the reſt. But though nothing was wanting to this expedition, yet he wanted youth, and old age refus'd to execute his purpoſes. Worn out with years, when he comes to *Segetwar* (118), his body, fatigu'd with ſo many labours, is firſt ſeiz'd with a ſlow fever, which increaſing by degrees, turns to a malignant one. Though the Emperor was grievouſly tortur'd by it, and there was ſcarce any hope of recovery, yet invincible, and as it were immortal in his mind, he orders the City to be beſieg'd and aſſaulted. But when, upon the Governor's making a braver defenſe than was expected, his grief was more increas'd, *Soliman* oppreſs'd with publick cares, frequently repeats this ſentence: "The City, whoſe hearth (119) was to be extinguiſh'd, is "not yet taken!" Afterwards when he perceives death's approach, he liſts up his hands to Heaven, and thus prays: "O God of all the "worlds (120), O Sovereign and Lord of all creatures, I humbly be- "ſeech

Dies at the ſiege of *Segetwar*. H. 974. A. C. 1566.

ANNOTATIONS.

I have heard affirm'd, not only by *Turks*, but by Foreigners of ſeveral Nations. Nor is it any wonder, that the Building ſhould be ſo elegant, ſince it contains not only what the common Marble Quarries, and the Ruins of *Troas* afforded, but alſo every thing precious or rare that was found in the antient works of the *Greeks*, by which they fooliſhly imagin'd to acquire an immortal name to themſelves. Four Towers adorn this Church, two with three *Sherife* or Galleries, from whence the *Ezan* is ſung, and the others with two. The Preſident of the adjoining Academy takes place of all others, and from that office riſes to the dignity of *Mola*.

(117) *Giule*] So call'd at this day in the Maps.

(118) *Segetwar*] by the *Chriſtians* call'd *Sigeth*.

(119) hearth] A *Turkiſh* Phraſe denoting utter deſolation and deſtruction. For where the fire is not lighted, there men dwell not.

(120) worlds] The *Turks* ſay, that God has created ſeventeen thouſand worlds, but that this will be the laſt.

There

" ſeech thy moſt ſacred Majeſty to have pity upon the Hoſt of the " faithful, and vouchſafe to grant they may inſtantly conquer this City." Whilſt he was pouring out this prayer he dies, on the 13th day of *Sefer*, in the year above-mention'd.

Segetwar is taken, and his death conceal'd.

LIV. The Prime Vizir immediately informs *Selim*, who was then at *Magneſia*, of his father's death, and intreats him to haſten to the army, but conceals the Emperor's deceaſe from all beſides, and in his name exhorting the ſoldiers to take the City, ſo manages, that the Sultan's death could not be ſuſpected. On the 18th of that month, he orders a general aſſault, which promoted by an accidental fire (121) in the City, ſo proſperouſly ſucceeds, that though the Garriſon made a gallant reſiſtance, they were within few hours ſubdued by the valour of the *Othman* ſoldiery. This day famous for the conqueſt of this ſtrong fortreſs, was render'd more illuſtrious by the news of the taking alſo of *Giule* at the ſame time.

Selim is ſaluted Emperor.

LV. Mean while, *Selim*, on receit of the Vizir's letter, haſtens with all ſpeed to the camp, where at his arrival, *Soliman*'s death being declar'd, he is unanimouſly proclaim'd Emperor. After which, to pay the laſt duties to his father's remains, he lays his body in a gilt chariot, and attended with the whole army, conducts it to *Conſtantinople*. When they come near the City, all the *Ulema*, *Eſhreſi* (122), and Great-men, with a crowd of people, meet the funeral, and accompanying it with the invocation of God's name, *Zikr* and *Teſhbih*, and with ſinging into the City, depoſite the body in the Court of the *Jami* built by *Soliman*, and call'd by his name, and perform the *Namaz* according to the rules of *Imam Shafi* †, to which the Emperor himſelf was not only very much addicted, but always carried with him *Imam* (123) *Nakybul Eſhref* one of the ſect. The ſolemnities being over, the body is committed to the earth, and all the Eccleſiaſticks and other re-

ANNOTATIONS.

There was once a great diſpute about this expreſſion among the learned *Turks*. Some denied it to be Orthodox, to ſay God of all the Worlds, when properly he is only God of the Muſulmans, and ſaid the name of Governor of the Good and Bad, ſuits not with his Holineſs. Others aſſerted the contrary, and producing a paſſage of the *Koran*, where God is called Lord of all the Worlds, their opinion was approv'd by the reſt.

(121) fire] The *Turks* aſcribe this entirely to *Soliman*'s prayers, by means of which, the City was taken, not by force of arms, but by a remarkable accident, whereby God was pleas'd to glorify the prayers of his Servant.

(122) *Eſhreſi*] Men of holier lives, or conſpicuous for ſome eccleſiaſtical dignity, from *Sherif*, *Holy*. Hence *Kudſherif*, *Jeruſalem*, *Kiabeiſherif*, *Mecca*, &c.

(123) *Imam*] An Ἐφημέριος Prieſt, who daily ſays publick Prayers. He who attends on the Sultan, is in great Honour, and diſtinguiſh'd with the Title of *Imam Effendi*.

† See Note on Paragraph XXVII. of this Chapter. [*Imam azem.*]

ligious

ligious that were at *Conſtantinople*, are order'd to finiſh the *Teloweti Koran* (124) forty times a day for forty days, and by theſe prayers to obtain the peace of his ſoul. Moreover his ſon cauſes to be erected before the *Jami*, a *Mihrab* (125), and over his grave a large marble *Turbe*, which is at this day religiouſly viſited by the Muſulmans. For they are perſwaded that he was a great favorite of Heaven, becauſe he not only loſt his life at the ſiege of *Segetwar*, and ſo became *Shehid*, but was alſo *Gazi* †, two Cities being taken under the conduct of his relicts, and annex'd to the *Othman* Empire. † Conqueror.

LVI. Thus liv'd and reign'd *Soliman* a Prince of an heroic and invincible mind, of great valour and wiſdom, and ſo patient of the hardſhips which uſually attend warlike expeditions, that he almoſt ſeem'd to be nouriſh'd by them. Beſides the *Turkiſh* language, he ſpoke alſo *Perſian* and *Arabic*, and in that kind of poetry, by the *Perſians* call'd *Nazm* (126), he excell'd all in elegance and wit. His *Perſian*, *Hungarian*, and naval victories gain'd him a great name, but his reformation of the Courts of Juſtice, and his excellent laws, by which the *Othman* Empire ſtill flouriſhes, acquir'd him a greater. On this account the name of *Canuni* was aſcrib'd to him by the *Turks*. He govern'd the *Othman* Empire one and forty years, and liv'd ſeventy four. He had ſeven ſons, *Murad*, *Abdulla*, *Mehemed*, *Muſtapha*, *Selim*, *Bajazet*, and *Jihengir*, who all but *Selim* his ſucceſſor, died contrary to the order of nature before their father. *Soliman's* character.

Selim ſaluted Emperor, A. C. 1565. H. 974.

† Mary.

ANNOTATIONS.

(124) *Teloweti Koran*] The Reading of the whole *Koran*, which is uſually done over the Grave of the deceaſed, as with us the Pſalter and New Teſtament are wont to be read.

(125) *Mihrab*] Signifies both an Altar and the Southern part of a *Jami*. Concerning this word the *Turks* have the following ſtory. A certain Poet being banter'd by his Acquaintance for ſtill loving a Miſtreſs, now grown pale, bearded, and old, without any abatement of his former paſſion, excuſes himſelf with this Diſtich. *Gier Meſchid ikyldyſe, nola Mihrab ierinde*; that is, Though the *Maſch* [or Temple] is deſtroy'd, the *Mihrab* (or Altar) ſtill remains unhurt. His Enemies upon hearing this Diſtich immediately carry the Poet before the Judge, and accuſe him of Blaſphemy, by explaining the Verſes ſo, as if he had compar'd the wither'd face of his Miſtreſs to a Church, and that part of her Body, which had been the object of his youthful Paſſion, to an Altar. At which the Judge is ſo mov'd, that he ſentences the Poet to loſe his Head.

(126) *Nazm*] A Poetical Metre often occurring, particularly in the *Koran*, and for that reaſon is accounted more elegant than the reſt.

Contemporary with SOLIMAN I. reign'd in *Europe*.

In *Germany*,
- CHARLES V. 1519-58.
- FERDINAND. 1558-63.

In *England*,
- EDWARD VI. 1549-53.
- MARY, 1553-58.
- ELIZABETH, 1558-1602.

In *France*,
- FRANCIS I. 1515-47.
- HENRY II. 1547-59.
- FRANCIS II. 1559-60.
- CHARLES IX. 1560-74.

The End of the Reign of SOLIMAN I.

The REIGN of
SELIM II. Sirnam'd MEST (1).
Eleventh EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. V.

Selim saluted Emperor, H. 974.

I. SOLIMAN being dead, *Selim* only remained, on whom the Empire could devolve, and was then at *Ameſia* as has been ſaid. Departing from thence in the year 974, on the 9th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, the Planet *Merich* † ruling that day, he enters *Conſtantinople*, and mounts his father's throne. Next day all the Great men of the Empire, according to cuſtom, appear in mourning (2) at Court, adore the new Emperor, and comfort him on his father's death with excellent ſpeeches.

A. C. 1566.

† *Mars.*

and receiv'd by the army.

II. Three days after, with a few attendants he departs from *Conſtantinople* towards *Segetvar*. But in the mean time, the Vizir *Mehemed Paſha*, having taken the City and guarded it with a ſtrong garriſon, had ſent the army into winter quarters, and was now come as far as *Belgrade*, the Emperors death being ſtill a ſecret to all (3). Wherefore

ANNOTATIONS.

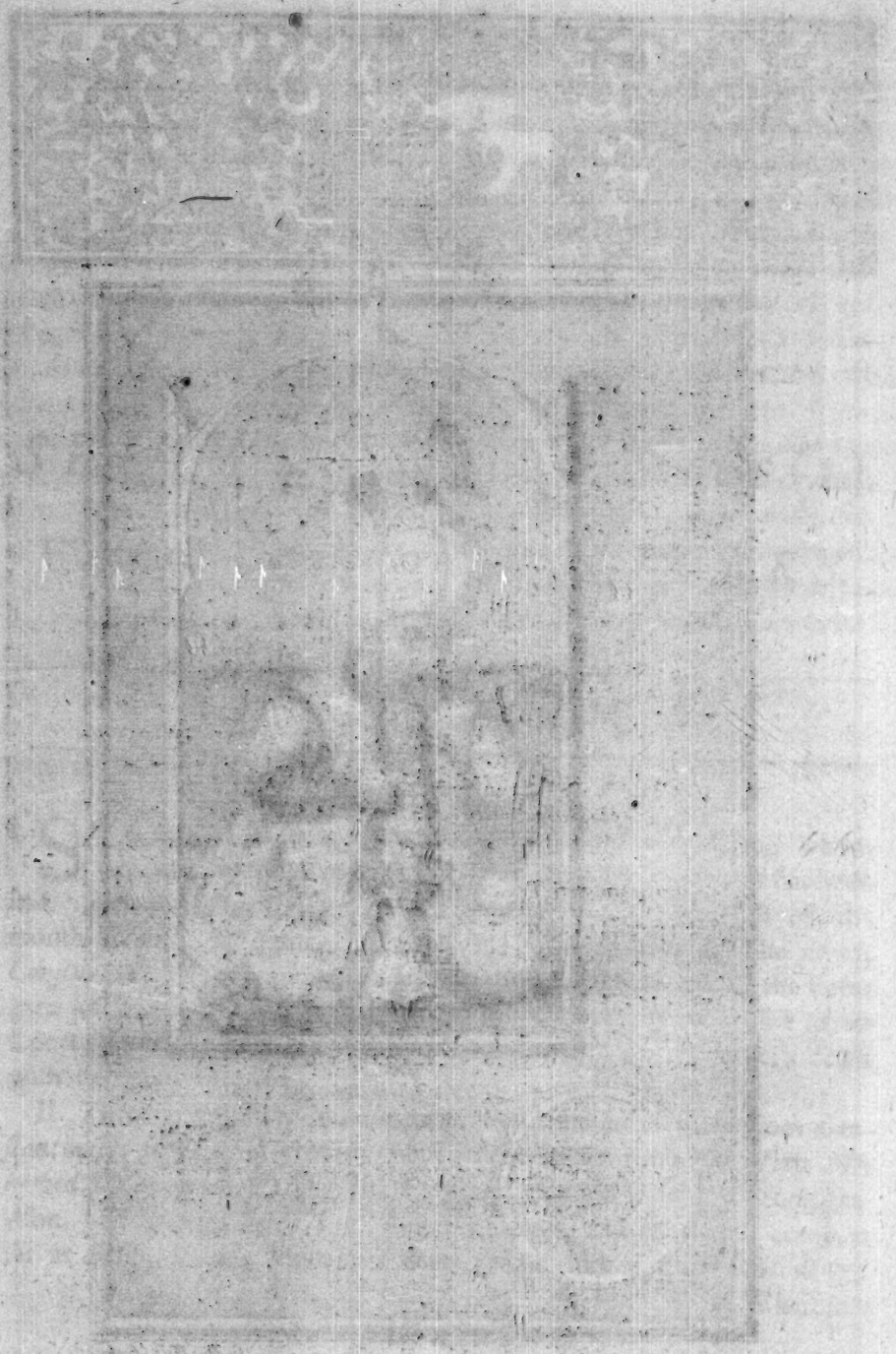
(1) *Meſt*] i. e. *Drunken*, ſo call'd from his being addicted to Wine and Drunkenneſs, which was his greateſt delight. However, though he was extremely given to this vice, he is ſaid never to omit the uſual daily Prayers. There are other Hiſtorians, who that ſuch a ſtain might not be caſt on ſo famous an Emperor, deny he us'd to be drunk, but pretend he was ſeiz'd with a ſort of divine Enthuſiaſm, which, leaſt the people ſhould ſuſpect to be Hypocriſy, he himſelf declar'd to be drunkenneſs, and ſo choſe rather to be accounted a Drunkard than an Hypocrite. But ſuch Colourings for the Vulgar.

(2) mourning] Formerly they us'd the greateſt ſolemnities, and choice of colours at the *Turkiſh* Emperor's death, but at preſent they only mourn three days in red Habits, and that not very ſtrictly, after which they put on again their uſual dreſs.

(3) ſecret] Both *Chriſtians* and *Turks* unanimouſly affirm, *Selim's* death

C. Du. Bosc. sculp.

Selim II. Eleventh *EMPEROR of the Turks, in the Year 1568. From an Original in the Seraglio.*



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Wherefore the ſoldiers are troubled at *Selim*'s ſudden and unexpected arrival, and fearing he might, after the example of his Grandfather of the ſame name, do ſome injury to his father, run to their arms. But when they were certain of *Soliman*'s death, they all receive *Selim* as lawful ſucceſſor, and pay obeyſance to him as to their Sovereign.

III. As ſoon as all things neceſſary for his father's funeral were ready, he returns to the royal City, and after the ceremonies are over, is again confirm'd in the throne by all orders and degrees, and celebrates his father's victories with a ſplendid triumph. Then he diſtributes to the Janizaries and *Spahi* the uſual *Bakhſhiſh* (4) or donative, but preſents the *Ulema* and reſt of the Eccleſiaſticks, who officiated at his father's funeral with ſilk robes and money.

He buries his Father in a ſplendid manner.

IV. Mean while, *Beni omer* (5) *Ulian ogli* the *Arabian*, hearing of *Soliman*'s deceaſe, not only dares to throw off the *Othman* yoke, but alſo perſwading his neighbours to join in the rebellion, invades the territories of *Bagdad*, which he cruelly lays waſte. However he did

He vanquiſhes the rebellious *Arabs*.

H. 975.

A. C. 1567.

ANNOTATIONS.

death was conceal'd by the Vizir for forty one days, till *Selim* came to *Belgrade*. This, a Reader, ignorant of the *Turkiſh* Cuſtoms, will be apt to deem impoſſible to be done among ſo many thouſands of ſoldiers, but thoſe that know the more than *Pythagoric* ſilence of the *Othman* inner Court, will not call it in queſtion. No man ſpeaks there unleſs order'd, no talking to one another, neither doth any perſon dare ſo much as to ſneeze or cough, whatever occaſion he may have. If they have any thing to communicate to one another, 'tis done in the language of the Mutes, by ſigns. They wear no ſhoes, and walk only on the tips of their toes, and withal ſo ſoftly and carefully, that you can hardly perceive the ſound of their ſteps when they are running. For the leaſt noiſe is attended with a ſevere correction.

(4) *Bakhſhiſh*] or Largeſs, uſually given to the ſoldiery, on the election of a new Emperor. Each Janizary, (and there are forty thouſand) receives twenty Dollars, and each of fifteen thouſand *Spahi*, twenty five. Sometimes alſo at the Sultan's pleaſure their daily pay is increas'd with an *Aſper*, which however is ſeldom done, but when the Sultan wants to ingratiate himſelf with the army.

(5) *Beni omer*] The ſons or poſterity of *Omer* are a Tribe of *Arabians* wandering in the deſerts of *Babylon*, without fix'd habitations. Sometimes they are ſubject to the *Othman* Empire, and out of the produce of their Dates, which are the ſole fountain of their riches, pay a good yearly ſum of money to the Governor of *Babylon*. But they frequently rebel and ravage the very Suburbs of *Baſre*. In Sultan *Muſtapha*'s reign, they ſuddenly ſurpriz'd the City of *Baſre* itſelf, and continued maſters of it near two years. But afterwards, *Dalaaban Muſtapha Paſha* Governor of *Babylon*, expell'd them from thence, and cruſh'd the whole tribe, by killing thirty thouſand of them, whoſe heads he produc'd before *Capuji baſhi Baidal Iſmail*, ſent by the Emperor for that purpoſe. This victory acquir'd him ſo great a reputation, that he was a few days after advanc'd to the dignity of Vizir, but to his deſtruction, for within three months he was accus'd by the Mufti of rebellion, and though innocent, puniſh'd with the loſs of his head. This cruelty ſhortly after gave birth to a conſpiracy, which dethron'd *Muſtapha*, and killing the Mufti, a thing ſeldom practis'd among the *Turks*, deliver'd the imperial Diadem to *Ahmet* his brother, the preſent Sultan.

not long go unpuniſh'd. For *Selim*, inform'd of theſe proceedings, inſtantly orders the Governors of *Bagdad*, *Baſre* (6), and *Shebreſul* (7), to join a good body of Janizaries with the forces of thoſe Parts, and go in queſt of theſe plunderers. His commands are ſpeedily executed, and the wandering *Arabs* in the deſerts of *Baſre*, are attack'd, diſpers'd, and routed, and the country reſtor'd to its former tranquillity. The ſame year *Selim* finiſhes a bridge (8), begun five years before by his father, not far from *Conſtantinople*.

He attempts in vain to join the *Tanais* and *Volga*.

V. Mean time, a new war was to be thought of, leaſt the *Othman* valour ſhould be blunted with idleneſs. A peace had been but very lately concluded with the Emperor of *Germany*, nor was there any cauſe for a rupture. The *Perſian* was the only Prince, againſt whom the *Othman* arms could be turn'd, as he ſeem'd by his continual incurſions to give juſt occaſion for a war. But *Selim* was deterr'd from this by the difficulty of the places, as well as by the warlike ſtores and proviſions to be carried thither, for want of which, he had perceiv'd that numerous armies of his Anceſtors had miſcarried. To remove this obſtacle, he ſends a body of ſoldiers over the *Euxine Sea* to *Kiefe* †, and orders the Chan of *Crimæa* to hire labourers out of all the *Tartarian* Tribes, and pitch his tents near the river *Ezel* ‡, in that place, where it is but ſix *Italian* miles from the *Teri* ⸸, and by a Canal to join the two rivers. He hop'd if this deſign took effect, to penetrate with eaſe out of *Pontus*, through *Maille* (9), *Teri*, and *Ezel*, into the *Caſpian*

H. 976.

A. C. 1568

† *Caſſa. ol. Theodoſia.*
‡ *Volga. ol. Rha.*
⸸ *Tanais.*

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) *Baſre*] *Baſſora*, formerly *Boſtra*, in Maps it is commonly plac'd at the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, but erroneouſly. For it lies ſix days journey up that river. *Curma* is ſituated at the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, the moſt noted Mart of the Eaſt, unknown to all the Geographers I have yet met with.

(7) *Shebreſul*] An *Aſiatic* City and Territory well known. It has a Paſhalic with the honour of three Horſe-Tails, but of ſo little account among the *Turks*, that if a Baſha be removed from another Paſhalic to the Government of *Shebreſul*, he is look'd upon as ſent into baniſhment.

(8) bridge] This bridge is over the Lake *Buyuk Chekmeje*, where it runs into the *Propontis* at a village of the ſame name, about two hours diſtance from *Conſtantinople*. It is all built of ſquare ſtones, and two thouſand paces long, a truly imperial work. *Hiudai*, a famous Poet of that time, adorn'd the marble inſcription to the Sultan with ſome elegant Verſes, which, if I rightly remember, are as follows:

Baſhladi bu jiſri olmadan temam,
Kyldi azmi ſui jennat elnaim.
Gieldi zyl hakk Shah Sultan Selim,
Itdi tekmil, oldi bu jiſr azim.
Didi tarikhin Hiudai olzeman
Yapdi ab uzre bu jiſri Sheh Selim.

i. e. *He begun this Bridge, but before he finiſh'd, he took a Journey to the Paths of Paradiſe by the help of the moſt merciful* (God.) SHAH SULTAN SELIM, *God's Shadow, ſucceeded, finiſh'd and compleated this large Bridge.* HIUDAI, *at that time told the year, in which* SHAH SELIM *built this Bridge over the Water.* From the laſt Diſtich, by a computation call'd by them *Ebjed*, the ſum of 974 years is counted.

(9) *Maille*] So the *Palus Mæotis* was once call'd by the *Turks*, as I gather from theſe words of the Hiſtorian, perhaps a corruption of *Mæotis*. But at preſent the *Turks* give this

Caſpian-Sea, and as the *Perſians* had no fleet there, to tranſport an army into *Shirvan*, and ſo without much difficulty ſubdue all *Perſia*. And this work would have entirely ſucceeded according to his wiſh, if the ſupreme Governour of the world had ſuffer'd the bounds he had ſet theſe rivers to be changed. But the *Crimæan Chan*, who on receit of the Sultan's mandate had inſtantly repair'd through *Aizderchan* (10) to the place appointed, had ſcarce finiſh'd a third part of the channel, when the labourers are ſo infeſted with conſtant rains, cold ſtorms, and want of proviſions, that many periſhing with ſickneſs and hunger, they are forc'd to deſiſt from their enterprize. However with theſe miſchiefs, this expedition was attended with one advantage, namely, thirty thouſand *Nigaian Tartars* (11), who had hitherto been under the *Ruſſian* Empire, turn'd to the *Othmans*, and departed with their families to habitations aſſign'd them in *Crimæa*. But *Chan Kyrim* not ſucceeding in his undertaking, the *Turks* return to *Conſtantinople*.

VI. About the ſame time, *Muttahir*, Sherif of the Kingdom of *Yemen*, with ſome *Arabians* gain'd to his party, ſuddenly attacks *Murad Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Yemen*, ſlays him with his whole army, and ſo frees *Yemen* from the *Turkiſh* yoke. But *Selim* on news of this rebellion, burning with indignation to be thus ſerv'd by one of no account, commands *Sinan Paſha* (12) Governor of *Egypt* to join his forces with thoſe of *Ozdemir Ogli* (13), and revenge their ſlain bre-

He quells a rebellion in *Yemen*.

H. 977.

A. C. 1569.

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name to that Gulph of the *Black-Sea*, which waſhes *Ochacovia**, the *Olbiopolis* of the Antients. The *Mæotis* is now call'd *Azak denizi*, the Sea of *Azof*, and its *Boſphorus*, formerly, *Cimmerius*, *Gierch** *Taman Bogaſi*. It was ſhut up by two Fortreſſes (after the taking of *Azof* by the *Ruſſians*) by *Oſman Paſha* the *Turkiſh* High-Admiral. Theſe, if I gueſs right, were formerly call'd by the *Greeks*, *Nymphæum Cimmerium* and *Tauricum*.

(10) *Aizderchan*] A well known *Tartarian* Kingdom, now ſubject to the *Ruſſians*, commonly call'd *Aſtracan*. This word in the *Perſian* Tongue, ſignifies, the *Habitation of Dragons*, or the *Lord of Dragons*, which name was given to the inhabitants for their fierce and wild nature. But at preſent they are ſo accuſtom'd to ſubjection, that they are not ſaid to attempt, even when they have an opportunity, the recovery of their former liberty. Thus what the Arms of *Alexander the Great* could not, the *Knutæ* and *Batogi* of the *Ruſſians* have effected, and perfectly tam'd the fierceneſs of the Nation. But what will not fear join'd with love produce in the minds of men.

(11) *Nigaian*] Theſe had Habitations aſſign'd them with the *Bujak Tartars* in *Beſſarabia*, among whom even at this day are reckon'd above eighteen thouſand of the *Cazanenſian Tartars* ſo call'd. I have ſeen their Brethren in the *Ruſſian* Empire with no difference of language, looks, and manners. So deeply has nature imprinted on every Nation its peculiar marks, that they cannot be alter'd much leſs entirely defac'd by the diſtance of places and change of Climate.

(12) *Sinan*] Care muſt be taken not to confound him with *Sinan Paſha*, who was Prime Vizir to *Selim* I, and ſlain in the battle with the *Chercaſſians**.

(13) *Ozdemir*] According to the Etymology, *wholly of Iron*. He was a very famous Champion, of ſo great ſtrength, that the *Turks* believe he never had, nor never will have, his fellow. He was the *Turkiſh Sampſon*. Whether he was Governor of any place before this expedition, I dare not determine.

thren. Theſe Generals act ſo diligently in conjunction, that they ſurpriſe, rout, and diſperſe the rebels, and reduce again the whole country to the *Othman* obedience. But the next year, the joy for this happy ſucceſs is interrupted by a ſudden fire breaking out at *Conſtantinople*, which rag'd with ſuch violence ſeven days, that the whole City was almoſt laid in aſhes.

He promiſes aid to the *Saracens* in *Spain*. H. 978. A. C. 1570.

VII. In the year 978, the remains of the *Spaniſh Saracens*, who had hitherto been ill treated under the dominion of the *Chriſtians*, riſe in arms, ſeize *Garbie* (14), and make *Manſur*, of the race of *Beni Achmet* (15), King. They moreover vigorouſly attack the *Spaniards*, and vanquiſh them with great ſlaughter. But perceiving themſelves too weak to reſiſt their power, they ſend ambaſſadors to *Selim*, imploring his aſſiſtance againſt the *Spaniards*, the common enemy of the Muſulmans. *Selim*, whoſe thoughts were turn'd to *Cyprus*, promiſes aid, but not till *Cyprus* was taken: exhorts them in the mean time to keep as cloſe together as poſſible, and only ſtand on the defenſive: and diſmiſſes the ambaſſadors with noble preſents.

Invades *Cyprus*, † *Cyprus*.

VIII. Before theſe were return'd, he had now ſent numerous forces under the Prime Vizir *Muſtapha Paſha*, and *Capudan Ali Paſha*, to take *Kybris* †, with orders to the latter to guard the ſeas, that the invaſion might not be interrupted, and to the other, to land the army, and cloſely beſiege all the fortreſſes. *Muſtapha* begins with the ſiege of *Nicoſia* (16), and vigorouſly aſſaults it. But the ſituation of the place, and obſtinacy of the garriſon, baffle the *Othman* valour that year, and oblige the Vizir to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and put his ſoldiers into winter-quarters.

and ſubdues it. H. 979. A. C. 1571.

IX. But the following year 979, *Capudan Ali Paſha* with a freſh ſupply of ſhips, ſtores, and forces, under the command of *Pertev Paſha*, ſails from *Conſtantinople*, arrives at *Cyprus*, renews the ſiege undertaken in vain the laſt year, and after battering and undermining the walls, carries the City by aſſault, notwithſtanding the obſtinate defenſe of the beſieged. The downfal of *Nicoſia* draws after it the whole Iſland, which ſeeing itſelf deſtitute of relief, *Maguſa* ‡ firſt, and then the reſt of the towns ſtrive to gain the Conqueror's clemency by a ſurrender. About the ſame time, *Kylij Ali Paſha* (17) Governor of *Jizair* takes

‡ *Famaguſta*.

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(14) *Garbie*] or with the article *El* ‖ *Garbie*, a noted Kingdom, now ſubject to the Kings of *Portugal*, and by the *Chriſtians* call'd *Algarva*. It ſeems to have receiv'd its name from its ſituation to the weſtern Ocean. For *Garbie*, with the *Arabians*, is the Weſtern Coaſt.

‖ the

(15) *Beni Achmer*] One of the Race of the antient Kings of the *Saracens*, whom *Ferdinandus Catholicus* drove out of *Spain*, of whoſe fortunes I find nothing either in the *Turkiſh* or *Luſitanian* Hiſtories.

(16) *Nicoſia*] with the *Turks*, *Kybris*, to which they ſeem to have given the name of the whole Iſland, becauſe this was the firſt City they ſubdu'd there.

(17) *Kylij*] *Ali Paſha*, ſirnam'd, *Sword*, who in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, call'd *Topchane*, (Arſenal) on

takes *Tunez* † from the *Arabians*, and annexes it to the *Othman* Empire. † *ol. Tremiſia.*

X. Whilſt the bounds of the *Othman* Empire are thus extended to the South, in the North the arms of the *Tartars* are no leſs ſucceſsful: *Deulet Gierai Chan* their Prince, aſſembling all the *Scythian* Hords under his dominion, enters *Ruſſia*, and meeting no oppoſition, penetrates to the Metropolis (18), ravages the country, carries away, or kills ſuch of the inhabitants as had not ſav'd themſelves by flight; and thus laden with ſpoil returns to *Crimæa*. The *Tartars* ravage *Ruſſia*.

XI. Theſe victories were follow'd by the greateſt blow the *Othmans* ever receiv'd ſince the defeat of *Ildirim Bajazet*, by which fortune ſhow'd, that no Empire, though ever ſo extenſive and firmly eſtabliſh'd, is out of her reach. *Ali Paſha* the Admiral having taken *Cyprus*, had left the flower of the army to garriſon the towns, diſmiſs'd the *European* ſoldiers fatigu'd with twelve months toil in raiſing ramparts and other works, and he himſelf was now returning to *Conſtantinople* with the fleet and reſt of the forces. Thus ſailing in the *Mediterranean*, he is ſuddenly attack'd by the enemy's fleet, ſtrengthen'd, as ſome ſay, by the aſſiſtance of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. *Capudan Paſha*, though by reaſon of the fewneſs (19) of his men he could ſcarce The defeat of the *Turks* at *Lepanto*.

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on the banks of the *Boſphorus* built a large *Jami*. The *Turks* pretend, he laid the foundations of this *Jami*, without any man's privity, in one night, and run up the walls as high as the lower Windows. Next day, People paſſing by, and ſeeing ſo ſpacious a Building, for which they had not before perceiv'd any preparations, the thing was reported to the Sultan as a miracle. The Builder being ask'd by the Emperor how he could poſſibly raiſe ſuch a ſtructure in one night, anſwer'd, it was not his, but the Emperor's work, becauſe his Gally-Slaves built the whole, and his intention was to demonſtrate his own skill and the power of the *Othman* Empire. For if a private man with the help only of thoſe that were condemn'd to row in the Gallies, could effect ſuch a work, what might be expected from the united efforts of the *Othmans* againſt their enemies? By theſe words he is ſaid to gain Sultan *Selim*'s favour to ſuch a degree that he advanc'd him with the honour of three Horſe-tails, to be Admiral of the whole Sea, and Governor of *Africa*. However this be, he is reckoned among the *Turks* next to *Chairuddin* in Sea-Affairs. For when at *Lepanto* the *Turks* loſt their whole fleet, he in one year render'd their navy both ſtronger and more numerous.

(18) Metropolis] The *Turks* plainly ſeem to mean *Moſco*. But the *Ruſſian* Annals ſay, the *Tartars* did not then penetrate ſo far, but only to *Tula*, (one hundred and ninety *Italian* miles from *Moſco*) which from its multitude of Farriers might juſtly be call'd *Vulcanopolis*. Moreover they relate, that the *Tartars* by their ſudden irruption, ſurpris'd indeed and kill'd many of the Inhabitants, but preſently after near *Curſca* were overtaken by the *Ruſſian* army, who put them almoſt all to the ſword, and recover'd the ſpoils they had gotten.

(19) fewneſs] The *Turks* impute this defeat ſolely to their fleet's being weakly mann'd, and conſequently, that the multitude of ſhips without ſoldiers was rather an incumbrance than an advantage. But perhaps I am not miſtaken in thinking this to be an invention of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians,

ſeaſon have any hopes of victory, yet thinking death preferable to flight, bravely ingages with what forces he had, and by his valour, renders the ſucceſs of the battle many hours doubtful. At laſt, after repelling the enemy ſeveral times, he is ſlain whilſt he is diſcharging ſometimes the part of a General, ſometimes of a common ſoldier, and by his death cauſes victory to incline to his enemies. For the Muſulman ſhips immediately take to flight, and for want of a leader are diſpers'd, whereas the enemies, inflam'd with more courage, furiouſly come on, break the diſorder'd wings, and ſink and take almoſt the whole fleet (20).

Selim in his affliction finds comfort in the *Koran.*

XII. If any man in his moſt flouriſhing ſtate has met with fortune's frowns, he may judge of *Seliman's* grief in this unexpected calamity. He had juſt receiv'd news of the conqueſt of *Cyprus*, and whilſt he is waiting the return of his victorious fleet, and preparing a triumph, the few that eſcap'd, arrive and inform him of the deſtruction of his whole army. The Emperor, otherwiſe of an invincible mind, was ſo ſtruck with the news, that for three days (21), he neither eat nor drank, nor ſuffer'd any one to approach him, praying night and day the God and Protector of the Muſulmans to have compaſſion on his people, and remove the diſhonour brought on them by this defeat. At laſt on

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rians, as it is, to my knowledge their uſual way, when things have not been crown'd with ſucceſs, to aſcribe it not to the enemy's bravery or their own unactiveneſs, but to ſome accident, or the General's imprudence. For it is not credible, that the *European* part of the *Turkiſh* army, when the *Chriſtian* fleet had the dominion of the ſea, ſhould venture to croſs ſo wide a ſea, as that between *Cyprus* and *Greece*, either in ſhips for carriage or in ſmall veſſels.

(20) whole fleet] Both *Turks* and *Chriſtians* vary in their accounts of the number of the *Turkiſh* ſhips. Some ſay they had two hundred and ſeventy, others at leaſt one hundred and ſeventy, but all agree, that no more than twenty eight eſcap'd. After this battle, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador detain'd at *Conſtantinople*, hearing of this victory, deſir'd, it is ſaid, and obtain'd an audience of the Vizir, by whom at his coming with the greateſt parade he was thus accoſted: "I am ſenſi-"ble, *Elchibeg**, (Prince Ambaſſa-"dor) you have deſir'd this audi-"ence with no other intention than "to ſhow the *ſodulluk* (oſtentation) "natural to your countrymen, and "to ſee our depreſſion of mind by "the loſs we have ſuffer'd, but be-"fore you give a publick teſtimony "of your folly, I adviſe you as a "friend to lay aſide thoſe vain airs, "and conſider that though you have "indeed ſhav'd us pretty cloſe, we "have ſaw'd off your arms. And "as the beard, when ſhav'd, grows "again, and even thicker than be-"fore in three or four months, ſo "our fleet, unleſs our woods fail "us, will in a ſhort ſpace become "larger and more numerous, whilſt "you can't ſo much as think of reco-"vering your arms, for ſo I call the "ſpacious and famous Kingdom of "*Cyprus.*"

(21) three days] After his example, *Ahmed* III. the preſent Emperor of the *Turks*, when he ſent his Vizir *Ahmed Paſha* againſt the *Ruſſians* into *Moldavia*, pray'd, as I hear, forty days and nights, and eat nothing till Sunſet, neither did he leave faſting, till news came of his good ſucceſs.

the

the fourth day, he takes up the *Koran*, and accidentally opens (22) to this paſſage: *In the name* (of God) *merciful, compaſſionate. I grieve for the victory of the* EUROPÆANS *over the Inhabitants of the Earth: Gladneſs ſhall not be given them any more for victory hereafter.* *Selim* admoniſh'd by this Oracle, that this defeat had not happen'd to the *Othman* Empire without the finger of God, return'd him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recover'd his Spirits almoſt quite ſunk with ſorrow. This calamity ſeem'd to be foretold by the fall of the wooden roof (23) of the Temple at *Mecca*, according to the interpretation of the Wiſe-men, which, that it might be a more firm Emblem of the Empire, *Selim* order'd it to be rebuilt with brick.

XIII. The next year, *Kylij Ali Paſha*, who had ſucceeded *Ali Paſha*, as High-Admiral, a man of great valour and an excellent ſea-man, repairs the fleet with ſuch expedition, that the following ſummer he had two hundred and fifty gallies ready. With theſe he ſails from *Conſtantinople*, and infeſts the coaſts of the *Chriſtians* wherever he could arrive. The enemy's fleet appears near *Evarin* (24), which the *Capudan Paſha*, deſirous to wipe out the late diſgrace, vigorouſly attacks, but the approach of night parting the combatants, after having fought ſome time with doubtful fortune, and no great loſs on either ſide, he retires. Four days after, the *Chriſtian* Admirals conſult how to ſurpriſe the Muſulman fleet, which they hope to effect the more eaſily, becauſe the high rocks, ſurrounding the port of *Coron*, hinder'd a free proſpect, and afforded an opportunity of concealing the fleet. But *Kylij Ali Paſha*, being inform'd by his ſcouts of the enemy's intention, ſails out of the harbour and draws up his fleet. When the enemies come, they are ſurpris'd to ſee the *Turks*, (whom they ſuppos'd at anchor) on the open ſea, and prepar'd to receive them. However they advance, as if they intended to execute their deſign, but perceiving they were like to meet with a rough reception, tack about, and ſuffer the fleet loaden with ſpoil to return to *Conſtantinople*.

He repairs his fleet, and invades the *Chriſtians*. H. 980. A. C. 1572.

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(22) opens] The *Turks* believe the *Koran* divination to be infallible. Wherefore, when they are oppreſs'd with grief, or doubtful how to manage an affair, they read a *Sura*† or two of the *Koran*, then they open the Book, as chance directs, and read the firſt line of the firſt page. If the words correſpond with their thoughts, they become a little merry, and prepare to execute their deſigns. On the contrary, if the paſſage they open to is nothing to their purpoſe, they not only grow melancholy, but frequently deſiſt from their undertaking, and alter their mind.

† Vulg. *Surata.*

(23) roof] I have before obſerv'd, that the Temple of *Mecca*, believ'd by the *Turks* to be *Abraham*'s Oratory, is without roof: however there is a ſort of roof with an opening in the middle, running upwards from the angles of the walls, which, being of timber before, Sultan *Selim* order'd to be rebuilt with ſtone.

(24) *Evarin*] This muſt be *Navarinum*, becauſe there is no other Port in the *Morea* which may be denoted by that name. But I have elſewhere obſerv'd the negligence of the *Turks* in marking the names of Places and Generals.

Nova is reliev'd.

XIV. This year the *Othman* arms were crown'd with the same success on land. For the *Germans*, imagining all the forces of that Empire to be destroy'd in the last year's defeat at sea, and that they might without obstacle recover what they had lost, lay siege to *Nova* a City of *Bosnia*. To the relief of this place, the Governors of *Bosnia* and the adjacent countries hasten with united forces, surprise the enemies, intent on the siege, put them to rout, and in token of victory, send three hundred captives to *Constantinople*.

Selim repairs *Sancta Sophia*.

XV. Thus the damages sustain'd by the late defeat being amply repair'd, *Selim* to show his piety and grateful sense of so many divine favours, takes upon him the care of adorning the sacred buildings. In pursuance of this design, he begins this year with repairing the injuries time had done to the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, raises four *Minare* or Towers of different shapes (25) at the four corners, and demolishing some private houses near it, founds two *Medrese* of excellent workmanship.

Sends a fleet to *Spain*.

XVI. Whilst *Selim* is intent upon these works, he remembers his promise to the ambassadors of the Musulmans in *Spain*, before his *Cyprian* expedition, of assisting them against the *Christians*. Wherefore that he might not seem to break his word, and withal might curb the boldness of the *Spaniards*, by taking his revenge for the blow given him by the *Spanish* fleet at *Lepanto*, sends his Vizir *Piale Pasha* (26) and High-Admiral with a fleet against the *Spaniards*. When they arrive at *Messina*, with intention to besiege it, they destroy the adjacent country with fire and sword. The City would doubtless have been taken, as no army appear'd to relieve it, if nature herself had not resisted the Musulman efforts. For when they were in great hopes of success, the sea on a sudden grew so tempestuous, that unless they would hazard all, the *Othman* forces were oblig'd to retire.

Tunis is taken by the *Spaniards*, and recover'd by the *Turks*.

XVII. The fleet returning home in this manner, the King of *Spain* with the forces he had design'd for the relief of *Messina*, sails to *Africa*, and surprises *Tunis*, kills and makes prisoners all the Musulmans, then fortifies the City with stronger works, and garrisons it with his own soldiers. The chief blame of this loss seem'd to fall on *Piale*

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(25) different shapes] All the *Minare* of the *Turkish Jami*, if two or four, are of the same form. If six, four are the same, and adorn'd with three *Sherife*, and two which are erected in the Angles of the outer *Charem*, are lower, with but two *Sherife*. Only *Sancta Sophia* has four Towers of different forms. When the *Turks* are ask'd the reason, their usual answer is, the Temple of *Sancta Sophia* being a structure of inimitable Workmanship, the Emperor was pleas'd it should have different *Minare*, that it might not in any respect be like other *Jami*.

(26) *Piale*] There was another of this name under Sultan *Soliman*, but whether of the same family, or call'd so by chance, I can't say. The latter seems to me most probable, because, except the royal race, few or no families are preserv'd by the *Turks*, besides those of *Ibrahim ogli* and *Kiopruliogli*.

Pasha,

Paſha, becauſe he had return'd too ſecurely with the whole fleet, and left no part of it to guard the *African* coaſts. Wherefore he is diſmiſs'd, and *Sinan Paſha*† the former Vizir put in his room, who in the year 982, is ſent by the Emperor with the whole fleet to recover *Tunis*. *Sinan Paſha* having landed his troops, inſtantly orders the City, and a neighboring fortreſs, call'd *Chalkulvadi* (27), to be attack'd, both which, after ſeveral aſſaults, he takes, and ſacrifices the garriſons to the Ghoſts of the Muſulmans, ſlain by the *Chriſtians* in *Tunis* the laſt year. Then he razes *Chulkulvadi* to the ground, and repairing the walls of *Tunis*, leaves there a ſufficient garriſon.

† See Note p. 221.

H. 982. A. C. 1574.

XVIII. About the ſame time, fifteen hundred *Hungarians* come together and conſult how to ſurpriſe *Segetwar*‡. *Japher Paſha*, Governor of *Giula*, being inform'd of it, lies in ambuſh for them, with at leaſt five hundred Janizaries, and attacking them as they were careleſſly marching along, routs them and ſends the beſt of the captives to *Conſtantinople*.

Some *Hungarians* kill'd at *Segetwar*.

‡ *Sigeth*.

XIX. About the end of this year, *Selim* builds a large and moſt elegant Bath (28), in that part of the palace, which looks to the Eaſt. Whilſt the Mortar yet exhal'd virulent ſteams, the Emperor firſt enters the Bath, and if ſome writers are to be credited, drinks a large doſe of wine to expel the noxious vapours; this is follow'd with a light headach, then a giddineſs, and at length a ſort of Apoplexy, which, on the eleventh day of his diſtemper, and the 28th of the month *Shaban*, carries him out of the world. His ſon *Murad* comes to *Conſtantinople* the beginning of *Ramazan*, and is immediately ſaluted Emperor by all the Great-men, who teſtify their grief for the death of his father in elegant orations. Sultan *Selim*, after the uſual ſolemnities, is buried in a *Turbè* near *Sancta Sophia*.

Selim's death,

XX. Sultan *Selim* liv'd fifty two, and reign'd eight years five months and nineteen days. He was a Prince of great valour, but not always ſo fortunate as to have his deſigns crown'd with ſucceſs, of an invincible mind in all circumſtances, in counſels ready and ſecret (29), a lover of juſtice and a good name, liberal, ſo merciful, that nature ſeem'd to have indu'd him with a gentler diſpoſition than his predeceſſors; familiar and facetious in his talk with his domeſticks; extreme fond of the learned as well as of mimicks, very conſtant in his daily

and character.

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(27) *Chalkulvadi*] It ſeems to be the ſtrong Caſtle of *Goleta* at the entrance into the Bay of *Tunis*.

(28) Bath] This is a very noble ſtructure, divided into forty rooms, all of marble within, and without of ſquare ſtone. It ſtands in the middle between the apartments in the Seraglio deſign'd for the men, and thoſe for the women, ſo that it immediately ſtrikes the eye of all that paſs the *Boſphorus*.

(29) ſecret] A rare quality in a man given to drunkenneſs. But I ſhould rather chuſe to aſcribe this ſecrecy to the cuſtom of the Court, whoſe profound ſilence I have elſewhere obſerv'd, than to the natural temper of this Emperor.

and nightly devotions. However some Historians, who either had a better opportunity of knowing what pass'd in the inner Seraglio, or sought to please their readers with the novelty of things, say, that under pretense of devotion, he gave himself up entirely to wine and lust in the secret apartments of his palace. It is certain, he put on a great show of Religion in publick, and if at any time his actions seem'd to swerve from the paths of reason, it was ascrib'd rather to divine inspiration than the vice of drunkenness.

Cotemporary with SELIM II. reign'd in *Europe.*

In *Germany*, MAXIMILIAN. 1565-78.
In *England*, ELIZABETH. 1558-1602.
In *France*, CHARLES IX. 1560-74.

The End of the Reign of SELIM II.

12 AP 58

The

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MURAD III. Twelfth EMPEROR
of the Turks in the Year 1576.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of MURAD III. Twelfth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. VI.

I. SELIM being remov'd out of this world, his ſon *Murad*, the third of that name, ſucceeds to the Empire, in the 31ſt year of his age, and of the *Hejira* 983, and ſpends the three firſt ſummers in the arts of peace, ſettling the publick affairs, and making warlike preparations. *Murad* ſucceeds his Father. H. 983. A. C. 1575.

II. Things being thus ready, he reſolves in the year 986, to wage war with the *Perſians*. He appoints for General *Muſtapha Paſha*, a brave warrior, whoſe conduct had been chiefly ſignaliz'd in the *Cyprian* expedition, and gives him the forces of *Arzirum* and *Diarbekir*. *Muſtapha*, not to diſappoint his Sovereign's expectation, repairs firſt the caſtles on the borders, fortifies the City *Kars*, almoſt demoliſh'd by ſeveral ſieges, and builds ſtore-houſes there, to the end, want of corn, which had ever obſtructed former expeditions, might not occaſion new miſchiefs. After this, he goes and cloſely beſieges *Chaldiran** a ſtrong town of *Perſia*, which after ſeveral aſſaults he at length takes. Goes to war with the *Perſians*. H. 986. A. C. 1578.

III. Preſently after, he hears that *Tokmak chan* (1), General of the *Perſians*, was coming with a conſiderable army to relieve the town, againſt Vanquiſhes them.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Tokmak*] This name ſignifies originally a *Mallet* or *Peſtle* or *Rammer*, with which ſtakes are fix'd into the ground, but figuratively is aſcrib'd to a man, who preſſes ſome affair immoderately or inſolently. Hence the common ſaying: *Balſhimuze tokmak gieldi, the Mallet comes upon our head*, that is, the man is inceſſantly urging us. And indeed this does not ſeem to be the name of a family, becauſe no *Perſian* race was ever ſo call'd, but to be given by the *Turks*. For it is uſual with them, to call not only the Generals of their enemies, but alſo whole Nations, by names, though not very honorable, yet however in ſome reſpect analogous. Thus

againſt whom he ſends the Baſha's of *Arzirum* and *Diarbekir* with part of his forces. Theſe Generals ſurpriſing the enemies, vanquiſh and put them to flight. The reward of this victory was *Tiflis*, a noted town of *Armenia*, which is taken immediately after the battle and deſtroy'd with fire and ſword. Moreover *Muſtapha Paſha* leads his victorious troops towards *Shemahie*, but the rains preventing all expeditions, he leaves *Ozdemir ogli* (2) *Othman Paſha* and the Beglerbeg of *Erzenurrumi* (3) to guard the towns he had taken, and returns himſelf into *Europe*.

Munevjehir revolts to the Turks.

IV. Mean while, after *Tokmak*'s defeat, when *Muſtapha* was ſtill about *Tiflis*, *Munevjehir* (4), a *Chriſtian* of noble extraction, who had hitherto been ſubject to the *Perſians*, comes and delivers him the keys of the towns under his command, and promiſes future obe-

ANNOTATIONS.

Auguſtus the preſent King of *Poland*, when he was yet but Elector of *Saxony*, and General of the Imperialiſts in *Hungary*, was commonly nam'd, *Nal Kyran*, Horſe-ſhoe breaker. They uſe to call the *Jews*, *Chifud**, Dogs: the *Perſians*, *Kyzilbaſh*, Red-heads: the *Armenians*, *Bokbchi**, Turd-eaters: the *Georgians*, *Bityeiji*, Lice-eaters: the *Scythians* ‖, *Liaſh yeiji*, Carrion-eaters: the *Indians*, *Dilenji*, Phyſicians: the *Arabians*, *Akylſiz*, Mad: thoſe that are ſubject to them, eſpecially the *Greeks*, *Boinuz ſiz coyun*, Sheep without Horns: thoſe that live on the Continent, *Arabaji*, Waggoners: Iſlanders, *Jemiji*, Mariners: the *Albanians*, *Jigierji*, Sellers of Lungs: the *Moldavians*, *Bogdani nadan*, inhuman *Bogdans*: the *Walachians*, *Chingiarie**: the *Bulgarians* and *Sirbians*, *Haidud*, Robbers: the *Dobrujans*, *Chitak**: the *Cyngari*, *Firauni*, Pharaonites: the *Raguzians*, *Chaſus**, Spies, Betrayers: the *Boſnians*, *Potur*, Deſtroyers, Inroaders: the *Ruſſians*, *Ruſi menkius*, Perverſe: the *Polanders*, *Fodul Gaur*, boaſting, arrogant Infidels: the *Germans*, *Gurur Kiafir*, proud Blaſphemers: the *Venetians*, *Balykji*, Fiſhers: the *Italians* and all the *Franks*, *fireng Hezar reng*, of a thouſand colours, that is, deceitful: the *French*, *Aineji*, crafty: the *Dutch*, *Peinirchi**, Cheeſe-mongers: the *Engliſh*, *Chokaji**, Clothiers: the *Spaniards*, *Tembel*, idle: and in this manner they give Nicknames to almoſt every Nation that comes to their knowledge.

‖ *Tartars.*

(2) *Ozdemir ogli*] Etymologically, *all of iron*. There was, (as I have related) a famous Champion of this name among the *Turks*, of whom no leſs things are ſaid than of *Hamze*, that is *Sampſon*. But *Ozdemir ogli* here was ſo call'd from the fortitude of mind he was endu'd with.

(3) *Erzenurrumi*] I can't certainly tell what City or Province is meant by this name, but it ſeems to be recover'd from the *Turks*, ſince there is no ſuch Paſhalic now in the whole *Turkiſh* Empire.

(4) *Munevjehir*] He ſeems to have been one of the *Georgian* Governors, for there was at that time no *Chriſtian* Prince, Lord of ſeveral and thoſe fortified Towns. *Chriſtian* Writers mention him in the life of *Murad* II. and ſay *Mehemed Paſha*, a Relation of *Muſtapha*, to whom after his death the command of the army was committed, under colour of friendſhip, invited *Munevjehir* to come to him, with intention to have ſent him in chains to *Conſtantinople*. But he knowing *Mehemed*'s deſign, took with him fifty truſty Companions, and when he came to *Mehemed Paſha*, order'd his Attendants on pretenſe of curioſity to go with him to the Audience, by whoſe aſſiſtance he cut off the heads of the firſt that would have ſeiz'd him, and eſcap'd from the reſt, after giving *Mehemed Paſha* himſelf ſeveral wounds.

dience

dience to the *Othman* Empire. He is kindly receiv'd by *Muſtapha Paſha*, and after ſome time turns *Mahometan*, for which he is rewarded with the Sanjak of *Achiſca* (5), and made Beglerbeg of *Tiflis* lately taken.

V. After *Muſtapha*'s departure, the Winter became ſo ſevere that the *Othman* Soldiers not us'd to the cold, daily periſh'd in their Camp. As the whole army was in danger, *Ozdemir Ogli Othman Paſha*, ſends his forces into Winter quarters at ſome diſtance from one another, becauſe there was no City in thoſe deſert and ravag'd Parts capable of receiving the whole army. *Euris Chan* the *Perſian* General, having intelligence of this, unexpectedly falls upon the *Othmans* thus diſpers'd, and makes a great ſlaughter. *Othman Paſha* defeated by the *Perſians*.

VI. *Othman Paſha*, otherwiſe an able General, was not a little troubled at this misfortune, in the fear it wou'd be imputed to his negligence. Wherefore with intention to be reveng'd, or wipe out the diſgrace by an honorable death, he aſſembles his army in the midſt of winter, and with doubtful fortune fights the *Perſians* above twenty times in ſeveral places. At laſt, the enemies to the number of thirty thouſand, incourag'd by their late victory, furiouſly attack *Othman* under the conduct of *Imameuli*. The Battle laſted four days, but in the end the *Perſians*, repuls'd by the valour of the *Othmans*, are almoſt all ſlain. *Ozdemir ogli*, ſeeing his army weaken'd with ſo many ingagements, repairs the walls of *Shemahie*, and leaves there *Japher Paſha*, with good part of the army, whilſt with the reſt he retires into *Europe* to give an account of what he had done. Who are afterwards routed.

VII. The beſt part of the *Turkiſh* army being thus detain'd in *Perſia*, the Chan of the *Crim Tartars* attempts to throw off the *Othman* yoke. Whereupon *Murad* orders *Muſtapha Paſha* to go and extinguiſh the flame in its birth. *Muſtapha* readily obeys the imperial order, and marching over mount *Caucaſus* by the ſtreights of *Demur Capi*, paſſes the *Tanais* in boats, ſurprizes the Chan not fearing any danger from a quarter never yet travers'd by man, and cutting off his head, ſends it to the Port. *Muſtapha* quells a rebellion in *Crim Tartary*.

VIII. The domeſtick enemies being thus ſuppreſſed, the Prime Vizir is ſent in the year 988 with a great army againſt the *Perſians*, who ſeeing their whole nation threaten'd with deſtruction, lay aſide their warlike ardor, ſue for peace, and for that purpoſe ſend an ambaſſador *Ibrahim Chan*, a man of great ſubtilty. He ſo moves the Vizir (who had now enter'd the *Perſian* borders) both by his ſpeeches and preſents, that the army was immediately ordered to march back, and the ambaſſador ſent with recommendatory letters to the Port. The *Perſians* ſue for peace. H. 988. A. C. 1580.

IX. But *Murad* was not of the ſame mind with the Vizir. He thought it too early, the enemy not being yet quite exhauſted, to But is repuls'd.

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) *Achiſca*] A Sanjak of *Aſia minor*.

grant peace, and dishonorable for an army, prepar'd at so great expence, to be induc'd by deceitful speeches of peace to waste the time idly. Wherefore he dismisses the ambassador with a refusal of his petition, and deprives *Sinan Pasha* of the honour and office of Vizir, for taking upon him without his privity so weighty an affair, and advances *Ferhad Pasha* in his room.

Ferhad's fruitless expedition into *Persia.* H. 991. A. C. 1583.

X. The new Vizir, in the year 991, with numerous forces enters the *Persian* borders, and repairs the walls of *Revan* which had been some time in ruins, but either out of cowardice, or being bribed by the enemies, he did nothing else worthy of memory: what is more, he lost *Tybris*, and after some defeats, returns in the beginning of winter with his army to *Constantinople*. *Murad*, thus disappointed in his expectations of this general, deprives him also of the vizirship, and confers it on *Ozdemirogli Othman Pasha*, whose heroic valour and military prudence had before been display'd in the same war, and sends him, adorned with the ensigns of vizir and generalissimo, to the army.

Othman Pasha retakes *Tybris*; H. 993. A. C. 1585.

XI. *Othman Pasha*, that he might the sooner meet the *Persians*, winters his forces in *Castamoni*, and early in the spring of the year 993, recovers *Tybris*, taken by the *Persians* when *Ferhad* had the command. As he found this city was entirely commanded by a neighbouring hill, he builds there a castle (6) with such expedition, that on the thirtieth day, the walls were in a condition to withstand the assaults of the enemies.

and kills all the inhabitants.

XII. Whilst he was employ'd in storing and fortifying this castle, some of the inhabitants of *Tybris* affront the Janizaries plac'd there in garrison, in which dispute, when they fall from words to blows, some of the soldiers are wounded, and others killed. *Othman Pasha*, inrag'd at this accident, and fearing a mutiny, orders all the inhabitants, except the women and children, to be put to the sword, and their goods to be distributed to the soldiers. After which, peopling the town with new colonies, he places *Japher Pasha* over it with the title of Vizir.

In his return, vanquishes the *Persians*, and dies.

XIII. The affairs of those parts being settled, he resolves to return into *Europe* with the best part of the forces. But in his march, he is met at *Sofian* (7) by *Hamze Mirza* (8), the bravest general the *Persians* then had, with a great army. Both sides fight obstinately from sun-rising till midnight for their country. *Hamze Mirza* ran up and down the army; one while he charged in the front, another

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) Castle] I cannot meet with the name, either in the *Turkish* or *Christian* Historians.

(7) *Sofian*] A well-known province of *Persia*. This word originally signifies *Wiseman*, being a corruption of the Greek σοφός. There is also a metre in musick call'd *Sofian*.

(8) *Hamze Mirza*] He seems to be of *Tartarian* extraction, and by some accident to come into *Persia*. For *Mirza*, as I have observed, is with the *Tartars* the same as *Beg* with the *Turks*, *Chan* with the *Persians*, and with us, *Prince*.

while rally'd his diſorder'd troops in the rear, and exhorting his men to behave valiantly, performed the duty of a good General both in words and actions. On the contrary, *Othman Paſha*, by reaſon of ſickneſs gotten in his march, not being able to manage a horſe, rid on a mule, and becauſe he could not, through his indiſpoſition, incourage his men by his deeds, deſires them with his voice not to ſully the glory of the *Othman* arms. At length the *Perſians* are forc'd to give ground to the *Turks*. The night after the victory, *Othman*, not ſo much exhauſted by his diſtemper, as by the labour of the foregoing day, breathed his laſt, and ſo crown'd with martyrdom a life he had render'd illuſtrious by his exploits.

XIV. By his death the army being deſtitute of a leader, and ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded with enemies, chuſe *Sinan Paſha* (9) for general, and purſue their intended march. But *Hamze Mirza* follows them very cloſe, and ſince he dar'd not, by reaſon of his late loſs attack the *Othmans* in the field, harraſſes them with continual ſkirmiſhes, lays in ambuſh at narrow paſſes, and does them more damage than a defeat. Having thus weaken'd their army and aſſembled more forces, he attacks them at laſt at *Selmas* (10), and furiouſly aſſaults their camp. Here, whilſt he is leading on his men, and encouraging them by his example, he falls among the foremoſt, and by his death, frees the *Othmans* from great danger. For the *Perſians*, ſtruck with their General's misfortune, inſtantly retire, and give the Muſulmans an open paſſage to *Van*.

Sinan Paſha repells the *Perſians*.

XV. When the *Othman* forces, by reaſon of the ſmalneſs of their number, were thus obliged to quit their conqueſts, the *Perſians* re-aſſemble their army, and in the year 994 beſiege *Tybris*, where *Japhar Paſha* commanded. To his relief, *Ferhad Paſha* (11) is ſent with numerous forces, who compels the *Perſians* to raiſe the ſiege, builds a new caſtle betwixt *Tybris* and *Revan*, and between theſe, as ſtrong bulwarks, keeps his army four whole years. In the ſummer, he fights with the enemies, and that he might be nearer their borders, paſſes the winter in *Erzirum*. At length he penetrates into *Giurjiſtan*, and ſubduing the caſtles of that province, builds two towns, *Luri* and *Ginje*. After this, he joins battle with *Carebegy* (12) *Mehemed Chan* Ge-

Ferhad Paſha fights the *Perſians* with advantage.
H. 994.
A. C. 1586.

ANNOTATIONS.

(9) *Sinan*] The ſame, who for his negligence in *Perſia*, was (as I have ſaid) diſmiſſed from his office. For it is not unuſual with the *Turks*, to reſtore their diſcarded generals to their former, or even higher poſts. Hence, while in baniſhment, they have preſents ſent them even by their enemies, in the fear they ſhould, in caſe of being reſtor'd, do them an injury.

(10) *Selmas*] A city unknown to me as well as to the Maps, but ſeems however to be in the province of *Sophian*, ſince the *Turkiſh* army, ſurrounded and continually harraſs'd by the *Perſians*, could not probably have marched very far.

(11) *Ferhad Paſha*] A famous *Turkiſh* General, who acquir'd great reputation in this war.

(12) *Carebagy*] Seems to be the native country of this General.

neral of the *Perſians*, puts him to flight, and ſo diſperſes the whole *Perſian* army, that the forces of the *Red-heads* dar'd not from that time appear, or try the chance of war.

Peace is made with the *Perſians.*

XVI. After ſo many defeats, the *Perſian*, taught by the loſs of the provinces of *Revan*, *Giunje*, and *Carebeg*, that the *Othmans* were not to be reſiſted, begins to think in earneſt of ſuing for peace. *Murad* not ſeeming very forward to grant it, he promiſes to relinquiſh all the countries ſubdued by the *Othmans*, and ſend his brother *Haidarjan* to the invincible Port, as a pledge that no *Perſian* army ſhould ever enter the *Othman* dominions, or make any private or open attempt againſt that empire. On theſe conditions ſworn on both ſides, a peace is at laſt concluded, and an end put to ſo long and bloody a war.

H. 995.
A. C. 1587.

A mutiny at *Conſtantinople.*
H. 997.
A. C. 1589.

XVII. But the troops who had hitherto inlarg'd the bounds of the empire, begin, after the peace, to rage againſt their own bowels. The *Defterdar* or High-Treaſurer was accuſed by the Janizaries of having debaſed the coin, and paid them with it. Wherefore being ſtirred up by his enemies, they flock together, and threaten to kill him in his palace. The *Defterdar* being informed by his friends of his imminent danger, flies to the Imperial Palace, and humbly begs *Murad*'s protection againſt the fury of the ſoldiers. The rebels hearing this, ſurround the palace, and inſolently require the Treaſurer to be delivered to them. On the Emperor's refuſal, they are more urgent, guard all the avenues, and threaten deſtruction and death to the Sultan, no leſs than to all the great men.

The Janizaries are quell'd and pardon'd.

XVIII. In this diſtreſs, *Murad* thinking it proper to proceed to extremities, leaſt the imperial majeſty ſhould fall into contempt, arms all his chamberlains and *Baltaji* (13), and orders the gates to be opened, and the Janizaries to be attacked as infidels and diſobedient: His commands are vigorouſly executed, and preferring the Emperor's life to their own, they ruſh like lions on the diſorderly Janizaries. One hundred and ſeventeen rebels are kill'd at the firſt onſet, before they could come together, and of the reſt, ſome are diſperſed, and ſome fly to their homes. At laſt, *Sinan Paſha*, the Prime Vizir intercedes, and by his ſpeeches pacifies the Emperor's indignation, repreſenting that all were not to be equally puniſh'd; that the firſt authors of the mutiny ought indeed to be made examples of, but to puniſh in the ſame manner thoſe that were only carried away with the torrent, would be both unfit and diſadvantagious to the State. *Murad*, mov'd by theſe repreſentations, pardons the reſt, and commands only the ring-leaders to be thrown into the ſea. The ſedition being thus ſuppreſs'd, the ſoldiers humbly return to their obedience.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) *Baltaji*] For this ſervice, they are called to this day in the Imperial Palace, *Chaſculler*, *pure* and *faithful Servants.*

XIX. To remove all occaſions of future diſturbances of this kind, *Murad* ſends the Vizir *Sinan Paſha* in the year 1002, with a great army into *Hungary*, and by him takes ſome towns. At the approach of winter, he orders the troops to be quarter'd in *Rumelia*, and in the ſpring, *Yanik* (14) to be inveſted. This city is alſo, after a ſiege of eighteen days, added to the *Othman* dominion, and then the Vizir ſettling the affairs of thoſe parts, returns to *Conſtantinople*.

Sinan Paſha moves into *Hungary*. H. 1002. A. C. 1524. H. 1003. A. C. 1595.

XX. After having thus vanquiſhed both rebels and enemies, *Murad* the ſame year left his earthly for a heavenly Kingdom. He lived fifty, and reign'd twenty years, eight months. He had as many ſons as he reign'd years, who being all ſtrangled by the command of the eldeſt, followed their father to immortality (15). All the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians I have ſeen, ſtrangely paſs over in ſilence, the character and manners of this Emperor, contrary to their conſtant cuſtom.

Murad's death.

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) *Yanik*] *Javarinum*, or *Jaurinum*, with the *Germans*, *Raab*, which the *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians ſay, was ſurrender'd to the *Turks* by the treachery of the Count *de Hardek*.

(15) immortality] The *Turks* account all their Emperors *Holy*, and therefore mention their ἀναχοίμησις (deceaſe) in the moſt honourable terms, as, "This year the exiſtence of his "Majeſty, with the conſent of his "own deſire, departed from the *Port* "*of Pride*, (world) to everlaſting "Poſſeſſions."

Cotemporary with *MURAD* III. reign'd in *Europe*.

In *Germany*,	RODOLPHUS.	1575-1611.
In *England*,	ELIZABETH.	1558-1602.
In *France*,	HENRY IV.	1589-1610.

The End of the Reign of MURAD III.

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The

The REIGN of MAHOMET III. Thirteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. VII.

Mahomet succeeds *Murad*. H. 1003. A. C. 1594.

I. MURAD dying in the year 1003, on *Friday* the 6th day of *Jemaziul ewel*, his Son *Mahomet* succeeds as well to the *Hungarian* war, as to the Empire, and, (as I have said) stains the beginning of his reign with the blood of his nineteen brothers (1).

Takes *Egre*.

II. By this means having establish'd his Kingdom, he turns his thoughts to finish the war in *Hungary* begun by his father, that he might afterwards give himself up entirely to repose, of which he was very fond, and quietly taste the pleasures (2) of a crown (3). To induce the enemies the more readily to a peace, without any disparagement to the *Othman* Majesty, he marches the next year with a great army into *Hungary*, besieges *Egre*, fruitlesly attempted by his Predecessors, and so harrasses the Garrison with his frequent assaults, that at length, despairing of relief, they surrender the Town.

H. 1004. A. C. 1595.

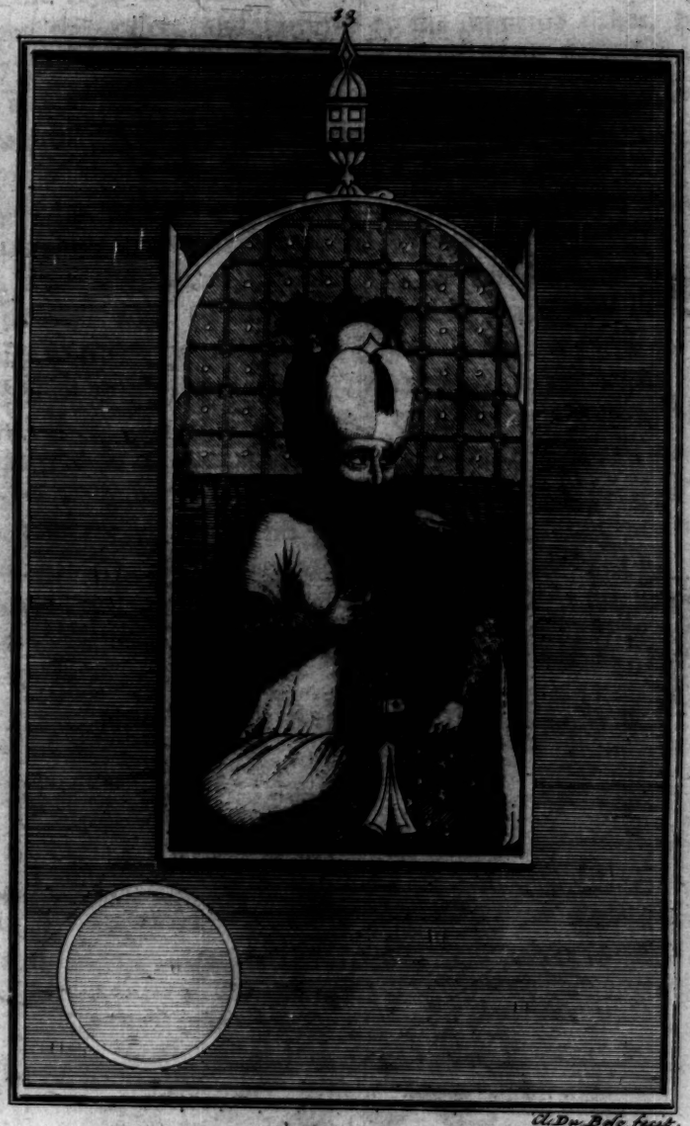
III. After

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Brothers] The *Christian* Writers say, he kill'd twenty two brothers, and threw ten of his Father's concubines, that were with child, into the sea. But I chuse to follow here the *Turkish* Historians.

(2) pleasures] Foreign Historians agree in this, and say he was more delighted with sensual pleasures than fame and glory.

(3) crown] This is to be understood of the Emperor himself, and not of the Empire. For as long as he liv'd, tho' a peace was once made, the *Turks* had constant skirmishes with the *Germans* with various success.



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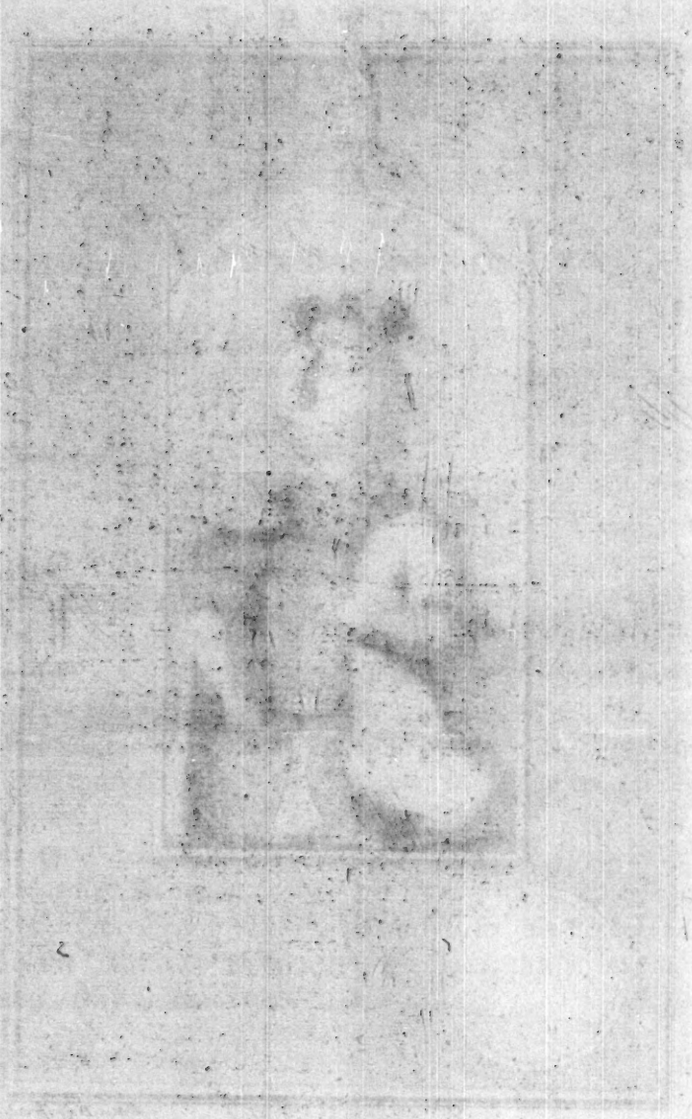
MAHOMET. III.

Thirteenth ***EMPEROR*** *of the* ***TURKS***
in the Year 1594.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



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III. After the taking of *Egre*, when by reason of the approach of winter, he could make no farther progress, he thinks of returning to *Conſtantinople*. Whilſt he is on his march, an army of *Chriſtians* ſuddenly appear, and ſo furiouſly attack the camp of the *Othmans*, that the Muſulmans, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, are forc'd to give ground. The enemies preſs forward, and penetrate as far as the tents where the royal treaſures were kept. But here the *Germans* breaking open the coffers, and ſurpris'd at the immenſe riches, betray the victory for money. For the Sultan, perceiving them intent on the ſpoil, attacks them firſt with only his courtiers, and ſlays upon the very treaſures thoſe who now imagin'd the *Othmans* entirely routed. The reſt of the army alſo admoniſh'd by the Emperor's example, rally again, and ſo bravely charge their enemies, that not a man of thoſe that had enter'd the camp eſcap'd to tell the news. Vanquiſhes the *Chriſtians*.

IV. After this victory, he comes to *Conſtantinople* in triumph, and content with what he had acquir'd, makes peace with the *Chriſtians*, in order to enjoy, what he was naturally inclin'd to, eaſe and pleaſure. So he lives in profound repoſe till the year 1012, when deſirous of an everlaſting Kingdom, and weary of the allurements of this world, he departs to an eternal palace. He reign'd nine years and two months; but how long he liv'd is not mention'd in hiſtory, only it is certain, he died in the vigour of his age. He perform'd but one memorable action, namely, his expedition into *Hungary*, in which he took *Egre*, and routed the *Chriſtians*, from whence he acquir'd the name of *Egre*. Dies. H. 1012. A. C. 1603.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET III.

The REIGN of AHMED I.

Fourteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

H. 1012. A. C. 1603.

BOOK III. CHAP. VIII.

Ahmed succeeds. H. 1012. A. C. 1603.

I. THE [illegible] by the death of *Mahomet*, *Egra*, [illegible] on the [illegible] of the month *Rejeb*, in the year 1012, when he was [illegible] fifteen years old, and thus what had never before been done, [illegible] of the Government were committed to a youth; which gave occasion to the following verse of a certain Poet: "To him alone of all the sons of *Othman*, it was "granted to enjoy the Empire before he had been possess'd of a Stan-"dard (1).

He is disturb'd by two Ravagers.

II. But he demonstrates in the first years of his Reign, that the sceptre was not unworthily put into the hands of a youth. His deceas'd father's love of ease had render'd the *Asiatic* soldiery, whom the *Persian* wars had always been employ'd, so insolent, that they imagin'd it allowable to fall upon and spoil not only Travellers but whole provinces and towns. Complaints had in his father's time been frequently brought to Court, and Generals also sent to suppress the rebels, but either allur'd with the hope of prey themselves, or negligent of their duty, they were so far from putting a stop to these proceedings, that the number of plunderers increasing, all *Anatolia* was miserably ravag'd. Among these the two chief were *Calenderogli* and *Ta-*

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Standard] that is, before he was of mature age. For till then, the *Turks* never deliver a *Sanjak* or Standard, the Ensign of Power, to any Person.

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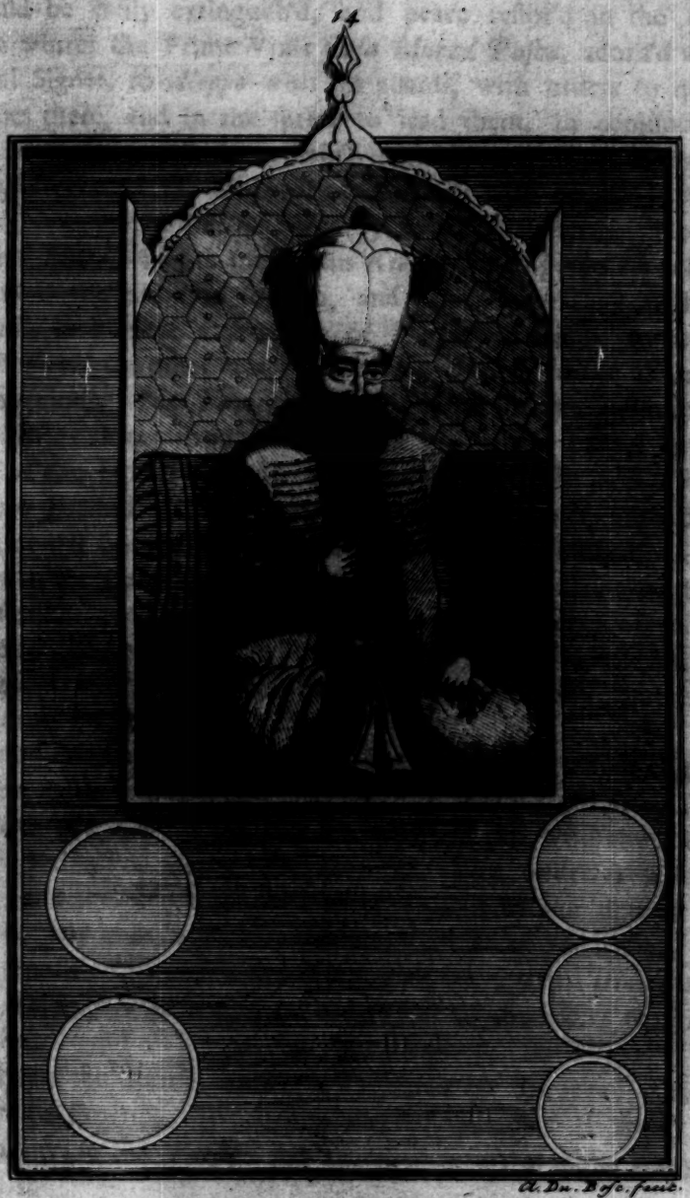

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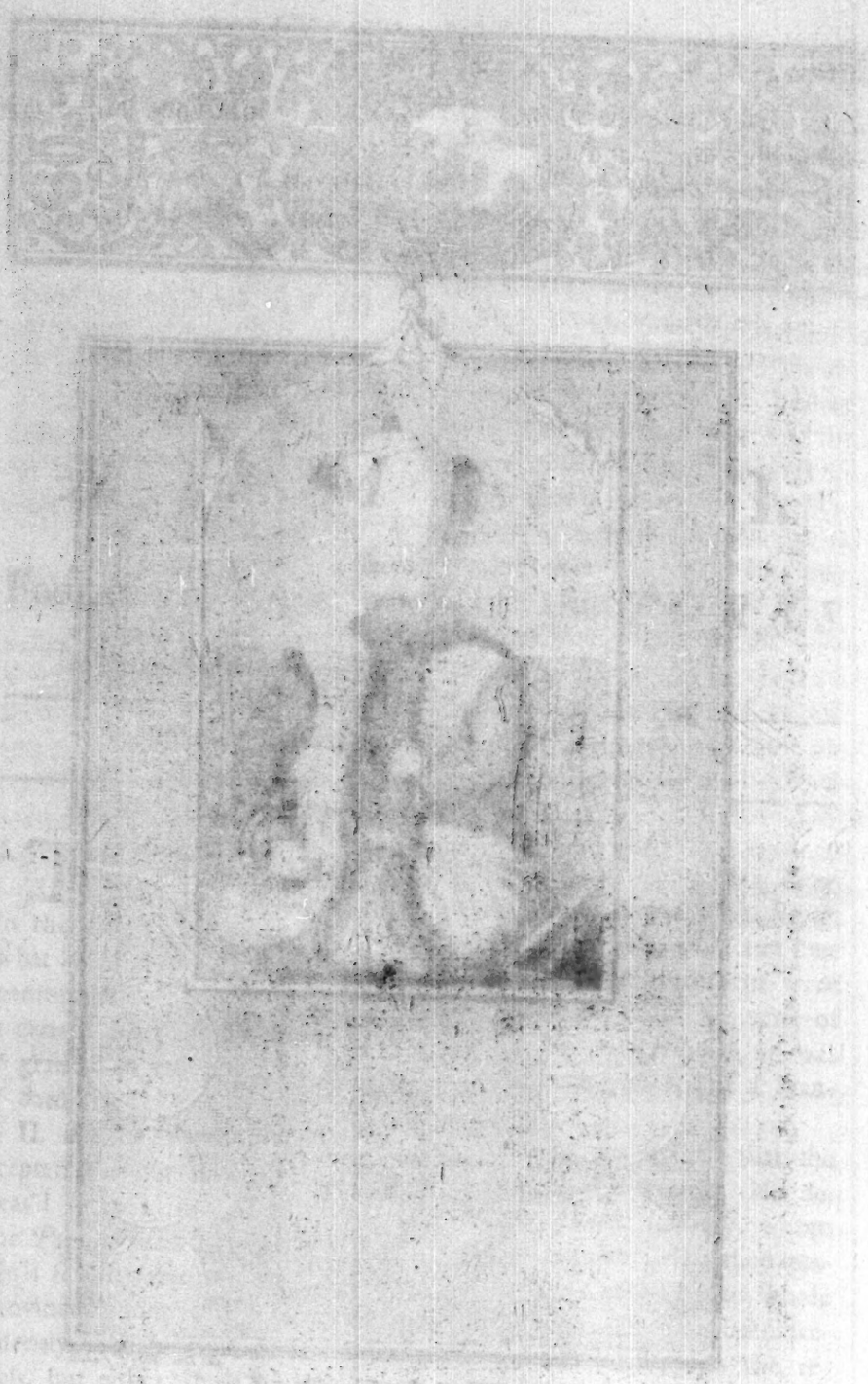
AHMED. I.
Fourteenth Emperor of the Turks
in the Year 1603.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



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vil (2), who made the greateſt and moſt bloody incurſions into the *Othman* dominions, and dar'd even to attack the troops.

They are vanquiſh'd.

III. Sultan *Ahmed* thinking, if theſe were quell'd, the whole ſedition would be eaſily extinguiſh'd, and peace reſtor'd in the eaſt, ſends about winter the Prime Vizir *Coſa Murad Paſha*, adorn'd with the imperial Signet, to *Aleppo* with his guards, with orders to quarter his forces there, and in the ſpring to lead them, in conjunction with ſuch of the *Aſiaticks* as remain'd faithful, againſt the ravagers. *Murad Paſha* executes the Emperor's commands with no leſs bravery than ſucceſs, vanquiſhes *Calenderogly* (3) at laſt after ſeveral bloody conflicts near *Maraſh* in the mountains *Kioikieſen*, diſperſes his whole army, kills all the common ſoldiers, and drives him alone without any followers into *Arak* a province of *Perſia*. Then he turns his arms againſt *Tavil* the other ravager, who was coming to the aſſiſtance of his companions. But *Tavil*, without ſtaying for the Muſulmans, marches with his forces towards them, and gives them battle, but by the valour of the Janizaries is defeated, and forc'd to fly into *Perſia*.

They embroil the peace with the *Perſians*.

IV. There he finds *Calenderogli*, and with him enters into meaſures, detrimental both to friends and foes. By their inſtigations the peace between the *Othmans* and *Perſians*, hitherto inviolable on both ſides, is diſturb'd, and the *Perſians*, mov'd by the ſpeeches of the rebels, refuſe to deliver them up when requir'd. *Ahmed* conſider'd this as an indignity, and done in contempt of his government, and therefore reſolves to be ſeverely reveng'd.

Murad Paſha marches againſt the *Perſians*.

V. To this end, he ſends *Murad Paſha* the Vizir, (whoſe conduct he had before tried in quelling the rebels) with a numerous army from *Conſtantinople* towards the *Perſian* borders, but not with the ſucceſs he had expected. For as the expedition had been undertaken ſomething late, and the march render'd more tedious by the difficulty of the ways, it was near winter when the Vizir came to *Tybris*, and therefore impoſſible to effect any thing with his wearied troops in ſo advanc'd a ſeaſon. Whereupon he orders part of the forces to winter in *Diarbekir*.

Dies, and his poſt is given to *Naſuh Paſha*.

VI. Early in the ſpring, reſolving to repair by his ſpeed what he had loſt by his ſlowneſs the laſt ſummer, he aſſembles his army, and prepares to invade the *Perſian* provinces, but juſt as he is ready to

H. 1013.

A. C. 1604.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Tavil*] *Tall*, it is a ſirname, ſuch as is frequently given by the *Turks* to their Generals on account of their endowments of body or mind, as, *faſil Ahmed Paſha*, *Ahmed Paſha the Learned*, (the ſame that took *Candia*.) *Sbiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, *Ibrahim Paſha the Fat*. *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha*, *Ibrahim Paſha the Devil*, *Seraskier* in the laſt war with the *Germans*, *Elmaz Mehemed Paſha*, *Mehemed Paſha the Adamant*, who fell in the battle of *Zenta*.

(3) *Calenderogli*] Son of *Calender* a famous robber, whoſe exploits are ſtill celebrated in ſongs call'd *Sharky*. He muſt not be confounded with one of the ſame name, who under *Mahomet* I. almoſt reduc'd the *Othman* Empire to the laſt extremity.

march, he is seiz'd with a distemper, and dies shortly after in his tent. His office is conferr'd on *Nasuh Pasha* (4), who after a year's stay there to as little purpose, leads back the army much weaken'd by sickness and fatigue to *Constantinople*.

H. 1014.
A. C. 1605.

Mehmed Pasha besieges *Revan.*

VII. At his arrival, he is accus'd to the Emperor of sloth and negligence, and on conviction beheaded. *Mehmed Pasha* is made Prime Vizir in his room, and commanded to prosecute the *Persian* war with more vigour, and that he might be in greater readiness, to winter at *Aleppo*. From hence he departs in the year 1015 with a very numerous army, and entering the *Persian* borders, lays close siege to *Revan*, and furiously assaults it forty days; but repuls'd by the bravery of the garrison, he is forc'd at last to raise the siege with great loss.

H. 1015.
A. C. 1606.

Is strangled, and succeeded by *Halil Pasha.*

VIII. *Mehmed Pasha*, in his return from this expedition, when he comes to *Erzirum*, and intends to send his forces into winter quarters, is in pursuance of the imperial mandate strangled by *Capuji bashi*. His post is conferr'd on *Halil Pasha*, a brave and prudent General, who warn'd by the examples of his predecessors, spends the whole winter in providing warlike stores, that he might the next spring act against the enemy without any impediment.

H. 1015.
A. C. 1606.

Ahmed's death.

IX. Thus whilst there was great hope of humbling the pride of *Persia*, it is blasted by a sudden fever, which, the same year *Persia* was threaten'd with destruction, namely in 1026, seizes the Emperor. It is at first disregarded as not seeming dangerous, but afterwards so increases every day, that *Ahmed*, glutted with human affairs, leaves the toils of Empire, and flies to Paradisiacal pleasures.

H. 1026.
A. C. 1617.

His character.

X. He liv'd twenty nine, and reign'd fourteen years, his three sons *Othman*, *Murad*, and *Ibrahim*, were all seen by posterity on the *Turkish* throne. Not to mention his other virtues, he excell'd all his predecessors in liberality and magnificence, so that he has been charg'd by some with profuseness. He was very fond of building, witness the *Jami* (5), Rival, and Neighbour of *Santa Sophia* in the *Hyppodrome*, built with so great care and expense, that to finish it, the treasures of the whole Empire, collected during his father's long repose, scarce suffic'd. Whilst this work was in hand, the Sultan is said to visit it every week, and pay the workmen their wages himself.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Nasuh Pasha*] In the *Koran*, *Benjamin*, *Joseph*'s brother is call'd *Nasuh*, and from that time this name began to be common with the *Mahometans*.

(5) *Jami*] This Building in magnificence, though not in largeness, excells *Santa Sophia*. Besides the numberless ornaments on the outside of the walls, there are above two hundred gold tables hung up on the inside, on which are ingraven the names of the Prophets, with sentences out of the *Koran*, every one whereof it is said, cost fifty thousand dollars, being set each with sixty one Diamonds. It is certain, so much money was expended on this structure, that after it was finish'd, upon an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar was found to cost three Aspers.

The End of the Reign of AHMED I.

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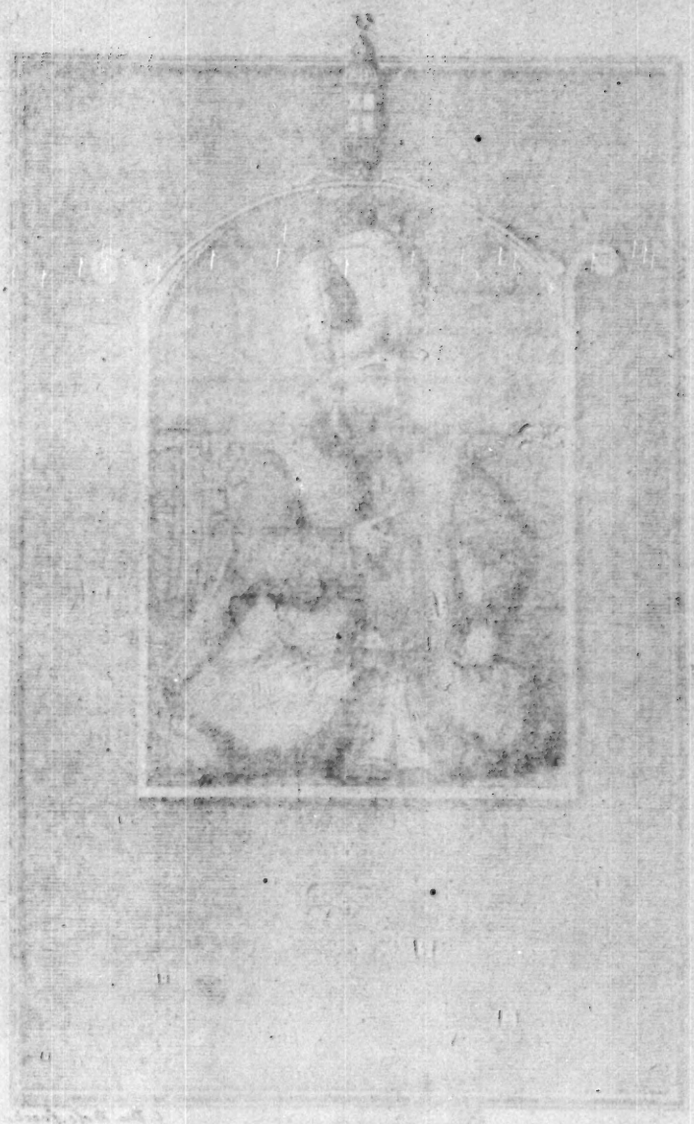

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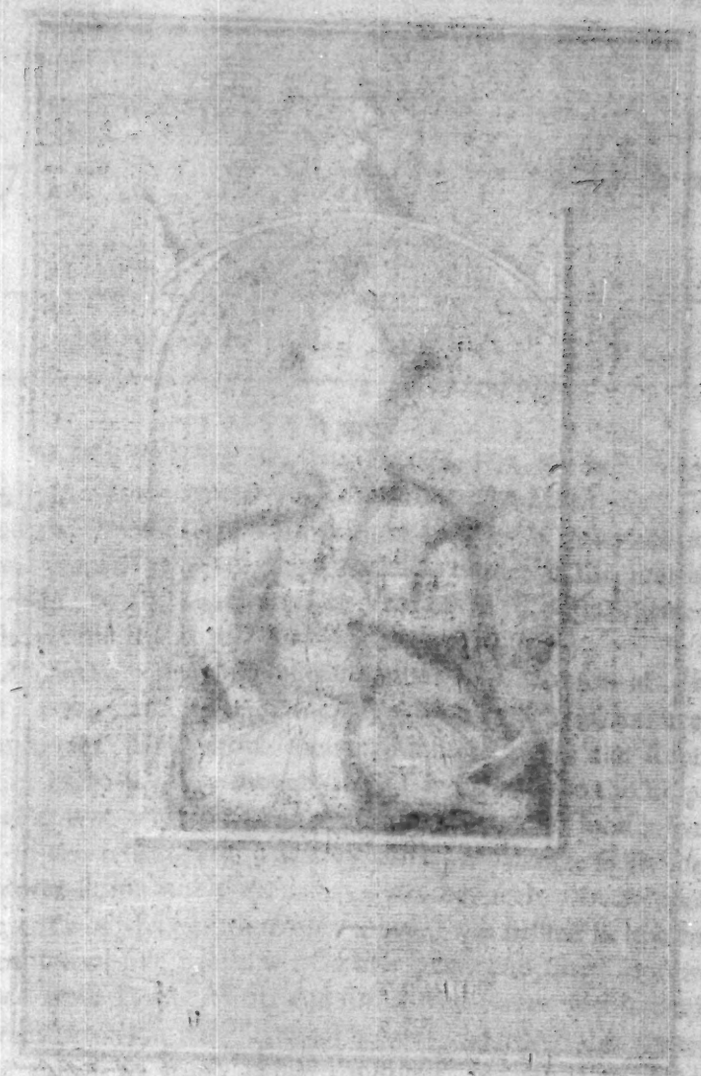
C. Du. Bosc. fecit.

MUSTAPHA
Fifteenth Emperor of ye Turks,
in the Year 1618.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



12 AP 58

C. Du. Bosse fecit.

Othman II,

Sixteenth EMPEROR of ye TURKS

in the Year 1618.

From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGNS of *MUSTAPHA* and *OTHMAN* II.

BOOK III. CHAP. IX.

I. *AHMED* being dead, is ſucceeded in the beginning of the year 1027, by his younger brother *Muſtapha* (1). But as he govern'd the *Othman* ſtate with little or no care of the publick affairs, and gave himſelf up entirely to his luſts, he was in the fourth month of his reign, by the unanimous conſent of all the Great-men, remov'd from the throne to the priſon of the ſeven Towers. *Muſtapha* ſucceeds. H. 1027. A. C. 1618.

II. *Muſtapha* being thus depos'd, Sultan *Othman*, ſon of *Ahmed*, aſcended the throne in the eighth year of his age, whom, on account of his youth, they had before thought unfit to wield the ſcepter, and therefore had paſs'd by, though he had more right to the Empire than *Muſtapha*, who was choſen as a contemplative and inoffenſive man.

III. In this reign appear'd at *Conſtantinople* a ſtrange ſight, ſuch as had there never been, nor perhaps ever will be, ſeen. In the year 1029, on the 28th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, was beheld in the heavens a crooked ſword five times as long as a ſpear, and three foot broad. It extended from East to Weſt, and for a whole month ſhone with great brightneſs after ſun-ſet. The aſtrologers and thoſe that pretended to foretell things to come being conſulted, declare it to be a ſign of victory and increaſe of Empire to the *Othmans*. The ſame aſtrologers interpret as a bad omen the froſt which happen'd about the ſame time the next year, and was ſo great, that the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* ſafely went to and from *Iskiuder* on foot. A ſight in the Heavens. H. 1029. A. C. 1620.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Muſtapha*] The *Turks* aſcribe the greateſt things to all their Emperors, except this *Muſtapha*, whom they repreſent as exceeding all the reſt in vice, as much as his anceſtors did him in virtue. He might be call'd the *Sardanapolus* of the *Othmans*, if he had ſhown the like magnanimity in his death with that Prince.

Othman marches into *Poland.*

IV. *Othman* in contempt of this prediction undertakes, in the ſummer after the hard winter, an expedition againſt the *Poles*, recovers *Chotin* (2), which they had taken by aſſault, ſends the Chan of *Tartary* with the *Tartarian* and *Turkiſh* forces to ravage the inmoſt part of *Poland*, and he himſelf ſo ſurrounds and preſſes the enemies troops with his own, that they were at laſt compell'd to ſue for peace. The Emperor grants their requeſt, and making a peace on his own conditions, returns about winter laden with ſpoil and captives to *Conſtantinople.*

He is depos'd, and *Muſtapha* reſtor'd.

V. But the ſoldiery unus'd to youthful Government, whilſt they live idly at *Conſtantinople*, being ſtirr'd up by *Muſtapha*'s party, raiſe the next year a furious ſedition, moſt barbarouſly kill, without any regard to the blood from whence he was ſprung, the Emperor, a young man of great hopes, in the fourth year of his reign, and the twelfth of his age, and bury him near his father in the *Jami*, which he had built. Then they releaſe *Muſtapha*, whom they had before depos'd and ſhut up in the priſon of the ſeven Towers, and re-eſtabliſh him on the Throne.

Who for his vices is again dethron'd and ſtrangled.

VI. But neither was his reign very long. He had conceal'd, whilſt in priſon, not corrected, the vices of his perverſe nature, and thereby put the ſoldiers in hopes, that having taſted of the cup of affliction, he would become better, and alter his courſe of life and government. In this expectation, when they had replac'd him on the throne, thinking himſelf out of fortune's power, he returns to his old vices, plays the tyrant, ſeeks to deſtroy his depoſers, manifeſtly neglects the adminiſtration of affairs, and acts nothing in words or deeds worthy of memory. When he had thus tyranniz'd, rather than reign'd, fifteen months, he is again dethron'd by the Great-men, rejecting the dominion of a fool, and with the greateſt ignominy put on an aſs, and carried amidſt the ſcoffs and inſults of the mob to the priſon of the ſeven Towers, where ſoon after by the command of his ſucceſſor *Murad* IV. he is ſtrangled.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Chotin*] A City of *Moldavia* on the *Tyras* over-againſt *Caminiec*, fortified both by nature and art. The walls in my time were repair'd by the *Turks* after the battle of *Hieraſus*, with the addition of ſome modern works, ſo that it may now juſtly be counted the Bulwark of the whole Empire againſt the *Ruſſians* and *Poles*. But of this more largely in my account of antient and modern *Moldavia.*

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The End of the Reigns of OTHMAN II. and MUSTAPHA.

The

12 AP 58

MURAD, II,
Seventeenth Emperor of ye Turks,
in the Year 1622
From an Original in the Seraglio

The REIGN of *MURAD* IV. Sirnam'd GAZI, Seventeenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. X.

I. SUltan *Murad*, whoſe brave exploits acquir'd him the name of *Gazi* or *the Valiant*, was born in 1018, and upon the depoſing of *Muſtapha*, ſucceeded to the *Othman* Empire the 4th of *Ziulcade*, in the year of the *Hejira* 1032. *Murad* ſucceeds. H. 1032. A. C. 1622.

II. In the very beginning of his reign he ſhow'd, how much better it was for the *Othmans* to obey an active young man than a ſluggard. *Abaza*, Baſha of *Erzirum* in *Muſtapha*'s time, had dar'd to ravage the *Aſiatic* provinces, and openly oppoſe his ſovereign, and hop'd to proceed with impunity, as long as *Murad* a youth held the reins of the government. But the Emperor, to curb this man's inſolence and hinder the flame from increaſing, in the ſecond year of his reign, ſends the Prime Vizir *Cherkies* Mehemed Paſha* (1) againſt the rebels with an ar- He vanquiſhes *Abaza* the rebel. H. 1033. A. C. 1623.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Cherkies**] The only Prime Vizir of *Chercaſſian** extraction, tho' ſeveral of that Nation have enjoy'd the higheſt offices in the *Turkiſh* Court. He was a General of the greateſt reputation among the *Turks*, and married *Murad*'s ſiſter *Hatijem*, of whom he was very fond. The Brother of this man, in the village call'd *Ortakioi*, built an elegant Palace, adorn'd with Gardens and Aquæducts. In proceſs of time, when the *Turks* in *Ahmed* II's reign ſaw all *Hungary*, *Belgrade*, and *Niſſa*, ſubdu'd by the arms of the Emperor *Leopold*, and expected *Conſtantinople* or at leaſt *Adrianople* would be taken, and many, under colour of a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, had retir'd with what effects they could carry with them, to the remote provinces of *Aſia*, I bought this Palace for twenty five thouſand Dolars of *Yuſuf Effendi* ſon of *Terſane Emini*, Inſpector of the Navy, and have left it inlarg'd with ſeveral buildings and ornaments. I hear it is poſſeſs'd now by the preſent Emperor's daughter, wife of *Ali Paſha* the Prime Vizir †.

† See the Plan of *Conſtantinople*.

my

my into *Aſia*, who bravely attacks *Abaza Paſha* (2) near *Caiſarie*, and defeating him after a very bloody and fierce battle, forces him to fly to *Erzirum*. Perhaps he would have entirely quell'd the rebellion, if he had not after his victory died the ſame year at *Tokat*.

He in vain attempts *Bagdad* by *Ali Paſha*.

III. *Murad* deſpiſing *Abaza*, (whoſe forces he now imagin'd entirely ſuppreſs'd) turns his thoughts to greater undertakings, and ſends again a great army into *Aſia* under *Chaphyz Ali Paſha*, Governor of *Diarbekir*, with orders to join the *Aſiatic* troops, and inſtantly attack *Bagdad*. He executes his commiſſion; but after five months ſiege is repuls'd by the bravery of the beſieg'd with great loſs, and forc'd to avoid the injuries of the weather by a ſpeedy return.

Halil Paſha made Vizir, beſieges *Abaza*,

IV. For this reaſon, *Chaphyz Ali Paſha* (3), when he comes to *Aleppo*, is depriv'd of his dignity, and the imperial ſigner committed to *Halil Paſha*. But neither does this Vizir anſwer the Emperor's expectations. For being order'd to march againſt the *Perſians*, when he comes in the neighbourhood of *Erzirum*, *Abaza Paſha* the rebel, who lurk'd about that place, ſuſpects, that under the colour of a *Perſian* expedition, an army was leading againſt him, and returns into *Erzirum*, which he ſome time ſince had made the ſeat of arms, and ſtor'd with proviſions and other warlike ſtores. *Halil Paſha* taking this for a flight, that he might entirely cruſh the diſpirited, as he thought, enemies, leaves the *Perſian* expedition, marches to *Erzirum*, and cloſely beſieges the city.

but is defeated by him.

V. But whilſt he hopes to acquire fame with little labour, he procures diſgrace with infinite trouble. For the City is bravely defended by *Abaza*, who of all mortals was then unanimouſly eſteem'd the beſt ſoldier and wiſeſt General. Not content with repulſing the enemies, he unexpectedly aſſaults, with a ſmall but choſen band, the *Othman* camp, inſtantly kills the guards, and ſtrikes the whole army with ſuch terror, that a defeat eaſily follow'd. Thus numerous forces are vanquiſh'd by a handful of men, multitudes are ſlain, and many taken alive, the Vizir himſelf, after throwing away his arms, hardly eſcaping with a few attendants.

Choſreu Paſha takes *Abaza* and *Erzirum*.

VI. When this defeat is brought to *Murad*, he is doubly afflicted, and perceives his own, as well as his Vizir's error; his own, in unſeaſonably deſpiſing *Abaza*, and his Vizir's, in relinquiſhing the more weighty affairs, and turning the arms of the Empire to things of leſs moment. To remedy both, he diſplaces *Halil Paſha*, and appointing

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Abaza*] So call'd from his country *Abaza*, the inhabitants whereof in manners or language are very like the *Chercaſſians**. Hence Captives from *Abaza* are valued next to thoſe from *Chercaſſia**. *Abaza Paſha* himſelf was a General of the greateſt repute with the *Turks*, and after his rebellion an example of fidelity.

(3) *Chaphyz*] Is a ſirname, uſually given by way of honour to thoſe who can ſay the whole *Koran* by heart, and is deriv'd from the *Arabic* word *Chyſh*, *Memory*, *Cuſtody*.

Choſreu Paſha his Vizir and General, ſends him with ſupplies to the army wintering in *Diarbekir*, with orders to extinguiſh the flame, by attacking *Abaza* early in the ſpring. *Choſreu Paſha*, whom the unfortunate example of his Predeceſſor had render'd more cautious, executes his commiſſion with greater care, aſſembles all the forces, prepares the largeſt cannon, and with them ſo ſhakes the walls of *Erzirum*, that the frighted inhabitants deliver up their City with the rebel, the fifth day of the ſiege.

VII. The town being taken, *Choſreu Paſha* ſends the rebels in chains to the Port. But *Murad* having before heard of his heroical exploits, and moreover ſeeing the man to be of an invincible courage and mind, who had been betray'd into his hands by his own people, thinks it unfit to remove him out of the world, and though he deſerv'd a thouſand deaths, deprive the *Othman* Empire of ſo great an ornament. Wherefore ſeverely reprimanding him for his rebellion, he promiſes to forgive him (3), on condition he will wipe out his former crimes by his future actions, and draw that ſword againſt the enemies of the *Othmans*, which he had hitherto us'd againſt the Empire. *Abaza* readily conſenting to theſe unexpected terms, is not only receiv'd by *Murad* into favour, but alſo made Beglerbeg of *Boſnia*, as a proper perſon to curb the enemies by his valour, in caſe they ſhould invade the Empire on that ſide whilſt employ'd in the *Perſian* war. *Murad* pardons him.

VIII. The civil diſturbances being thus appeas'd, in the year 1039, *Choſreu Paſha* is ſent with a freſh army againſt *Bagdad*. The Vizir to remove the obſtacles his predeceſſors had met with, immediately goes into *Aſia*, and makes great preparations the whole winter at *Muſul*. In the ſpring, to cut off all relief from *Bagdad*, he enters the province of *Arak*, govern'd under the *Perſian* King by *Zeinel chan*, takes the caſtles, deſtroys what he can't keep, and entirely quelling the rebellion, cloſely beſieges *Bagdad*. But fortune did not permit the glory deſtin'd for the Emperors alone to fall on the General. For the Vizir, though he bravely aſſaulted the City one and forty days, yet finding he could not prevail, is forc'd to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs. *Choſreu* beſieges *Bagdad* in vain. H. 1039. A. C. 1629.

IX. The good ſucceſs of this expedition was hinder'd chiefly by a freſh rebellion rais'd on the borders of *Perſia*. For *Ilias Paſha*, whom *Murad* had made Beglerbeg of *Erzirum* in *Abaza*'s room, as if he had ſucceeded not only in his office, but alſo in his deſire and *Ilias Paſha* rebelling, is taken and puniſh'd

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(4) forgive] This pardon is aſcrib'd to him as an unparallell'd inſtance of clemency by the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians, who ſtudy to put the beſt conſtruction on their Emperor's actions. But there are others who ſay *Abaza* ſurrender'd himſelf to *Choſreu Paſha*, on condition he ſhould depart out of the City with his life and honour ſafe, and therefore could not be put to death by *Murad*. For the *Turkiſh* Emperors ſeldom break the faith given to *Mahometans*, and beſides the ſignal qualities of the rebel ſeem'd to require mercy.

thirſt of dominion, when he finds both the ſoldiers and inhabitants ready to favour him, refuſes obedience to the Emperor, hoping to avoid with eaſe the ſnares *Abaza* had fallen into. But fortune was not alike to both, and what had turn'd to an increaſe of honour to *Abaza*, brings infamy and puniſhment on the other. For he was taken in the year 1041 by *Kiuchuk** (5) *Mehmed Paſha*, and ſent to the Port, where in the publick market place he is order'd to lay down his aſpiring thoughts with his head.

H. 1041.
A. C. 1631.

Van beſieg'd by the *Perſians*, is reliev'd.

X. The Muſulman army being weaken'd by theſe civil wars, *Ruſtem Chan*, General of the *Perſians*, invades the *Othman* dominions, and ravaging the adjacent country, lays cloſe ſiege to *Van*. As the *Aſiatic* army was unable to withſtand him, and the City in the utmoſt diſtreſs, *Murad*, on news of the danger, ſends the Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with his *European* forces to its relief, who routs the *Perſians*, and delivers the City now on the point of ſurrendering.

Murad ſends an army againſt the *Poles*, and grants them peace.

XI. The *Perſians* being defeated, he reſolves to turn his victorious arms againſt the *Poles*, and aſſembling his forces at *Adrianople*, orders *Murtaza Paſha*, in conjunction with *Jambolad zade* (6), whom he had made General of the *Rumelian* horſe, to infeſt *Poland*. Theſe Generals paſs the *Danube* near *Girgiow* (7), a town of *Walachia*, and incamp on the banks. Whilſt they remain here, expecting the Emperor's orders, *Poliſh* ambaſſadors arrive, and humbly ſue to *Murtaza* for peace. *Murtaza*, not daring to tranſact ſo weighty an affair without his Sovereign's privity, ſends the ambaſſadors to the Port, by whoſe intreaties *Murad* is mov'd to grant a peace on his own terms.

Wine permitted.
H. 1043.
A. C. 1633.

XII. In the year 1043, a new and hitherto unheard of edict is publiſh'd by the Emperor, by which not only the ſellers of wine are permitted to exerciſe their trade, but alſo every one allow'd to drink it freely contrary to the *Mahometan* Law. On the other hand, the Coffee-houſes are forbid to be open'd under ſevere penalties.

Murad goes againſt the *Perſians*, and takes *Revan*.

XIII. Mean while, the care of the *Perſian* war gave him continual uneaſineſs, becauſe he perceiv'd it impracticable either to eſtabliſh, or as he intended, to inlarge the Empire, whilſt *Bagdad*, the nobleſt City of *Aſia* and Bulwark of the *Othman* dominions, was in the hands of the *Perſians*. Wherefore as he found, he had gain'd no advantage to the *Othman* ſtate by his Generals, he reſolves to take upon himſelf the office of General, and ſurmount by the imperial Majeſty the obſtacles which had ſtop'd the progreſs of ſo many Vizirs. To this purpoſe, in the year 1044, he paſſes into *Aſia* from his Metropolis with

H. 1044.
A. C. 1634.

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(5) *Kiuchuk**] A name uſually given by the *Turks* to perſons of low ſtature.

(6) *Jambolad zade*] Son of *Jambolad*. He ſeems to have been of *Tartarian* extraction, for this name is peculiar to the *Tartars*; as *Polad Mirza*, &c.

(7) *Girgiow*] An ancient City of *Walachia* between *Siliſtria* and *Nicopolis*.

a numerous

a numerous army, and leads his forces full of hopes towards *Bagdad*. In his march he beſieges *Revan* lately recover'd by the *Perſians*, and preſſes it ſo cloſely, that the garriſon, unable to withſtand his aſſaults, on the eighth day ſurrender themſelves and City to his mercy. Whereupon the Governor alone, *Emirgiun ogli* (8), is detain'd and ſent to *Conſtantinople*. But the next year, after he had ſtaid ſome time about *Tybris*, repair'd the adjacent caſtles, and ſtrengthen'd them with garriſons, he leads back, about *Caſſim Giuni* † (9), his victorious army to *Conſtantinople*. H. 1045. A. C. 1635. † *Oct.* 26.

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(8) *Emirgiun ogli*] Son of *Emirgiun*, a *Perſian* Chan. He was brought a Captive to *Conſtantinople*, but by his skill in muſick ſoon gain'd *Murad*'s favour to ſuch a degree, that he was made one of his Privy Counſellors, and when the Emperor indulg'd himſelf in wine, he was delighted with only him and *Becri Muſtapha*. Very often in his palace, which is ſtill to be ſeen on the *Boſphorus*, and from him call'd *Imirgiun ogli yaliſi* (for *Yali* is any palace ſituated near the ſea) *Murad* met him and made himſelf merry with wine. Once when the Emperor was there drinking wine, a certain noble *Greek* happen'd to paſs by in a boat, and not knowing the Sultan to be in that place, ſung with great skill and ſweetneſs a *Perſian* ſong. *Emirgiun* opening the window, the *Greek* immediately left off. But *Emirgiun* deſires him in God's name and for Chriſt's ſake to go on with his ſong, and bids the rowers ſtop the boat. When the ſong was ended, he goes down to the *Greek*, asks him, who he was, that was ſo perfectly skill'd both in the *Perſian* language and the art of muſick. Being told he was a *Greek* and *Murad*'s ſubject, he kiſſes his hand three times, and diſmiſſes him with a good preſent. Then returning to the Emperor, the *Greeks*, ſays he, who now obey your ſcepter, were once our Lords, and I have this day found they juſtly enjoy'd that honour. I had indeed heard of their fame in our Hiſtorians, but never happen'd to meet with any one of that Nation worthy the character formerly given them. But it has been my fortune to day to know a *Greek*, whom if the reſt are like, that race was truly deſerving as well of our Empire as of your ſervice. For though I am ſecond to none among our countrymen in muſick, I am ſcarce worthy to be call'd the ſcholar of this *Greek*.

(9) *Caſſim Giuni*] By this name the *Turks* denote St. *Demetrius*, whom as well as St. *George* (by them call'd *Hydyrlez*) they fabulouſly aſſert to have been a Muſulman. They celebrate with the eaſtern *Chriſtians* the Feſtivals of both, namely the 23d of *April* and the 26th of *October*. By theſe two days, as by anniverſary Poles, the *Turks* regulate their expeditions: after the 23d of *April* they take the field, and the 26th of *October* they return from their expedition. After St. *George*'s day, whatever ſoldier is not at the place of Rendezvous, he is depriv'd of his pay and preſent, or muſt undergo ſome other puniſhment, though there can't be a worſe puniſhment than to be diſmiſs'd from the army with diſgrace. When they have ſpent theſe months in an expedition, the moment St. *Demetrius*'s day appears, no ſoldier is forc'd to obey the General or the Sultan himſelf, unleſs they voluntarily bind themſelves to farther duty for the publick ſafety. For whoever after St. *Demetrius*'s day comes to *Ordicadiſi*, or the Judge of the camp, and demands *Caſſim ſigili*, that is, a Certificate of having faithfully ſerv'd that year to St. *Demetrius*'s day, which cannot be refus'd, he may ſafely leave the army without being liable to pain or penalty. For no *Turkiſh* ſoldier, tho' all receive pay throughout the year, is oblig'd to duty above ſix months.

XIV. But

The *Persians* take *Van*. H. 1046. A. C. 1636.

XIV. But the *Persians*, who had hitherto skulk'd for fear of the *Othman* sword, when they hear of *Murad*'s departure, suddenly rush forth with numerous forces and besiege *Van*, of which *Abaza Pasha* had been made Governor. The Musulmans make a gallant resistance, so that for four months the *Persians* could gain no advantage, though they frequently repeated their assaults, and perhaps the City would have been freed from the danger, if the Governor *Abaza Pasha*, on whom the strength and safety of the place seem'd to depend, had not been snatch'd out of the world. For dispirited by this accident, the *Othmans* more faintly defend themselves, whilst the *Persians*, grown more couragious, furiously renew their assaults, take the City by storm, and sacrifice all the Musulmans to the Ghosts of their countrymen slain by *Murad*.

Murad marches against the *Persians*;

XV. When the news of this slaughter is brought to *Constantinople*, *Murad*, not expecting any such thing after his last year's happy expedition, is fill'd with rage and indignation. The effects whereof are first felt by the Vizir *Mehemed Pasha*, who for neglecting to fortify the borders, is instantly turn'd out, and his office given to *Bairam Pasha* with terrible threats against the *Persians*. That these menaces might not be in vain, he sends the same year the Vizir before, with some light-armed troops, and following in person with a greater army into *Asia*, marches directly to *Bagdad*. H. 1047. A. C. 1637.

takes *Bagdad*.

XVI. When he comes there, spurr'd on, not so much by his heroical valour, as by the desire of revenge, attacks the City so vigorously, that for thirty days it seem'd to be rather a continual slaughter and butchery than a fight. Fire, sword, and cannons cease not one moment the whole time, to destroy the soldiers on both sides. The assaults are daily renew'd, the Emperor with his scymiter, compells the retiring men to re-charge, and with his own hand kills the Vizir himself for appearing too negligent. At length, by the bravery of the *Othmans* and steddiness of the Emperor, the City is taken, and above thirty thousand *Persians* (10), who had deliver'd themselves up to the Sultan's

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(10) thirty thousand] The *Persians* still mourn with everlasting tears this cruelty of Sultan *Murad*. For he resolv'd to spare no Captive, noble or ignoble, but commanded all to be slain to a man. As his order was executing, a certain Musician desires the officers to defer his punishment, and permit him to speak one word at least to the Emperor. Being brought to him, and ask'd what he had to say, suffer not, (says he) most gracious Emperor, that with me *Shabculi*, *the Emperor's Servant*, (by which name he was afterwards call'd) the whole art of Musick to perish. For life is not desireable to me as a man, but as a student of Musick, whose hidden depths I have not yet entirely fathom'd, I beg a longer time to perfect myself in that divine art, which if I can accomplish, I would not exchange it for your Empire. Being order'd to give a Specimen of his skill, he takes up a *Sheshdar*, (call'd in *Arabic*, *Zabur*, in *Greek*, *Psalterion*,) and with so sweet a voice and so much art sings the Tragedy of the taking of *Bagdad* and *Murad*'s praises, that he drew tears from

Sultan's power, are slaughter'd in his presence. Thus fell the famous City, to defend which, the *Shah* of *Persia* had assembled the flower of his army, and almost his whole nobility, and to take which, *Murad* had applied the strength of the *Othman* Empire. This was the last overthrow of the *Persians*, since which they have not dar'd to be reveng'd, or to lift up their head against the *Othman* power.

returns, and dies.

XVII. *Bagdad* being subdu'd, *Murad* spends some days in repairing the breaches, and setling the affairs of the province of *Arak*: then leaving the new Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* to finish what he had begun, winters in *Diarbekir*, and the next spring returns to *Constantinople* with his guards. Whilst he is there meditating an expedition against the *Christians*, he is suddenly seiz'd with a distemper, which after fifteen days transported him to the regions of eternity in the year 1049. on the 15th of the month *Shevval*, after he had liv'd thirty one, and reign'd seventeen years.

H. 1048. A. C. 1638. H. 1049. A. C. 1639.

Murad's character.

XVIII. The *Turks* relate the manners and domestick affairs of this Emperor in so many Volumes, that perhaps they justly seem sometimes to intermix fables. I shall briefly insert such things only as are deliver'd by *Murad*'s more accurate historians. By these he is chiefly observ'd to commit some things contrary both to the imperial honour and the order of nature. They say he us'd to resort with particular friends to certain pleasant places and gardens without the City, and in a manner unbecoming an Emperor, converse with them, light fires, dress victuals, buy wine from a tavern, and drink it familiarly with his companions. Moreover he married old women of eighty to young men of fifteen or five and twenty, and join'd in matrimony old men and girls in the flower of their youth, with a thousand such like pranks.

His drunkenness.

XIX. It may be said in his excuse, that he intended by these things to search more accurately into the nature and inclinations of mans and taste the pleasures of a private and rural life. But he is much more remarkable for his drunkenness, in which he exceeded all his predecessors that were given to that vice. Led to it by *Becri Mustapha* (11), he was not content to drink wine in private, but

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from *Murad* himself, who could not refrain till the Musician had done singing. For his sake *Murad* order'd what captives were yet alive, not only not to be kill'd, but to be set at liberty. Afterwards *Murad* carried with him this Musician to *Constantinople*, and greatly esteem'd him. And indeed his *Persian* musical works, which in *Persia* seem'd to be buried in the ruins of *Bagdad*, were reviv'd in *Turky*. This musical instrument is much like a harp with six strings each way, (from whence the name *Sheshdar* or ἑξαχόρδιον,) and is accounted the chief of musical instruments, invented as 'tis thought by *David*, though few at this day know how to play on it well.

(11) *Becri Mustapha*] The *Turks* unanimously agree, that this man gave *Murad* the first occasion of making himself drunk. How this was done is thus related. As *Murad* was once going about the market-place in disguise, he accidentally lights upon this *Becri Mustapha* wallowing in the dirt almost dead drunk. Wondering at the novelty of the thing, he asks his people, what was the matter with him, for to him he seem'd lunatick. Being told he was drunk with wine, he wants to know what sort of liquor that was, of whose effects he was yet ignorant. Mean while, *Mustapha* gets up, and with opprobrious words bids the Emperor stand off. Astonish'd at the man's boldness, Rascal, says he, dost thou bid me, who am Sultan *Murad*, be gone? And I (answers *Mustapha*) am *Becri*† *Mustapha*, and if thou will sell me this City, I will buy it, and then I shall be Sultan *Murad*, and thou *Becri Mustapha*. *Murad* demanding where he would get the money to purchase such a City, *Mustapha* replies, Don't trouble thyself about that, for what is more, I will buy too the son of a bond-woman [for the Emperors are all born of captives.] *Murad* agrees to it, and orders *Mustapha* to be taken out of the dirt and carried to the Palace. After a few hours, the fumes of the wine being dispers'd, *Mustapha* comes to his senses, sees himself lying in a gilded and elegant room, asks those that attended him, what is the meaning of this, am I in a dream, or do I tast Paradisiacal pleasures? The By-Standers tell him what had pass'd, and his bargain with the Emperor. The man falls into a terri-

† drunk.

but compell'd even the Mufti's and *Cadiuskers* to drink with him, and also by a publick edict, mention'd before, allow'd wine to be sold and drunk by men of all orders and degrees. As he was an immoderate lover of wine, so he was a mortal enemy to opium and tobacco, forbid both on pain of death, and with his own hand kill'd several, whom he found either eating opium, or smoaking or selling tobacco. However one *Tiriaki* a smoaker escap'd punishment by his wit. For as he could not help smoaking, he caus'd a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and cover'd with green turf to prevent a discovery. Which he was one day in this pit smoaking, the Emperor comes, and inquiring for the man, he is betray'd by his people, and expos'd to the Emperor's view with a pipe in his mouth, who instantly drew his sword in order to kill him. *Tiriaki* seeing his danger, humourously cries out, Go to, thou son of a bond-woman! Thy edict extends above not under the earth. By this saying he not only sav'd his life, but obtain'd new honours, with the sole licence of smoaking tobacco. He is also reported to say to his people by way of advice, If you will be merry, drink wind, and not eat t—d.

His cruelty.

XX. From this vice sprung another, no less destructive to Governors than to the state, cruelty. He thirsted after innocent blood, breath'd nothing but slaughter, and seem'd as it were to be nourish'd by it. Very often at midnight he stole out of the women's apartments through the private gates of the palace with his drawn sword, and running through the streets barefooted with only a loose gown about him, like a madman, kill'd whoever came in his way. Frequently from the windows of the higher rooms, where he us'd to drink and divert himself, he shot with arrows such as accidentally past'd by. In the day time he ran up and down in disguise, and did not return till he had kill'd some unfortunate wretches for little or no cause. So great terror did he strike into the whole City, that no man dar'd even mention his name within his walls. Many weak persons, especially such as us'd to eat opium, fell into a swoon if they did but hear the name of *Murad*. For such he never spar'd, but either kill'd them all, or forc'd them to drink wine instead of opium. By these means he is said, during the seventeen years of his reign, to kill above fourteen thousand men, many of whom were generals of the highest rank.

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ble fright, as knowing *Murad*'s fierce disposition, but necessity whetting his invention, he feigns himself dying, unless he could have some wine to revive his languishing spirits. The Keepers, that the man might not die before he is brought into the Emperor's presence, give him a pot full of wine, which he hides in his bosom. Presently after being sent for by the Emperor, he is commanded to pay so many millions as the price of the City. But he taking the pot out of his bosom, says, This, O Emperor, is what yesterday would have purchas'd *Constantinople*. And were you likewise possess'd of these riches, you would think them preferable to the Monarchy of the Universe. *Murad* asking how that could be? By drinking (says he) this divine liquor. The Emperor being perswaded, takes a large draught, which, as he was unus'd to wine, immediately makes him so drunk, that he fancies the whole world not able to hold him, conceives mighty projects, and is fill'd with such joy and gladness, that he imagines the charms of a crown are scarce comparable to it. Afterwards growing giddy, he is seiz'd with sleep, and in a few hours waking with the head-ach, sends for *Mustapha* in a great passion. *Mustapha* instantly appears, and perceiving the case, Here (says he) is your remedy, and offers him a cup of wine, by which his head-ach is presently remov'd, and his former gladness restor'd. When he had done this two or three times, he was by degrees so addicted to wine, that he was drunk almost every day. *Becri Mustapha* his Tutor was admitted among the *Musabib* or Privy Counsellors, and always near the Emperor. At his death the Sultan order'd the whole Court to go into mourning, but caus'd his body to be buried with great pomp in a tavern among the hogsheads. After his decease the Emperor declar'd he never enjoy'd one merry day, and whenever *Mustapha* chanc'd to be mention'd, was often seen to burst out into tears, and to sigh from the bottom of his heart. In a word, I have not read of so great favour gain'd by the precepts of virtue, as *Mustapha* acquir'd by the dictates of vice.

XXI. Besides

XXI. Besides these vices, he was adorn'd [illegible] and mind, so that he seemed to be form'd by [illegible] excelling as well in vices as virtues. All [illegible] soldier were found in him. In the art of [illegible] equal in the whole *Turkish* nation, except the [illegible] There are now two marble pillars [illegible] which he is said to shoot an arrow. He was of all the *Ottomans* the most expert horseman, and threw the *Jirid* with such dexterity, that no *Tartarian* arrow could go so far or with such exactness. He is reported to have been so swift of foot, that the fleetest *Arabian* horse could hardly outrun him. Nor did he want singular endowments of mind. In the first place he was steddy in the conduct of affairs, and desisted not from an undertaking till it was accomplish'd or frustrated. He was unshaken in all circumstances, so that if his years had been answerable to his greatness of mind, he would without much difficulty have acquir'd the monarchy of the universe. But the wounds with which the sword threaten'd others, were given him by drunkenness, and remov'd him out of the world, of which he was the terror.

Endowments of body and mind.

The End of the Reign of MURAD IV.

The

The REIGN of IBRAHIM, Eighteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. XI.

Ibrahim proclaim'd Emperor. H. 1049.

I. SUltan *Ibrahim* was born in the year of the *Hejira* 1026, and three and twenty years after, his brother *Murad* being dead, and no other heir remaining of the *Othman* race, was with unanimous conſent proclaim'd Emperor.

A. C. 1639. *Aſak* taken from the *Coſſaks.*

II. His firſt care after his acceſſion to the throne, was to clear the *Black Sea* of the *Coſſak* Pyrates, and render the paſſage ſafe and open for ſhips ſailing to *Conſtantinople.* He perceiv'd this could not be done without great trouble and charge, whilſt *Aſak*, ſituated at the mouth of the *Tanais*, was in their hands, becauſe he ſaw that City was convenient for exerciſing pyracy, and in caſe of a defeat would afford them a retreat. Wherefore he ſends a numerous army to beſiege it, and taking it after many aſſaults, puts all the garriſon to the ſword.

The *Maltoſe* take a *Turkiſh* ſhip, and carry her into *Crete.*

III. The *Pontus Euxinus* being thus clear'd, he reſolves to do the ſame in the *White Sea.* All the Iſlands therein were now taken by the *Othman* valour, except *Crete* (1), which contemn'd the imperial power, and afforded a harbour to pyrates,

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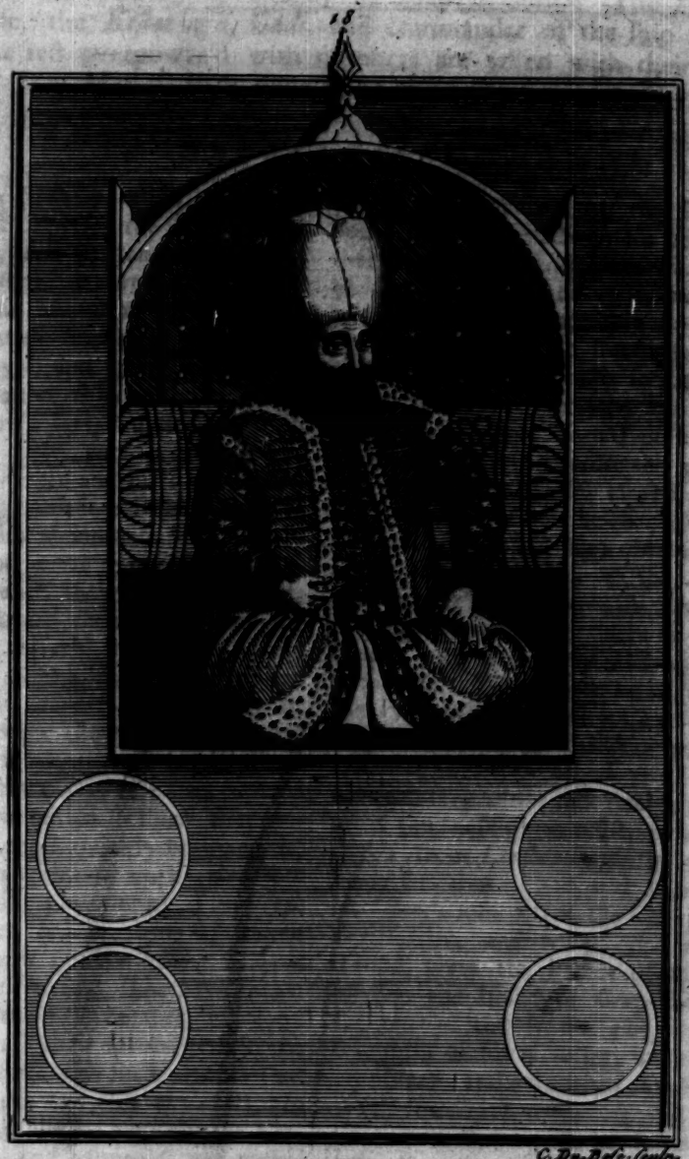
(1) *Crete*] I ſhall inſert here the Hiſtory of this Iſland as deliver'd by the *Turkiſh* writers, if it were only to ſhow their care in tranſmitting the actions of their countrymen. *Kritos*, which by a change of ſome of the letters, is by others corruptly call'd *Gerid*, is the chief of the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, and extended from eaſt to weſt in length two hundred, and in breadth ſixty, miles. It ſeems by nature herſelf to be created for the delight of man. The ſoil is every where fertile, and abounding with all ſorts of grain. The fragrant fields are full of herbs, good as well for the food of beaſts and birds, as for phyſical uſes; among the laſt, particularly is the herb *Iſtiguun*, whoſe wonderful virtues have been celebrated by the antient Phyſicians. No wild beaſts hurtful to man or animals, as wolves, foxes, ſerpents, are ever bred here, nor if brought from elſewhere can they live. The firſt inhabitants of this Iſland inſtructed the reſt of the world in an elegant way of life. It was the conſtant opinion of the worſhippers of graven images, that the Prince of the Heathen idols was born at *Crete.* From the ſame fountain flow'd muſick and other arts tending to the delight and poliſhing of mankind. It had formerly many and very famous Cities, numberleſs villages and inhabitants, the ſoftneſs of the air and temperature of the climate inviting new colonies from all parts. It was many years ſubject to the *Greeks*, afterwards it was conquer'd by the arms of the Muſulmans of *Spain.* For in the year of the *Hejira* 204, when *Hakim*, ſon of *Heſſam* of the family of *Umie* rul'd at *Corduba* in *Spain*, an inſurrection is rais'd againſt him, which increas'd ſo ſuddenly, that a crowd of conſpirators ſurrounded *Hakim*'s palace and attempted his life.



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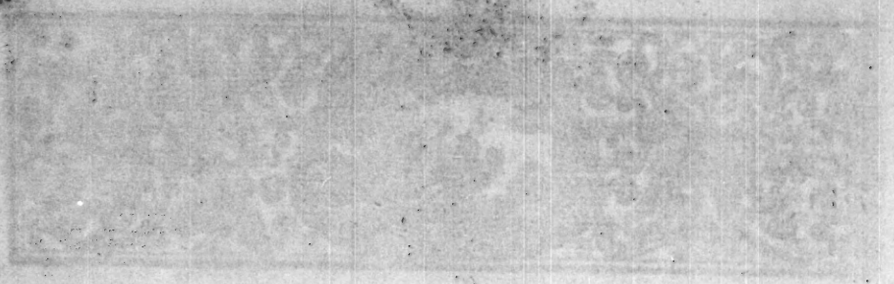
I BRAHIM,
Eighteenth Emperor of the Turks
in the Year 1640.
From an Original in the Seraglio.



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pyrates, who plunder'd the *Turkish* ships. The frequent complaints brought by his subjects against the *Venetians* had before induc'd him to conquer this Island, and a late injury offer'd those that were going to *Mecca* and *Egypt* afforded him an occasion. *Kislar Agasi Sumbul aga*, being depriv'd of his office, receives a certificate of his freedom (2), and sails towards *Egypt* in company with the *Cadi* of *Mecca* and the *Molla* of *Prusa*, *Mehemed Effendi*. When they come near *Crete*, they are suddenly attack'd by six *Maltese* gallies. The *Turks* make a brave defense, the *Kislar aga*, *Cadi*, and commander of the ship fall in the battle, and the rest overpower'd with numbers are taken with their riches by the enemies. The *Maltese* with their prize immediately go into a harbour of

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life. The King bravely resists, and after a bloody conflict disperses the rebels, kills many of them, and pardons the rest, on condition they would depart and seek new habitations. The Musulmans being thus expell'd their ancient seats with thirty ships sail towards *Egypt*, and arrive near *Alexandria*. Whereupon *Abdullah* son of *Tahir*, who then govern'd *Egypt* under the *Persian*, goes from *Cairo* with a great army, unexpectedly surprises and surrounds them. However pitying their condition, he sends them away, with a command to depart out of *Egypt* and never return again. Being unable to resist, they obey his orders, and going on board their ships steer directly to *Crete*. Allur'd by the fruitfulness and pleasantness of the Island, they resolve to fix there, and consult how to seize it. To effect this with the greater alacrity, they burn their ships, that all hopes of retreat might be cut off in case they suffer'd themselves to be beaten. Then they invade the Island, and quickly subduing it, fortify the castles with new works, and store them with warlike provisions. The *Greek* Emperor *Michael*, hearing *Crete* was taken by the Musulmans (or *Saracens*,) sends a great fleet against them. The Musulmans are worsted in the first conflict, but soon after assembling all their forces, attack the camp of the *Greeks* with such vigour, that not a man escapes to carry the news into *Greece*. The Musulmans acquaint the Emperor with what had happen'd, and withal offer peace, to which the Emperor, when he saw he could not prevail by force, readily consents. The treaty being settled, *Umru* Prince of the Musulmans and his posterity quietly govern the Island eighty years. Afterwards in the year 284, the *Greek* Emperor sends his General *Nicephorus Phocas* to *Crete* with a numerous army to dislodge the Musulmans. *Phocas* having landed his troops, attacks and vanquishes the Musulmans, takes all their towns and fortresses, and forces those he does not kill to submit to the *Greek* Emperor, who in process of time partly die and partly turn *Christians*, so that in some years there appear'd no foot-steps of the Musulmans. Some time after, *Alexius* his younger brother circumvents and seizes *Isaac* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and murdering him by putting out his eyes, mounts the throne. Not content with one fratricide, he endeavours to dispatch *Isaac*'s son of his own name, that he might have no rival. But the young Prince, warn'd of his imminent danger a few hours before the deed was to be executed, makes his escape and flies to the *Venetians*. There he stirs up almost all the west to his assistance, obtains a fleet of the *Venetians*, an army of the *French*, and thus prepar'd, sails towards *Constantinople*, in company with the Princes of *France* and *Spain*, with whom the *Venetians* were in friendship. With these he penetrates into the *Propontis*, and anchors over-against the City near a village call'd at present *Cartkioi*. The Emperor *Alexius*, perceiving himself surpris'd, and unable to raise an army time enough to resist, privately withdraws from *Constantinople* in the fear of being serv'd as he had us'd *Isaac*. So *Alexius*, *Isaac*'s son, seizes the City destitute of a defender, and being confirm'd in the throne, gives the Prince of *Spain* for his services the Island of *Crete* for ever. In the year of the *Hejira* 520, the *Venetians* bought it of his successors with a large sum of money, and held it till *Ibrahim*'s time.

(2) freedom.] *Kislar Agasi*, (that is the *Chief Eunuch*,) whilst he bears that office over the women in the Seraglio, though great honour is paid him by all, is reckon'd and call'd a slave. But when he is dismiss'd from his post, he receives a certificate of his freedom, which he would never desire, unless forc'd, for his authority is very great in the *Othman* Court. They are all, when displac'd, sent into *Egypt*, where they receive from the Emperor as a pension eight thousand *Para* a day, each of which is three Aspers. Several, whilst they are in their office, purchase estates in *Egypt*, on which they afterwards live very splendidly. This the Court freely allows, because their effects at their death fall to the Emperor.

Crete, and giving the Governor ſome ſhare, are ſuffer'd to retire with all their captives and booty.

for which *Ibrahim* makes war on the *Venetians*.

H. 1054.
A. C. 1644.

IV. To let this injury go unpuniſh'd, ſeem'd the ſame thing as to expoſe the power of the *Othman* Empire to the contempt of its enemies; on the contrary, to revenge it, afforded a fair opportunity of ſubduing the ſo long deſir'd Iſland. Wherefore *Ibrahim*, incourag'd by the advice of his counſellors, breaks the peace with the *Venetians*, and declares war againſt them as robbers and protectors of pyrates. To wage this war the more ſucceſsfully, he prepares an army under the command of *Muſah Paſha* and *Murad Aga*, *Kuthiethudaſi* or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries, and a fleet under the conduct of *Capudan Yuſuf Paſha*, whoſe valour he had tried, whilſt he diſcharg'd the office of ſword-bearer.

He takes *Chanie*.

H. 1055.
A. C. 1645.

V. The forces thus headed, in the year 1055, on the 4th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, ſail from *Conſtantinople*, and the 20th of the following month arrive at *Crete*. The next day the ſoldiers being landed, *Chanie* is order'd to be cloſely beſieg'd, which after a reſiſtance of fifty four days ſurrenders to the Muſulman army. The walls are immediately repair'd, and part of the army being left in garriſon, the reſt with the fleet adorn'd with laurels return to *Conſtantinople*. Shortly after, *Huſein Paſha* is ſent with freſh forces, and after ſeveral battles in this and the following year, ſubdues the whole Iſland, except only *Candia*.

Ibrahim's death and iſſue.

H. 1058.
A. C. 1648.

VI. Whilſt *Ibrahim* is making freſh and great preparations for the conqueſt of this City, he is on the 18th of *Rejeb*, in the year 1058, remov'd out of the world, and crown'd with martyrdom. He left nine ſons, *Selim* and *Othman* born 1054, *Mahomet*, *Ahmed*, *Soliman*, *Murad*, *Ibangir*, born 1056, *Bajazet* and *Orchan* born 1058. Of theſe, *Mahomet*, *Soliman*, and *Ahmed* came to the throne, the reſt were excluded by an untimely death.

His character.

VII. The manners of this Emperor, as well as thoſe of his predeceſſor *Murad*, though at the peril of their heads, are fully deſcrib'd by the *Turks*. As *Murad* was wholly addicted to wine, ſo was *Ibrahim* to luſt. They ſay, he ſpent all his time in ſenſual pleaſures, and when nature was exhauſted with the frequent repetition of venereal delights, he endeavour'd to reſtore it with potions and art. Every *Friday*, which is the *Turkiſh* Sabbath, he dedicated to *Venus*, and commanded a beautiful Virgin richly habited to be brought to him by his Mother, Prime Vizir, or ſome other Great man. He cover'd the walls of his chamber with looking glaſs, that his love-battles might ſeem to be acted in ſeveral places at once. He order'd his pillows to be ſtuffed with rich furs, that the bed deſtin'd for the imperial pleaſure might be the more pretious. Nay he put whole ſable skins under him, in a notion that his luſt would be inflam'd, if his love-toil were render'd more difficult by the glowing of his knees. In the palace garden call'd *Chas*, he frequently aſſembled all the virgins, made them ſtrip themſelves, and himſelf naked, neighing like a ſtallion, ran among them, and as it were raviſh'd one or other kicking and ſtrugling by his order. Happening once to ſee by chance the privy parts of a wild heifer, he ſent the ſhape of them in gold all over the Empire, with orders to make enquiry, whether a woman made juſt in that manner could be found for his luſt. At laſt, they ſay, ſuch a one was found and receiv'd into the women's apartment. He made a collection of great and voluminous books of pictures, expreſſing the various ways of coition, whereby he ever invented ſome new and before unknown poſture. Thus the publick treaſury, diminiſh'd by *Murad*'s drunkenneſs, was quite exhauſted by *Ibrahim*'s luxury and luſt, and the ſinews of the Empire, which were applied by his anceſtors to repulſe their enemies and inlarge their dominion, were by him us'd to the deſtruction of his body.

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The End of the Reign of IBRAHIM.

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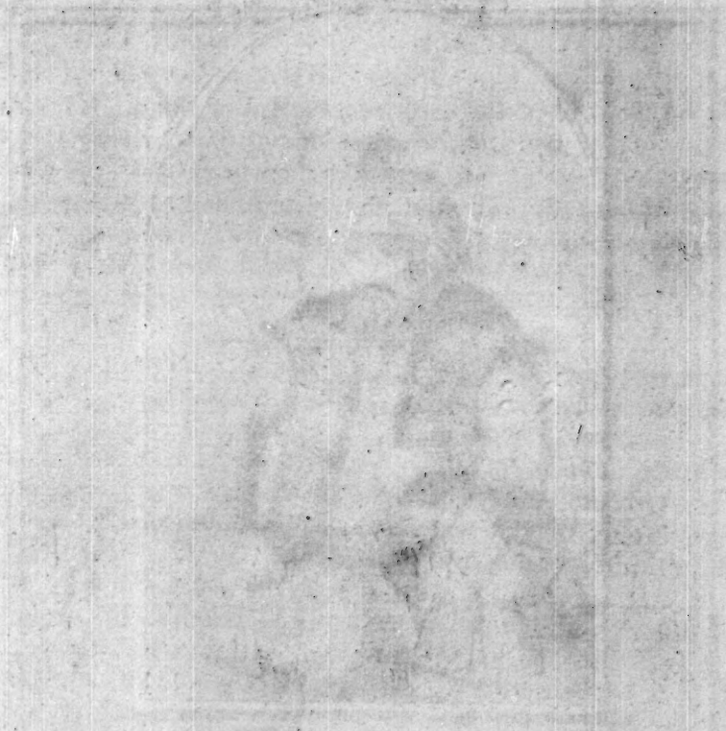

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MAHOMET IV

Nineteenth EMPEROR *of y^e* Turks,

in the Year 1650.

From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of MAHOMET IV. Nineteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. XII.

I. IBRAHIM being crown'd with many woes, the Janizaries, in the year 1058, on the 8th of the month *Rajeb*, proclaim his son *Mahomet* (1), then but seven years old, and place him on the throne. *Mahomet* succeeds. H. 1059.

II. In this tender age he gave very sensible proofs of his future greatness, and of the hopes the *Othmans* ought to conceive of him. The treasury, exhausted by his father's luxury, being replenish'd by the management of *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha* (2), and all intestine commotions appeas'd, he strangles his Grandmother A. C. 1649. Transactions during his younger years.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mahomet*] His mother was the daughter of a *Greek* Priest under Sultan *Murad*, (before the law by which the children of *Christians* were collected by way of tribute was aboliſh'd) brought from the *Morea*, and on account of her beauty receiv'd into the imperial Seraglio. When ſhe came to be *Validè Sultana*, ſhe caus'd her mother to be inquir'd after, and being found to live with her in the palace, ſhe remain'd there many years, and could not by any offers be induc'd to turn *Mahometan*. At laſt, dying in the profeſſion of the Orthodox faith, to which ſhe had always adher'd, her Grandſon Sultan *Mahomet* order'd her to be carried out of the palace, and buried after the manner of the *Greek* Church by the Patriarch attended with his whole Clergy.

(2) *Kioprili*] The founder of the preſent moſt noble family, among the *Turks*, of *Kioprili ogli*. In the beginning of *Mahomet*'s reign, by reaſon of his poverty he liv'd a private and ſtoical life at *Conſtantinople*, in expectation of ſome even the ſmalleſt Baſhalic. Indeed he enjoy'd the name and honour of a Baſha, but as he had not wherewithal to ſupport his family according to his rank, he ſeldom appear'd in publick. About that time a *Perſian* ambaſſador comes to *Conſtantinople* to congratulate *Mahomet* on his acceſſion to the throne. The Sultan gives him a ſplendid entertainment, and orders every Baſha to do the ſame. Accordingly he was ſo magnificently feaſted by the Vizir and other Baſhas, that it coſt them each at leaſt a hundred Purſes. When it came to *Kioprili*'s turn, a certain *Jew*, who had often ſupplied his neceſſities, promiſes to find him money, and on the day appointed, prepares a ſplendid feaſt with Comedians and other diverſions cuſtomary with the *Turks*. The next day, the Players come for their reward, and as they had made no bargain beforehand, are paid only two hundred Dollars, though they had been preſented with four or five hundred by all the Paſhas. Whereupon *Laſcares*, Head of the Company, a *Greek*, throws the money on the ground, declaring he would take nothing of ſuch an *Oppordoz Paſha*, which in *Spaniſh-Hebrew*, ſignifies a vile pitiful fellow. The *Jew* gathers up the money, and tells *Mehemed Paſha* what had paſs'd, who replies, ſince I am become ſo wretched as to be thus grievouſly affronted by an Infidel, without having it in my power to be reveng'd, I ſhall within few days either be happy or loſe my head. The event anſwer'd the prediction.

Shortly

mother privy to the rebellion of the Janizaries, puts many of their accomplices to death, recovers *Tenedos* and *Lemnos* from the *Venetians*, takes and beheads the rebellious Basha of *Aleppo* with his associates, sends the Vizir *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha* against *Tanowa*, which after a siege of few days is taken, and subjected to the *Othman* power. With the same success he wages war in *Hungary*, where in the year 1070, *Ali Pasha* assaults and takes *Varadin*. In the year 1074, Vizir *Fazil Ahmet Kioprili ogli* (3) subdues *Vivar*. He likewise declares war against, and vanquishes *Racotius* †, (who died of a mortal wound receiv'd in the battle,) and overrunning *Transylvania*, appoints *Michael Apaphi* Prince of that country under a certain tribute.

H. 1070.
A. C. 1659.
H. 1074.
A. C. 1663.
† *Kagotski.*

He makes peace with the *Germans.*

III. The Emperor of *Germany*, terrified at the progress of the *Othmans*, sends ambassadors to the Vizir, suing for peace, and promising to relinquish whatever the *Turks* were possess'd off. The Vizir not thoroughly understanding the Emperor's intention, carries the ambassador with him to the Port, who inclining his head, wipes the dust of the sublime threshold with his face (4), and by his intreaties obtains the desir'd peace of twenty years on the Sultan's conditions.

Renews the *Cretan* war.

IV. The peace being solemnly sworn by the ambassadors of both Princes, the Sultan resolves to renew with more vigour the *Cretan* war, which on account

ANNOTATIONS.

Shortly after, the *Spahi* raise a sedition at *Constantinople*, and murder the Prime Vizir and all the Pashas, only *Mehemed Pasha* escapes by his obscurity. The fury of the sedition being appeas'd, *Kislar Agasi* and the *Selictar*, with the other Court-officers, seeing no other Pasha alive, whom they could advance to the honour of Prime Vizir, send for old *Kioprili*, deliver to him as a plain man, the imperial signet, as a token of his new office, bidding him always remember by whose means he was rais'd from the lowest state to the highest degree of honour. *Mehemed* promises whatever they desir'd, and at first consults them by letters in all affairs. As they sent back their opinions in writing, *Mehemed* carefully preserves all the papers, and after some time privately sending for some of the Generals of the *Spahi*, shows them the letters, complains of the haughtiness of *Kislar agasi*, *Selictar*, and the rest of the Court-officers, and advises the soldiery not to suffer the reins of so large an Empire to be in the hands of such men, and to prevent so great a disgrace whilst it should be in their power. The *Spahi*, mov'd at the indignity of the thing, flock together again, and petition the Emperor to deliver up to punishment *Kislar agasi*, *Selictar*, with their accomplices, as disturbers of the publick peace, and authors of the former sedition. These being put to death, *Mehemed Pasha* is confirm'd in his post, and by degrees destroys all the *Spahi* who had taken arms against the Emperor, so that in two years not one of the rebels was left. After seven years enjoyment of his office, he was seiz'd with sickness, and when near his end, was visited by Sultan *Mahomet* himself, who after some discourse about the publick affairs, tells him, he should make but little account of his past services, unless he would declare whom he thought worthy to succeed him. The sick Vizir answers, he knew no one more worthy of that dignity than his son *Ahmed*, as well for his prudence, as gravity. Of such weight was the father's recommendation, that the son immediately after his death, though a young man, was made Prime Vizir.

(3) *Kioprili ogli*] Son of *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha*, whose story I have just related. He was Prime Vizir seventeen years, and is very famous among the *Turks* for learning, prudence, fortitude, and steddiness. They certainly ascribe the *Cretan* victories, chiefly to his invincible mind and his eloquence, in which he is said to excell all of his age, and confess, if he had not been General of the expedition, *Candia* could never have been taken. He is call'd by the *Turks* the Vicar of God's shadow, the light and splendor of the most beautiful and sweetest Nations, Inspector and Keeper of the true laws, and of good and holy manners, Breaker of the Bells of the straying and blasphemous Nations, the terrible Leader, most learned, most merciful, *&c.* He was the only Vizir who receiv'd that dignity from his father, and transmitted it as it were by hereditary right to his son and grandson.

(4) face] These and the like pompous expressions are us'd concerning *Christian* ambassadors by the *Turkish* Historians, in honour of their Empire, and in contempt of the *Christians*. For though an ambassador, when he comes into the Sultan's presence, must pull off his sword, and held by two *Capuji bassi*, thrice bow his head, yet he never performs any other marks of submission.

of

of other affairs had hitherto proceeded but slowly. It was begun against the *Venetians* by his father *Ibrahim*, who had taken *Chania* with the neighboring castles, and expell'd almost all the antient inhabitants of the Island. The only place remaining to the enemies was *Candia*, where nature and art seem'd to demonstrate what could be produc'd for the destruction of the assailers. The Musulman forces had made frequent attempts, but had even been repuls'd with loss: and the possession of the Island was not deem'd sure, as long as a port was open to the enemies to invade it whenever they pleas'd. *Mahomet* resolves to employ the forces of the whole Empire to remove this rock, on which the *Othman* fleet had often miscarried, and entrusts the expedition to *Ahmed Kiuprili ogli Pasha*, who had signaliz'd his conduct in the late war with the *Germans*.

His speech to his Vizirs and others.

V. Wherefore three days after the confirmation of the treaty of peace, he assembles *Sheikhul islam* (or chief Mufti) with the Vizirs and Generals to consult about the state of affairs, and commanding silence, is said to make the following speech: "In order to make them the rule of my actions, I have enquir'd into the methods by which my ancestors gain'd, preserv'd, and inlarg'd this happy and everlasting Empire, and find there were two principal causes of so many victories, their care of the citizens, and their own invincible fortitude against their enemies. Whilst to the citizens they extended justice and clemency, and bravely defended them against all assaults, they not only acquir'd the love of all their subjects, but also found them ready to assist in all the vicissitudes of fortune. And whilst to the enemies they oppos'd the sword of their unconquerable troops, they depriv'd them of courage, and render'd themselves so formidable, that they frequently oblig'd them to sue for peace. By these methods they not only re-establish'd the sinking Empire, but performd such exploits against the most potent enemies as to posterity, were the proofs not manifest, would appear almost incredible. They utterly subverted the power of the *Romans* so long establish'd in *Greece*, wrested *Egypt* from the *Chercassians** the most warlike Nation of the *Tartars*, subdued the best part of *Hungaria* and *Persia*, struck terror into *Germany*, and moreover gave laws and a Prince to the hitherto unconquer'd *Scythians*. By this means, they not only strengthen'd the bounds of their Empire, but also so weaken'd the *Christians*, those enemies of our most holy religion, that there seem'd to be little or no obstacle to their entire conquest. In this happy situation, the *Venetian* commonwealth alone, which compar'd with the *Othman* dominions, scarce deserves mention, dar'd to despise our power, and sometimes even to insult us. To say nothing of their late injuries to us, their treacherous seizing of *Tenedos*, by which and their frequent pyracies on the *Asiatic* and *European* coasts, they have as it were shut up the port of *Constantinople*, I shall only insist on the chains with which they bind the Musulmans, who by a divine impulse cross the *Mediteranean* sea to visit the sacred relicts of our most holy Prophet, just as if they were to be doom'd to eternal punishment, whilst they are seeking their own eternal salvation, and the happiness promis'd by our Prophet. If the blood of these martyrs does not inflame your minds, its cries will raise our forefathers from the dead with all the martyr'd heroes, who will upbraid you for suffering the glory and majesty of the *Othman* Empire, acquir'd with so much blood and toil, to be sullied by the wantonness of a few weak robbers. Our shame and disgrace will be increas'd, if we call to mind that our enemies are expell'd from almost all the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, that *Crete* too is taken, and only *Candia* has not been attempted, not felt the force of the *Othman* sword, whose edge penetrates to the very soul of an enemy. If you say this City is strong, and fortify'd by nature and art, know, the *Othman* courage and force are stronger, before which I have seen castles lofty as the skies fall to the ground. For this cause, if you are against assaulting the city, and despair of success, when it is the refuge of pyrates and magazine of robberies, it will be deem'd the same thing as if you advis'd a peace with the *Venetians*, and a resignation of the dominion of the sea, which how dishonorable it would be to the conquerors of the world,

"I need not say. Wherefore, Thou who art our Prime Vizir, *Lala Ahmed* "*Pasha*, shew thy self the worthy offspring of thy father, take courage, assem-"ble the troops, and make the necessary preparations for the siege of *Candia*; "down with that shelter of league-breakers, blunt the edge of the infidel sword, "and surmounting the walls by the divine aid and thy own valour, vanquish "the robbers, and expel them the Island. If thou proceedest with due diligence, "doubtless by our most holy Prophet's intercession, the enemies will quickly "be routed, and their den demolish'd. And be assured, thou shalt not only be "highly honour'd by me, but also amply rewarded by God as the publisher of "our law." All that were present, mov'd with the Emperor's speech, unanimously approve his advice, and promise to advance the design to the utmost of their power.

The Vizir lands his forces in *Crete:*

VI. The Vizir himself, without delay, takes a view that winter of the ports and magazines, builds store-houses at proper places, fills them with provisions, and with great care prepares every thing requisite for a long siege. In the spring of the year 1066, he assembles all the forces, and on the 5th day of *Sheval* departs from *Constantinople*. The Emperor himself accompanies him to *Adrianople*, and there after reviewing the army, sends him upon the expedition. *Ahmed Pasha* halts at *Stife* to give the soldiers time to refresh themselves after their march, and prepare for their sea-voyage. Then he embarks his forces at *Termes* (5), and arriving in the port of *Chanie*, lands his army, places them in winter-quarters, and carefully makes what warlike preparations were still wanting.

H. 1066.

A. C. 1655.

Besieges *Candia*;

VII. When he thought all things necessary for a long siege were ready, the next year on the 18th day of *Zilcade*, he sails from *Chanie*, and arriving near *Candia*, lands his men without opposition at the village *Caulochor*, and marks out the place to incamp. On the morrow, the army being drawn up with very great pomp and inconceivable gallantry, he views the places about the City, as well to know where he might best make his assaults, as to terrify the enemies with a show of his forces. On the third day, he assembles all the officers and others, who had long been experienc'd in warlike affairs, and bids them every one give his opinion of the manner of besieging and assaulting the City. At last it was decreed to undermine the *Red Tower*, batter the walls, and make the first attempt upon the City on that side.

storms it, and forces it to surrender.

VIII. Wherefore the same year, in the latter end of the month *Zylhije*, the ramparts are thrown up, the City invested, and a siege begun, the like whereof had not been, nor perhaps ever will be, seen. The strength of the whole *Othman* Empire is applied, many years preparations are employ'd, fresh troops supply the place of the slain, the soldiers declining the danger, are compell'd by threats and blows to renew the charge. For the besieged there fought the difficulty of the place, and all the brave men of the nations believing in the *Messiah*, who were assembled with a resolution to conquer or die. Thus they fought incessantly twenty nine months, being frequently reliev'd with fresh supplies by the *French* and *Venetians*. Every inch of ground is gain'd on both sides with the blood of many heroes; when the walls are batter'd down and mounted, new walls are instantly rais'd by the besieg'd, and by that means the *Othmans*, who in mounting the breaches, imagin'd to find the reward of their toil, suddenly beholding new obstacles, are almost reduc'd to despair. At last, the enemy's valour is forc'd to give way to the *Othman* power and fortune, and what could hardly be effected by arms, the *Othmans* being now tir'd and spiritless, is brought about by *Panaiot* (6) the *Terjiman*† of the Court, who by an artful speech

† Interpreter.

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(5) *Termes*] A poor town in *Thessaly*, on the coast of the *Archipelago*, call'd by the *Greeks* Θέρμης. It was also call'd Θέρμα by the antients, and gave name to the *Sinus Thermaicus*.

(6) *Panaiot*] Παναγιώτης. Though the thing is not related in this manner by any *Christian* Historian, it will however be worth the while to insert here the account of the taking of *Candia*, as I had it from those, who were at that time in the secret of affairs. The Sultan perceiving the obstacles

ſtacles that would occur in the ſiege of *Candia*, had order'd the whole army to be told, that not a man of them ſhould appear in his preſence alive, unleſs the City was taken. But this, inſtead of incouraging the ſoldiers, (as it was intended,) had like to have prov'd the deſtruction of the whole Empire. For the troops, fatigu'd with ſo many labours, with the ſummer heats and winter colds, when they ſaw they had made little progreſs after twenty nine months continual toil, began to murmur, affirming it to be unjuſt, that the ſtrength of the whole Empire ſhould be waſted in the ſiege of an impregnable City, undertaken ſeemingly for no other reaſon, but the entire deſtruction of the Janizaries. As the Vizir could not, by reaſon of the Emperor's order, comply with the intreaties of the ſoldiers, and raiſe the ſiege, he oblig'd them to their duty, ſometimes with threats, ſometimes with preſents, promiſes, but chiefly he appeas'd the ſeditious minds of the ſoldiery by his eloquence, (in which he excell'd all the *Turks* of his age) and inſpir'd the reſt with courage by his words and example. Whilſt he was thus furiouſly aſſaulting the City, news is brought that the *French* were coming with a fleet and army to the relief of *Candia*, and were now above half way. Whereupon the Vizir entirely deſpairs, for he had plac'd his ſole hope of ſucceſs in famine and the want of neceſſaries to defend the City, from which he not only ſaw himſelf fallen, but had alſo to fear a freſh mutiny of the Janizaries, with a thouſand other almoſt unſurmountable difficulties. Whilſt he was muſing on theſe things in his tent, and could not think of any means to remove ſo great obſtacles, *Panaiot* the Court-Interpreter comes in, and paying him the uſual obeyſance, aſks, (as he was in great favour with him) the reaſon of the ſadneſs he ſaw in his face. Being told, "Lay aſide, "ſays he, the care that diſturbs you, and "ſhow your ſelf chearful to the ſoldiers. "For this melancholy becomes not your "noble and invincible mind, nor have we "cauſe to deſpair of taking the City. "Nay the ſtars declare it to be at hand, "provided their influence be aſſiſted by "human policy. If therefore you will "give me leave to act without making "any perſon privy to our deſigns, I dare "promiſe the ſurrender of the City in a "few days. But hear the means I pro"poſe. The coming of the *French* fleet, "unleſs reveal'd from heaven, cannot yet "be known to the beſieged. For the "City, inveſted on every ſide, is ſo ſtrict"ly watch'd, that a mouſe cannot enter "without our knowledge. And it is my "deſign to deceive them by the very thing, "whereby they would free themſelves "from danger. For I have projected to "invite *Moroſini* the Governor to a pri"vate parley, and admoniſh him as a "friend, not to truſt to the *French* fleet, "becauſe their deſigns are worſe than "thoſe of the *Turks*. I ſhall eaſily gain "credit, as well by my known pro"feſſion of the *Chriſtian* Religion, as by "my feign'd zeal for the welfare of Chri"ſtendom, and hope to inſpire him with "the purpoſe of ſurrendering the City." The Vizir gives his conſent, and commits the affair entirely to the Interpreter's faithfulneſs and management. *Panaiot* ſends his truſty ſlave *Maxud* (an *Arabian* name ſignifying *deſire*, ſuch as is generally given to their ſlaves by the *Chriſtians*, who have any thing to do in the *Othman* Court, becauſe the *Turks* ſeldom uſe the names of *Chriſtians*, without the epithet, *Gaur*, and *Kiafer*, *Infidel*, *Blaſphemer*) with a letter to *Moroſini* the Governor, and feigns a ſtrong deſire, out of his *Chriſtian* zeal, to have an opportunity of acquainting him by word of mouth with ſome things of the utmoſt conſequence to the *Chriſtian* affairs. *Moroſini*, a man of great policy, imagining a ſnake in the graſs, heſitates ſome time whether he ſhould give him a meeting; at laſt, after maturely debating the matter with the *Greeks* and *Venetians* in the City, he reſolves to hear what he had to ſay, and accordingly diſmiſſes the meſſenger with the appointment of time and place of meeting. *Panaiot* the next evening, as if he was going to view the centries and guards, which he had us'd to do by the Vizir's order, approaches one of the gates of the City. *Moroſini* in diſguiſe quickly comes too. For ſo it was agreed, that the garriſon might not be privy to what ſhould be tranſacted. When *Panaiot* comes into his preſence, "I am ſorry, (ſays he) and "greatly grieve to ſee the daily decay of "*Chriſtians*, eſpecially of thoſe both of "my Nation and Religion, and on the "other hand, the continual growth of the "*Turks*, whoſe infidelity and tyranny "threaten'd to the whole world, juſtly "raiſe our indignation. No doubt this is "inflicted on Chriſtendom by God's judg"ment for our own and the ſins of our "fathers; but ſince we know it to be uſu"al with God to chaſtiſe his children, "and afterwards deſtroy the inſtruments "of his vengeance, we hope, through the "divine goodneſs, that will ſhortly be "the caſe. Mean while, we muſt quietly "bear the misfortunes ſent us by heaven, "yield to the times, and not reſiſt the di"vine pleaſure." When by theſe words he thought he had gain'd credit, in order to deceive the Governor more effectually, he binds him by oath not to reveal what he was going to communicate. For he pre-

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tended to fear, that ſome one accidentally taken priſoner by the *Turks*, might be compell'd by torture to divulge what he through a divine zeal was about to tell him, and ſo his good intentions to the *Chriſtians* might be turn'd to his deſtruction. *Moroſini*'s mind being thus prepar'd, "You muſt know, (ſays he) there was "a letter of the *French* Admiral given me "yeſterday to be interpreted, which ran "thus: By the command of the moſt "*Chriſtian* King my maſter, I am ſailing "towards *Crete* with a good fleet and ar- "my. But ſince I think it dangerous to "both ſides to acquaint you by letter "with the deſign of this expedition, I "have order'd the bearer my Secretary, "to inform you of all matters. The "Secretary being brought into the Vizir's "*Oba* or inner Tent, ſpoke thus in his "maſter's name, no man being preſent "but my ſelf. We have now learn'd by "long experience, that the *Venetians* are "the old and mortal enemies of *France*. "Whenever our dominions have been in- "vaded, they have always aſſiſted our "enemies with counſel, money, and arms, "and threaten'd us with many evils, tho' "the event has never anſwer'd their pur- "poſes. On the other hand, when they "have found themſelves oppreſs'd, they "have conſtantly had recourſe to fraud "and deceit, and pretending and boaſting "their friendſhip, implor'd our aid. "Thus at this very time, when they ſaw "the arms of the *Othman* Empire heavy "upon them, they ſent ambaſſadors to "our King, and by the Pope's interceſ- "ſion begg'd to be freed from danger, "and to move our King the more eaſily, "offer'd, 1. If only *Candia* ſhould be de- "liver'd from the ſiege of the *Turks*, it "ſhould remain hereafter in our King's "poſſeſſion: for they ſhould willingly "and gladly yield it to a *Chriſtian* King "rather than ſee it in the hands of the "*Turks*. 2. But if the *Turks* ſhould be "driven by their united forces out of all "*Crete*, half of the Iſland with the Me- "tropolis ſhould remain to the *French*, "and half to the *Venetians*. Our King in "appearance agreed to theſe terms, but "deeming it unjuſt to weaken his amity "with the *Othman* Court, and ſhake the "deep foundations of their friendſhip, be- "ſides having got an opportunity of chaſ- "tizing the audacíouſneſs of deceitful and "inconſtant men, order'd a fleet to be "equipp'd, and commanded the Admiral, "when he ſhould enter *Candia*, to ſend all "the *Venetians* priſoners to *France*, and "ſurrender the City to the Vizir. For "our King holding ſo ſpacious and flou- "riſhing a Realm, does not want a fo- "reign and ſo remote a Kingdom, which "would be a perpetual bone of conten- "tion. Wherefore the Vizir has nothing "to fear about the arrival of our fleet. "For the Admiral if he enter'd the City, "which he hopes would be the next day, "will ſhow the King of *France*'s orders "under his hand and ſeal, and declare the "whole affair. Thus far the Secretary. "But I, deſirous the thing ſhould happen "otherwiſe, and to the advantage of Chri- "ſtendom and my religion, have rack'd "my invention, and can find no way to "avert the danger which threatens all "*Chriſtians*. If you exclude the *French* "from the City, they will in conjunction "with the *Turks* act againſt you as con- "temners of their aid, and as publick ene- "mies, and ſo you will not only loſe the "City, but alſo, ſince you have no proofs "of their treachery, be branded with "eternal infamy among *Chriſtians*. On "the other hand, if you admit the ene- "mies coming under the colour of friend- "ſhip, what calamities may befall you "and your whole commonwealth, may, "without my rehearſing them, eaſily be "conjectured. In this City is aſſembled "not only the flower of the *Venetian* No- "bility, but the beſt part of the army, "and ſhould they be deſtroy'd or taken "priſoners, it will not be difficult for "*France* to overrun all the *Venetian* domi- "nions. Beſides ſeeing the *French* do not "account it diſhoneſt to impoſe upon "and deceive others, I really believe they "will prove treacherous as well to the "*Turks* as you, and expelling both from "the Iſland, ſeize this ſo ample and re- "nown'd Kingdom, which, when once "they are maſters of it, I deem it im- "practicable ever to recover out of their "hands. Since then the City can hold out "no longer, but muſt neceſſarily fall into "the power either of the *French* or *Turks*, "I leave you to judge which is moſt eli- "gible, to be deliver'd up to *French* bon- "dage, and with the City loſe perhaps the "whole commonwealth, or to ſurrender "*Candia* to the *Turks* upon honorable "terms, from whom, when they ſhall "hereafter be involv'd in other wars, you "may very eaſily wreſt it again? My "zeal for the *Chriſtian* Religion, and the "ſafety of my countrymen, has induc'd "me to diſcover theſe things to you at the "hazard of my life, and the no ſmall honour "I now enjoy in the *Othman* Court. It is "your buſineſs to ſee what may or ought "to be done for the good of your coun- "try." Upon ſaying theſe words, *Pa- naiot* retir'd into the camp. But *Moroſini*, though he had ſworn not to reveal what had been told him, that very night how- ever aſſembles the general officers and other chief men, in whom he moſt confi-

ded, and laying before them *Panaiot*'s informations, asks what was to be done. They after maturely weighing the thing, unanimously resolve to surrender the City to the *Turks*, if they could procure honorable terms, and declare it preferable to a long and tedious captivity. *Panaiot* goes the next morning to the Vizir, tells him what he had said to *Morosini*, and to take all courage from the already dismearten'd garrison, perswades him to send out of the port that evening with all possible silence, twelve of the largest ships with orders to steer towards *Cyprus*, but after twenty leagues sailing, to return again under *French* Colours. The Vizir approving this device, orders the ships to sail out in the night with a fair wind, to meet which, when they are returning, as many more are sent out, and as soon as they come in sight, salute each other according to custom, which done, the Squadron under *French* colours, with the other under *Turkish*, come again into the port. The centinels plac'd in the Watch-Towers, when they see *French* colours at a distance, believing the *French* fleet to be come to their relief, tell the news to the City, and fill the inhabitants with joy. When they behold a *Turkish* Squadron going out to meet them, they imagine their entrance into the Port would be disputed, and therefore anxiously wait the issue of the battle. Presently after perceiving both fleets to approach without any hostilities and with mutual salutes, they are all astonish'd, not knowing on what design the *French* acted so friendly with their enemies. But *Morosini* and the rest to whom he had communicated what was told by *Panaiot*, throwing off all doubt, publickly divulge what they had heard; and since there was no other way to preserve life and liberty, perswade the soldiers and people to surrender, affirming it safer to trust enemies than faithless allies. So *Morosini* dispatches that very day two men in a little boat with white wands to the Vizir, desiring him to send to a certain place between the City and camp some of his principal officers to meet some of his, who should offer the terms of surrendering the City. The Vizir consents to his request, and instantly appoints *Ibrahim* Basha of *Aleppo*, *Kulkiet budasi Zoulficar Aga*, and Basha *Teskiereji* first scribe, *Ishak Effendi*, with Interpreter *Panaiot* to settle the affair. They meet the *Venetian* ambassadors in tents under the White Tower, who after a long debate promise a surrender on condition that every person, whether soldier, citizen, *Greek*, or *Frank*, with his whole family should have liberty to retire to his own country with all his effects. When the Vizir had ratified this in the beginning of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, in the year 1080, (of Christ 1669,) *Morosini* departed and left the City, not only destitute of soldiers but of citizens, to the Vizir. If these things are very differently related by *Christian* writers, I dare not contradict them, but yet do not see why this account should be absolutely rejected. He that considers the usual industry of the *Venetians* to conceal their designs, and especially the affairs which have prov'd unfortunate, will not wonder, that though they knew the truth, they did not care to divulge it, to the disparagement of their so much boasted prudence. The report of the coming of a *French* fleet, though it was not so much as prepar'd, was sufficient to deceive both *Turks* and *Venetians*. For the latter, closely invested, could know nothing of what was transacted elsewhere; and the former, as they have no accounts of foreign transactions, but what come from their ambassadors, a rumour, though false, might very easily deceive them. As for me, I have a very credible voucher, namely *Mamud* himself, *Panaiot*'s messenger, who perform'd faithful service twenty four years in the Court of my Father *Constantine Cantemir*, and Brother *Antiochus*, and at length arriv'd to the dignity of *Postelnic* or *Master of the Court*. I imagin'd it would not be unacceptable to the lovers of History, to insert what I heard from his mouth. As for *Panagiotes*, he was of so great credit in the *Turkish* Court, that no *Christian* before him ever did, or ever will, it is believ'd, enjoy the like. In giving counsels, and removing obstacles upon any great emergencies, he was to the Vizir what *Achitophel* was to the *Hebrews*, or *Ulysses* to the *Greeks*. For whether he gave his opinion of what was to be done or judg'd of the success of affairs, he was observ'd never to be mistaken. What a twenty four years fierce war, what the effusion of so many torrents of blood, and even the strength of the whole *Othman* Empire could not effect, was by his subtle advice and stratagem brought to pass, namely, the conquest of *Candia*, and *Morosini* both the bravest and wisest General, (whose conduct sufficiently shone in the last war between the *Venetians* and *Turks*) perswaded to surrender the City. By these means he acquir'd such favour with the *Turks*, that he even ventur'd to dispute about the law by the Imperial mandate before the Prime Vizir *Kiuprili Ahmed Pasha*, with *Vanli Effendi* the most learned of the *Turks*, and no less skill'd in the *Christian* than *Turkish* Law, formerly Tutor to Sultan *Mahomet*. Since the time of *Soliman* I. when, as I have related, the preference was given to the *Christian* Law before the *Turkish* in a publick disputation by a learned *Turk*, no man had been permitted to do this, but on the contrary it was made capital and for-

speech perswades the Governor (7) of the City to surrender on certain conditions the last but strongest fortress, to which the garrison had retir'd. The Vizir, in
H. 1080. the beginning of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, in the year 1080, takes possession
A. C. 1669. of *Candia* deserted by the *Venetians*, erects on the walls the *Turkish* Standards, and converting the churches into *Jami*, orders *Ezan* and *Namaz* to be perform'd. By this means a City, renown'd for many ages, the eighth wonder of the world, which nature itself seem'd to have fortified against all assaults, after a war of twenty four years (8), wherein, according to the best and still living *Turkish* historians, above two hundred thousand *Othmans* were kill'd, is annex'd to the *Othmanic* Empire.

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bid by a publick edict. *Vanli Effendi*, confuted and inrag'd, accuses *Panagiotes* to the Sultan as a Blasphemer, and sues for his life: but is said to receive this answer from *Mahomet*: "Did not I tell thee, thou couldst "not dispute with this infidel? for the future let him alone, for he is necessary "to our Majesty." I think it needless to repeat here the whole dispute, since it is publickly sold printed at *Venice*, and may be read in *de la Croix*'s Commentaries on the eastern Church. Besides this, he is still famous among the *Turks* for his skill in astrology, and knowledge of futurities. When the Vizir was yet employ'd in the siege of *Candia*, *Panagiotes* comes running to him one day, and begs him to leave his tent immediately, for his life would be in imminent danger, if he staid in that place. The Vizir obeys, and leaving his cloak on the cushions which he was sitting upon, goes, though it rain'd very hard, to another tent. He was hardly got there, when a cannon-ball shot from the garrison passes through the Vizir's tent, strikes the place where he sate, pierces the cloak and cushions, and so gains credit to *Panagiotes*'s prediction. In the expedition to *Cameniec* he foretold the taking of the City on the 10th day, which all that knew the situation of the place, thought absurd. But it was verified by the event. As his life, so was his death, remarkable. For when the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* lay encamp'd in *Sakche*, he merrily asks him, why since all his predictions were answer'd by the event, and none had prov'd false, he could neither foreknow nor foretell any thing of himself? *Panagiotes* replies: "If the Vizir "would vouchsafe to come to his tent, at "the sixth hour of the night, he should "behold a strange thing, though not "without sorrow and grief." The Vizir wondering what it should be, goes about midnight to *Panagiotes*'s tent. In the very entrance he hears the cries and lamentations of the servants, and coming nearer, finds his beloved *Ulysses* breathing his last. One of the servants says, he was enjoin'd by *Panagiotes* before his death, to desire the Vizir, for all his services to the *Othman* Court, to grant him the favour to carry his body and bury it at *Constantinople*, (an honour granted to the Sultans alone, and denied to every man else, even to the Prime Vizir himself) to which the Vizir is said to answer: "I grieve for *Panagiotes* in one "respect only, because, having minded "the *Othman* affairs more faithfully than "could be requir'd of a *Christian*, and "also excell'd all the Musulmans in fidelity and policy, he could not be brought "at his death to a due obedience to God "and the Prophet; otherwise he would "have deserv'd to have had his Coffin carried a whole mile on my own Shoulders. "Wherefore, though perhaps for his infidelity he will be shut out of Paradise, I "think it just, in order to his having some "reward of his services, to grant his last "request, and not deprive him of his desired burial." He bids therefore his servants convey the body to *Constantinople*, and gives them a *Chatisherif* to the *Kaimacan*, to order the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch to bury with great pomp the deceased in the place he had appointed in his will. Accordingly all the *Greeks* and Foreigners residing at *Constantinople* being assembled, the body is carried to an Island in the *Propontis*, and buried in the Monastery of *the Holy Trinity*, which had been repair'd by him.

(7) Governor.] This was *Francisco Morosini*, more known by the last *Venetian* war with the *Turks*, than to need much to be said of him here. After he had subdued the *Morea*, he was created *Doge* of *Venice*.

(8) twenty four years.] Had this war happen'd in the time of the antient Poets, it would doubtless have been render'd much more famous than the *Trojan*. For whoever weighs both in a just balance, will easily perceive the *Cretan* battles to be more bloody than the *Trojan*. Certainly all the time it lasted, there were continual battles, never-ceasing torrents of human blood, not only in *Crete*, but also in the whole *Archipelago*, and in all the borders of the *Turkish* and *Venetian* dominions. Besides the *Turks* themselves, who carefully con-

IX. Whilſt the *Othman* army was yet employ'd in the ſiege, Sultan *Mahomet*, under the pretenſe of hunting, departed from *Adrianople* to *Yeniſhehir* (9), that by being near he might both incourage his ſoldiers and better provide againſt any emergencies. Here ambaſſadors from the *Sari Camyſh Coſſaks* (10) come and humbly offer in the name of their countrymen, themſelves and province to the Emperor. Among theſe was the *Hetman* himſelf, *Doroſhenko*, whom the Sultan graciouſly receives, preſents with a robe, and diſmiſſes adorn'd with a *Tug* (11), and *Alem Sanjak* in token of dominion, with a command to put an end to the robberies committed ſometimes by the *Coſſaks*, even in the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople*, to remain faithful to the *Othman* Empire, and turn their arms, hitherto very often pernicious to the Muſulmans, againſt their enemies. On the other hand, he promiſes, in caſe of a war between them and the *Poles* or *Muſcovites*, to aſſiſt them with all his forces, and protect them from all hoſtilities. *Mahomet* takes the *Coſſaks* into protection:

X. When theſe things were declar'd at his return by *Doroſhenko* to his people, it fill'd them with joy, but their neighbours with terror. The *Coſſaks* had hitherto been of ſervice both to *Poland* and *Ruſſia*, as well by their daily ravaging the *Othman* borders, as becauſe their country, abounding with ſtreights and moraſſes, was accounted the bulwark of both kingdoms, which being remov'd, they had cauſe to fear they ſhould ſuffer from them no leſs damage than the Muſulman provinces had formerly done. Wherefore the King of *Poland*, to whom they were before ſubject, in order to eradicate their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, before it could be deeply rooted, firſt ſends a great army againſt them, and by the aſſiſtance of thoſe that ſtill favour'd him, enters their country, and makes great devaſtations. Which the King of *Poland* reſenting,

XI. Theſe things ſeem'd to be a ſufficient motive to proclaim war againſt the *Poliſh* King, had not the equity of the Sultan thought it requiſite to admoniſh firſt the peace-breaker. To this end, he ſends by a *Chauſh**, a letter to the King to this effect, " We hear that thou firſt breakeſt the peace ſettled between thy " kingdom and our Majeſty, and hitherto religiouſly obſerv'd on both ſides, by " invading the *Coſſaks*, whom thou knoweſt to have taken refuge under the " ſhadow of our wings. We might indeed by the precept of our holy law, in- is firſt amicably admoniſh'd by *Mahomet*,

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ceal their other loſſes, confeſs that in *Crete* alone were loſt above two hundred thouſand of their men, in which computation thoſe are omitted, who are not included in the liſt of the ſoldiers, of whom perhaps a no leſs number was ſlain. How many *Chriſtians* theſe drew with them to the ſhades below, may be eaſily judg'd. The *Venetians* own this war coſt them above a hundred millions of gold Crowns.

(9) *Yeniſhehir*] So *Lariſſa*, a noted town of *Theſſaly*, at preſent the Metropolis, is call'd by the *Turks*.

(10) *Sari Camiſh Cazagy*] *Coſſaks of the yellow reed.* So are call'd thoſe that dwell between the *Boryſtenes* and the *Tyras*, formerly ſubject to *Poland*, now vaſſals partly of the *Poles*, partly of the *Ruſſians*. They have ſeveral times chang'd their names among the *Turks*. For after *Doroſhenko*'s ſubmiſſion, they were by their *Hetman*, *Doroſhenko*, call'd *Cazagy*, and when he revolted to the *Ruſſians*, *Sirke Cazagy* from *Sirca* alſo their leader. After the firſt peace with *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, by which they remain'd under the dominion of the *Turks*, Sultan *Mahomet* annex'd them to the principality of *Moldavia*, and order'd *Duca*, then Prince of *Moldavia*, to be call'd alſo *Hetman* of *Ukrania*, the town of *Nemirow* being appointed for his ſeat. But after the *Vienna* defeat, when *Duca* was taken by the *Poles*, the *Turks* reſtor'd, by the peace of *Carlowitz*, to the *Poles* all that region with *Cameniec*. I have often heard the *Turks* ſaying, they have heard *Chuthe* and *Ezan* in thoſe places, and therefore God cannot be pleas'd to ſuffer that country to remain in the power of the *Chriſtians*, for which reaſon it ought to be recover'd the very firſt opportunity.

(11) *Tug*] Horſe-tail. This was afterwards, when the country was granted to *Duca*, taken away, becauſe the Vizir, as he ſaid himſelf, would not adorn an infidel with three *Tug*, (though *Hieremias Mogila* Prince of *Moldavia* formerly obtain'd that privilege) and ſo make him equal to himſelf. However the *Sanjak* or Standard ſtill remain'd with him as the enſign of his dominion.

" ſtantly

" ſtately declare thee an enemy, and make thee ſee what it is to dally with the " appeas'd lion, but pitying thy weakneſs, we think proper firſt to admoniſh " thee to withdraw thy unjuſt hand from the *Coſſaks*, recall thy troops from " their borders, and beg our pardon. If thou refuſe to do this, and haſt any " thoughts of defending thy iniquity by arms, know that our law denounces a- " gainſt thee, death, againſt thy kingdom, devaſtation, againſt thy people, bonds: " and the whole world will impute the cauſe of theſe calamities entirely to thy " perverſe and obſtinate mind."

and then invaded by him.

XII. But the *Poliſh* King relying on his own ſtrength and the deceitful promiſes of the *Germans*, deſiſts not from his undertaking, and dares to give farther provocation to the *Othmans*. The Sultan perceiving that a light correction was of no force with an obſtinate man, reſolves to be reveng'd with fire and ſword, and therefore publickly declares war againſt the treacherous *Poles*, aſſembles his forces, and makes all the neceſſary preparations, with orders alſo to the *Tartars* to attend him in the expedition.

Mahomet marches towards *Poland*. H. 1083.

A. C. 1672.

XIII. Wherefore on the 8th day of *Sefer*, in the year 1083, the Emperor himſelf with a great army goes from *Adrianople* againſt the *Poles*, runs a bridge over the *Danube* at *Sakche** (12), paſſes his forces, and with long marches, going through *Moldavia*, incamps on the banks of the *Tyras* near *Chotin*. Then he orders a ſtrong party to paſs over in boats, who in the firſt aſſault take *Zwaniecz*. Being now join'd by the *Tartars*, headed by their Chan *Selim Gierai* (13), he orders a ſpacious bridge to be built over the *Tyras*.

The Prince of *Moldavia* depos'd.

XIV. In this work *Duca* (14) Prince of *Moldavia*, behaving remiſsly, and retarding it ſome time by refuſing timber, cauſes the Emperor greatly to ſuſpect him. Upon examination, he is diſcover'd privately to favour the *Poles*, and to be brib'd by them to delay the building of the bridge. Wherefore he is depos'd, pardon'd as to life, but ſtript of all his treaſures. In his place a Prince call'd *Peter* is choſen by the *Moldavian* nobility.

Camieniec beſieg'd.

XV. At laſt all obſtacles being ſurmounted, he paſſes the *Tyras*, and on the 3d day of *Rebiul achyr*, appears with his army before *Cameniec*. This City lies three hours from the *Tyras*, ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, and very difficult to be aſſaulted. It is ſurrounded by the rapid torrent *Smotricz*, the banks whereof every where full of ſcraggy rocks, afford a ſtrong bulwark to the City. Beſides theſe, a caſtle ſtands in the middle of the town, environ'd with walls of a great height, and not to be ſhaken. The *Poles* depending on theſe fortifications, and hoping to blunt the firſt fury of the *Othmans* with this ſiege, appear'd not in the field, only plac'd a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, with every thing neceſſary for a long ſiege. But the Sultan being incamp'd, calls a Council of all the experienc'd officers, and by their joint opinion orders the City to be inveſted, trenches to be dug, and aſſaults to be made from all parts: He commits one ſide to the Vizir *Ahmed Paſha*, and the *Aga* of the Janizaries

Annotations.

(12) *Sakche**] Formerly *Obluticzza*, a town on the South bank of the *Danube*, not far from *Galatz* in *Moldavia*. The very old buildings, found here, demonſtrate its antiquity. But by whom built, there appears no ſign either on the walls or foundations. However it ſeems to be the work of the *Romar* Colonies in *Dacia*, or perhaps of the *Daci* themſelves, as are *Fiaczza*, *Babadagy*, *Caraſa*, and other very antient towns of that region.

(13) *Selim Gierai*] The moſt famous Chan of the *Tartars* of the preſent age, a Prince of equal prudence and bravery.

(14) *Duca*] He was by nation a *Greek*, of a province of *Rumelia*, at firſt the ſervant of a Merchant at *Jaſſij*, afterwards made one of his Chamberlains by Prince *Baſilius*, then rais'd to a Baron by his ſon *Stephanus*, and married to the daughter of *Euſtathius* Prince of *Dabiza*, laſtly by money and friends he obtain'd the principality. He was illiterate, but in managing affairs, of great prudence, and reckon'd among the moſt excellent of his age. He was thrice Prince of *Moldavia*, and once of *Walachia*. At length, in his latter days, inclining more to tyranny than a juſt government, he is deliver'd up by the Barons to *Poliſh* captivity, and ended his life at *Warſaw*.

with

with the *European* forces and Janizaries; another to the ſecond Vizir *Muſahib Muſtapha Paſha*, with the *Aſiatic* forces, and a third to the *Caimacam Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, with the *Caramanians* and the reſt of the troops.

XVI. The generals thus diſpos'd, emulouſly carry on the ſiege, and ſo vigorouſly batter the walls, that in ten days, ſtrong as they were, they are by the violence of the balls thrown down, and the breaches every where mounted. The garriſon ſeeing themſelves unable to ſuſtain the aſſault, relinquiſh the outer walls, and retire into the inner caſtle. But finding themſelves unſafe even there, offer to ſurrender on condition of life and liberty, which being granted, they depart with their *Hetman* into *Poland*, with the melancholy news of their loſs. *Mahemed*, on the 3d of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, taking poſſeſſion of the City, turns the larger Churches into *Jami*, and the leſſer into *Moſchs*, and repairing the walls, leaves there *Halil Paſha* with a ſtrong garriſon. and forc'd to ſurrender.

XVII. The conſternation *Poland* was under for this loſs is inexpreſſible. A fortreſs, thought capable of holding out many years, was taken in ten days, and leſs time ſeem'd to be requir'd to ravage the whole kingdom. To confound the enemies the more, the Sultan ſends *Caplan Mehemed Paſha* Governor of *Aleppo*, and the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, with the light-armed forces to take *Leopolis*, whilſt he himſelf intending to follow with the main body of the army, incamps near *Buchach**. *Caplan* with his men marches to *Leopolis*, ravaging the country as he paſſes, cloſely beſieges the City, and makes ſeveral aſſaults. Troops are ſent againſt *Leopolis*.

XVIII. In this diſtreſs, when the town was now reduc'd to extremities, the *Poles* repenting of their proceeding, ſend ambaſſadors to the Chan of the *Tartars* in his camp, who in the name of the King and Kingdom implore his interceſſion for them to the Sultan, to incline him to peace, for which they were willing to deliver up forty eight towns and villages in the territory of *Camenier*, pay an annual tribute (15) of twenty thouſand Rix Dolars, account as friends the *Coſſaks* under *Doroſhenka*, and never more quarrel with them. The *Poles* ſue for peace,

XIX. *Selim Gierai Chan*, having heard the offers of the ambaſſadors, inſtantly ſends them to the Emperor, who duly weighing the ſtate of affairs, grants a peace on the terms propos'd, and confirms the ſame with new writings according to the antient form of treaties between the *Poles* and *Othmans*. Theſe being exchang'd, he diſbands the army the beginning of the winter, and in the month *Shaban* in the year 1083 returns victorious to *Adrianople*. which is concluded.

This was the laſt victory from the year of the *Hejira* 611 to 1083, by which any advantage accrued to the *Othman* ſtate, or any City or Province was annex'd to the antient bounds of the Empire. There have enſued eſpecially under the reign of *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*, terrible ſlaughters, ſuch as poſterity would hardly believe, were H. 1083. A. C. 1672.

ANNOTATIONS.

(15) tribute] The *Poles* themſelves do not deny this was promis'd, but was never paid, and beſides in proceſs of time was aboliſh'd by the peace made at *Zurawn*.

they not warranted by publick authority, and the ſtrength of the *Othmans* has been weaken'd by the deſtruction of ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces; the loſs of whole armies, and inteſtine wars and diſſenſions. All theſe things which have happen'd to ſo ample an Empire even in our times, ſhall with the ſame faithfulneſs as the former tranſactions, be related in the Second Part, in the words of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians.

The End of the History of the Growth of the *OTHMAN* Empire.

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Additions

Additions and Corrections to Part I.

N. B. (n) ſtands for Annotations and (b) for the right hand Column where the Page is divided into Columns.

PREFACE, p. v. l. 3. *Ruznamche* read *Ruznameh*, *Nameh* ſignifies (according to *D'Herbelot*) in the *Perſian* Language, *Book*, *Letter*, and is the Title to many *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Writings, as *Carman Nameh*, *Kiar Nameh*, *Eskender Nameh*, &c.

ibid. l. 9. *Iſtrajadaghy* read *Iſtranjadaghy*.

ibid. l. 14, and l. 21. dele, *the*, it being expreſſed by the Article *ſi* at the End of *Effendiſi*, which is the ſame as, *the Effendi*.

ibid. p. vii. l. 17. *Tajuttevarich*. This word is in *Arabic* ſpelt *Tag' altavarikh*, i. e. *the Crown of Hiſtories* or *Chronicles*: being the Title of the *Othman* Hiſtory written in elegant *Turkiſh*, by *Sâad eddin Mohammed Haſſan*, who died *Mufti* at *Conſtantinople* in the year of the *Hejira* 1008. This Hiſtory begins with *Othman* and ends with *Selim* I. *Tag'* is a *Perſian* word ſignifying in general a *Cap*, and particularly a *Crown*.

ibid. l. 44. *Nimetullah*, or a large *Perſian* Dictionary explain'd in *Turkiſh*, drawn up by *Khalil Soſi*, commonly call'd *Baba Nimet ullah*. The word *Nâmat allah* ſignifies *the Grace of God*.

ibid. l. 3. b. *Shich Saadi* read *Sheïkh Saadi*, a *Perſian* Poet, commonly called *Sheïkh Moſlehedin Saadi AlShirazi*, being born in the City *Shiraz* Capital of *Perſia*, properly ſo called in the year of the *Hejira* 571. He was taken priſoner by the *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, and redeem'd by a Merchant of *Aleppo* for ten Gold Crowns, who gave him his Daughter in marriage with an hundred more. But this woman was ſo great a plague to him, that he could not help diſcovering it in his Works, eſpecially his *Guliſtan*, which word ſignifies in the *Perſian* Language, a *Garden of Flowers*.

ibid. p. viii. b. l. 3, and 4. *Vilurmiſin* read *Billiurmiſin*.

ibid. l. 36. *Erzer* read *Erzerum* on the *Euphrates*, about ſixty miles from *Trebiſond*, a great thorough-fare for the Eaſtern Caravans.

ibid. l. 57. *Philippolis* read *Philippopolis*. So p. 33. l. 7, &c.

ibid. p. ix. l. 30. *Alothman* read *AliOthman*. And ſo in other places.

ibid.

Ibid. p. xi. b. l. ult. *Erzinga*] The Author has explain'd this name by *Ezerbejan*, but it ſeems rather to be a corruption of *Erzengian*, a City in *Anatolia* not far from the *Euphrates*, where *Soliman Shah* made his firſt ſtay after leaving *Machan*.

Ibid. p. xii. l. 47. b. *Alſujuk* read *AliSuljuk*.

ibid. p. xiii. l. 37. *Jundogdi* read *Giundogdi*.

Ibid. p. xiii. b. l. *Suguchick* read *Sugtuchik*.

Ibid. p. xiv. b. l. 10, &c. *Aljenghizians* read *Alijenghizians*.

Page 1. l. 4. *Alothman*, Let it be obſerv'd once for all, that this word wherever it occurs, muſt be read *AliOthmân*. So likewiſe *Alijenghiz*.

p. 2. n. b. l. 2. Inſtead of (from the *Arabian* into the *Perſian*) read (from the *Perſian* into the *Arabian*) the firſt reading being a miſtake in the Manuſcript.

p. 2. n. b. l. 13. *Aliſſan* read *Ali Shân*.

p. 3. n. b. l. 6. read *Lonicerus*, a *German* Profeſſor at *Marpurgh*, born 1499.

p. 3. n. l. 40. *Shah*] This word alſo ſignifies the *King*, at *Chaſs*, a Game we have received from the *Perſians*, who probably had it from the *Indians*. Hence *Shah mat*, which we expreſs by *Check mate*, and the *Italians* by *Scatto Matto*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 11. read here and elſewhere, *Gierai*, note *g* is to be pronounced before *e* or *i* as in the *Engliſh* words *give*, *eager*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 34. read, and the Mouths of the *Nile*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 35. *Azerbejan*, *Shirvan*, and *Biladuljebal*, are three diſtinct Provinces of *Perſia*. *Azerbejan*, where it is ſaid the firſt Dynaſty of the *Perſian* Kings was eſtabliſh'd, and the fire-worſhip inſtituted by *Zoroaſter*, contains part of *Media*, *Syria*, *Armenia major*, and its principal Cities are, *Tauris*, *Ardebal*, *Selmas*, *Nakhſhivan*, *Merend*, &c. The Province of *Shirvan*, part alſo of *Media* lies along the weſtern Shore of the *Caſpian* Sea, and is parted from *Azerbejan* and *Dagheſtan* by the Rivers *Aras* and *Cur*, that is, the *Araxes* and *Cyrus*. The chief Cities are *Baku* in the latitude of 39. 30. *Shamakhiè* the Capital, both on the *Caſpian* Sea, and *Berâah* on the *Cur*.

p. 5. n. l. 9. *Erzengian*, read *Adherbigian*, for ſo is *Azerbejan* called by *D' Herbelot*, and not, as by miſtake is here ſaid, *Erzengian*.

p. 5. n. l. 13. *Sheg* read *Sheïkh*. *Ricaut* uſes *Sheg* inſtead of *Sheïkh*.

ibid. n. l. 14. *Bir* or *Elbir* is a different place from *Jaber*, and lies higher up on the *Euphrates*.

ibid. n. l. 22. *Ebubekir* Succeſſor of *Mahomet* lies buried at *Medina*, the *Ebubekir* buried here was Founder of the *Tekkie* or Convent, and only a *Sheïkh*.

Ibid.

ibid. n. b. l. 22. read *Abulfaragius.* He was Son of a *Chriſtian* Phyſician, Native of *Melitene* in *Aſia minor*, Author of an univerſal Hiſtory, intitled, *Mokhtaſſar al dual.* He lived in the thirteenth Century. *Pocock* has publiſh'd the *Arabic* Text with a *Latin* Tranſlation.

p. 8. l. 8. *Jundogdi*, read, here and elſewhere, *Giundogdi.*

ibid. n. l. 18. *Jun* read *Giun.*

p. 9. l. 4, &c. read *Saruyat.*

p. 10. l. 22. *Junguz* read *Giunduz.* So p. 15. l. 11, &c.

p. 15. l. 16, &c. read *Tengiſbehri.*

ibid. l. 24. read *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia.*

p. 17. l. 29. read *Engijeſi*, and *Hekeji.*

p. 24. l. 11. *Iznigmid*] it is by *D' Herbelot* writ *Iznimid.*

p. 28. l. 22. read *Ayaſolonia.*

p. 30. n. b. l. 10. Empreſs *Valida*, read *Valide* Empreſs. *Valide Sultana*, is the Mother of the reigning Emperor, or as we ſay, the Queen-Mother, of whoſe Prerogatives, ſee the Author's Note in the ſecond Part of this Hiſtory.

p. 34. n. b. l. 40. dele *the*, and in every place where it ſtands before a word with the Article (*ſi*) annex'd to it.

p. 35. n. l. 18. *Sham Beglerbegi*, when an (*i*) is thus added to the End of a word, it ſhows that the foregoing word anſwers to our Genitive Caſe, as *Churzem Shahi*, that is, the *Shah* of *Churzem.* So here *Sham Beglerbegi*, *Beglerbeg* of *Sham* or *Damaſcus.*

p. 36. n. l. 20. *Shich* read *Sheik.*

p. 38. n. l. 29. read *Silahdar.*

p. 38. n. b. l. 32. one hundred, read, a thouſand and one.

p. 39. l. 2. *Derviſes.* This word is writ *Derviſhe*, and ſignifies in general both in *Perſian* and *Turkiſh*, a *Poor Man*, like *Fakir* in *Arabic.* But in particular theſe two Words mean a Religious, or Monk.

p. 39. n. b. l. 49. *Kupruli* read *Kiopruli*, and ſo in other places. *Note*, the (*i*) after the (*k*) in theſe and the like words, makes but one Syllable with the following Vowel, and is therefore often omitted.

p. 40. l. 3. *Shich*, this word wherever it occurs muſt be read *Sheïkh.*

p. 41. l. 22, &c. *Germian*, read *Giermian.*

p. 42. l. 15. *Arnaud*, by this name the *Turks* call *Macedonia* and *Albania.* *D'Herbelot* writes it *Arnauth.*

p. 42. n. l. 12. read *Laſvilaieti.* *Vilaieti* ſignifies a Country.

ibid. l. 14. read *Meninskius.*

p. 44. n. l. 15. *Hall*, read *Court.*

p. 47. l. 13. read *Sarasker.*

p. 47. n. b. l. 6. read *Beſſarabia.*

p. 48. l. 17, &c. read *Jaſſij.*

p. 48. n. b. l. 2. dele Semicolon after (him.)

p. 50. n. l. 16. read *Tunani.*
p. 52. n. b. l. 3. *Myrs* read *Myſr.*
ibid. l. 15. *Mehemed* read *Mahmùd.*
p. 54. n. l. 18. read *Kuſb calaâſi.*
p. 60. n. b. l. 35. read Governors.
p. 66. l. 5, &c. read *Kiorſbah Muliuk.*
p. 68. n. l. 20. *Saracen.* This Word is by ſome derived from *Shark,* which in *Arabic,* ſignifies *the Eaſt.*
p. 71. l. 5. read *Ali Paſba.* It muſt be obſerv'd that the *Turkiſh* Letter *Be* with three points under it, is pronounced like our *P,* for which reaſon the word which we uſually write *Baſba,* is always read in *Turkiſh, Paſba.*
p. 71. l. 12. read *ſucceeding.*
p. 73. l. 21. read *Severin.*
p. 75. n. l. 24. *mans* read *Romans.*
p. 76. n. b. l. 20, 42. read *Selámun aleikium.*
ibid. l. 21. read *Aleikium eſſelian.*
ibid. l. 24, &c. read *Gieldiniuz.*
p. 81. n. b. l. 15. after *Sword* read *by.*
p. 85. n. l. 26. read *Beglerbeglics.*
ibid. n. b. l. 9. *propoſe,* read *publiſh.*
p. 88. l. 21. *rout* read *root.*
p. 90. n. l. 24. after *Side* read *of.*
p. 102. n. b. l. 7. read *Mikiuned.*
p. 106. n. b. l. 26. inſtead of (commit the care and attendance of the women) read (ſend the orders of the women to be executed.)
p. 107. *Trebiſond*] In the year 1204, the *Greek* Empire was ſubdivided into three parts. At *Conſtantinople* reign'd, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*; at *Adrianople, Theodorus Laſcaris*; and at *Trebiſond, Alexis Comnenus,* who had under him *Cappadocia, Paphlagonia,* and *Pontus,* with ſome other Provinces. After eight Succeſſions, *David* the laſt Emperor of *Trebiſond* or of *Nice,* as ſome call him, was ſubdued by *Mahomet* II. as well as *Theodorus* and his Brother *John,* at *Adrianople.* See *Atlas Hiſt.*
p. 109. n. l. 26. *Hall* read *Court.*
p. 112. n. b. l. 21. *Lotherius,* read *Lothonus.*
p. 113. n. l. 19. read *Gierai.*
ibid. n. b. l. 43. *Galga Sultan* and *Murraddin.* Theſe offices are explained by the Author in Cap. I. of his Second Part.
p. 115. n. l. 3. read *Palæologus.*
p. 117. n. b. l. 18. Purgatory, call'd *Arâf,* the Plural of the *Arabic* word *Orf,* and both ſignify a place between the *Mahometan* Heaven and Hell. The Muſulmans are not agreed about the quality of the perſons in this place. But generally they place there ſuch Muſulmans, whoſe good and bad actions are ſo equal as that they deſerve not to enter Paradiſe nor be caſt into Hell.

One

One of their Puniſhments is the Sight of the *Bleſſed*, and earneſt Deſire to be with them, which cannot be till the day of Judgment, when proſtrating themſelves before the Face of their Creator, that act of Adoration ſhall cauſe their good works to outweigh their bad, and then it ſhall be ſaid to them, " Enter into " Paradiſe, where your fears and cares ſhall be at an end." *Saadi* ſays of the *Arâf*, that it appears a *Hell* to the *Bleſſed*, and a *Paradiſe* to the *Damn'd*.

p. 119. n. b. l. 4. read *uſtun*, the *Turkiſh* name of the vowel *e* or *a*.

p. 127. n. 34. dele *ſo*.

p. 130. l. 28. *Myrza*, ſays *D'Herbelot*, is a contraction of *Emir Zadeh*, which in *Perſian* ſignifies, Son of a Prince, and was particularly us'd by the Family and Poſterity of *Tamerlane*, and very common at preſent among the *Tartars*.

p. 133. n. l. 6. dele *the*.

p. 135. l. 6. *Iſmail*] He was Son of *Sheik Haidar*, whoſe Mother was Daughter of *Uzuncaſſan* firſt Sultan of the Dynaſty of the *Turcomans*, call'd *Baïanduriens* or *White Sheep*. *Haidar* is one of the Titles of *Ali*, and ſignifies *Lion*. Hence the Family of *Sheik Haidar* pretends to derive their Origin from *Ali* by his ſecond Son *Huſſain*. *Haidar* being ſlain in battle by the King of *Shirvan*, his Family, which was very numerous, was almoſt wholly deſtroyed. However *Iſmail* one of his Sons eſcaped, and afterwards founded the preſent Dynaſty, which now reigns in *Perſia*, with the Sirname of *Sophi*. The *Perſians* ſay *Haidar* was the firſt Inventor of a red covering for the Head with twelve Folds round a Cap, and caus'd all his people to wear it. It is call'd in *Perſian*, *Haidar's Tag* or *Crown*. Hence it is that the *Turks* call the *Perſians*, *Kizylbaſh* or *Redheads*.

p. 138. n. l. 5. *Souh*, read *Sovuk*.

p. 139. n. b. l. 1, and 2. dele *and which*.

p. 156. l. 35. ſeiz'd all *Egypt*] Theſe *Circaſſians* reign'd in *Egypt* about two hundred and eighty years in fourteen ſucceſſions, and were what we corruptly call the *Mamalucs*, from *Mamluk* the Plural of *Memalik*, which in *Arabic* ſignifies a *Slave*.

p. 165. l. 12. read *Gaza*.

p. 167. l. 21. *Sherif* of *Mecca*] *D'Herbelot* ſays the *Arabian* word *Sherif* ſignifies in general *Noble*, or High in *Birth* or *Dignity*, and is a Title given particularly to the Deſcendents of *Mahomet* by *Ali* his Son-in-law and his Daughter *Fathima*. They are alſo called *Emir* and *Seid*, i. e. *Prince* and *Lord*, and diſtinguiſhed by green Turbans. There have been ſeveral Dynaſties of theſe *Sherifs* in *Africa*. The *Edriſſites* were *Sherifs*, and the Race which now reigns at *Fez* and *Morocco* bear the name of *Sherif*. The Sherifs of *Mecca* and *Medina* are ſtill left by the *Turks* with a ſort of Sovereign Power.

p. 175. l. 12. read *Maſtaba.*

p. 178. l. 17. read *from a Tyrant.*

p. 183. n. b. l. 22. dele Comma after (is.)

p. 198. l. 20. *Giurjiſtan,* that is, the Country of the *Georgians,* for *ſtan* or *iſtan* ſignifies Country, ſo *Kurdiſtan,* the Country of the *Kurdi,* &c.

p. 202. n. l. 3. *Arabic,* read *Arabia.*

p. 202. n. l. 32. *the,* read *that.*

p. 214. n. l. 3. *Jizair*] This name according to *D'Herbelot* is writ in *Arabic, Gezair* or *Keſſair,* which he makes to be a corruption of the *Latin, Cæſarea,* and *Algiers* to be the antient *Julia Cæſarea,* Capital of that part of *Mauritania,* call'd by the *Romans, Cæſarienſis,* to diſtinguiſh it from the two other *Mauritanian* Provinces, namely, *Tingitana* and *Sitifenſis.*

p. 226. l. 13. *Minarè* or Towers much like the Monument in *London.*

p. 227. l. 9. read *Chalkulvadi.*

p. 230. n. l. 17. *Jemiji* read *Giemiji.*

ibid. l. 21. read *Chingiane.*

ibid. l. 35. read *Peimirji.*

p. 233. l. 23. *Var,* read *Van.*

p. 244. n. l. 3. *or,* read *and.*

p. 247. n. b. l. 36. read *Sijili.*

p. 256. in the Margin, read *Ragotski.*

THE HISTORY OF THE Decay of the *OTHMAN EMPIRE*.

PART II.

The REIGN of *MAHOMET* IV.

Nineteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. I.

I. THE War in *Poland* had succeeded to *Mahomet*'s wish. In one and the same Campain the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of that country had been taken, the forces of the enemy vanquiſhed, *Podolia* laid waſte, *Leopolis* reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and the very heart of the kingdom ſtruck with ſuch terror, that the inhabitants thought it not only prudent but even neceſſary to compound for their lives and fortunes with the loſs of their honour, and were obliged to acknowledge the *Tartars* for their Deliverers, whom they had always found to be their capital enemies. For the Emperor being prevailed upon by the entreaties of the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, had granted them peace, while he lay encamped before † *Buchach**, and imagined that the remembrance of the overthrows, they had ſuffered, and their own weakneſs, would reſtrain them from violating their engagements, or making any attempt contrary to the conditions of the peace he had granted them. In this belief, in the month *Shaban*, as I before obſerved, he returns to *Adrianople*, and diſbands his army, which had been fatigued with ſo many labours and marches.

Sultan *Mahomet* returns victorious to *Adrianople*.

† *Buczacz.*

II. While amidſt the rejoycings and applauſes of his people, he is expecting the *Poliſh* Ambaſſadors, who were to bring the promiſed tribute of twenty thouſand Rix-Dollars, and to ratify the conditions of peace in the name of the whole kingdom,

The States of *Poland* reject the peace made by their King with the Sultan.

kingdom, he is informed, that [illegible] of the Cossacks had revolted, and with a large body of men was laying waste the frontiers of the *Ottoman* Empire, and that his party daily increased. [illegible] difficulty to cope with this flame, while things were quiet in *Poland*, [illegible] fresh advice is brought, that the Poles began to repent of the peace, and encouraged by the promises of the Emperor of *Germany* and the Pope, were preparing again for war. This report was not long after confirmed by Letters from the High Chancellor of the kingdom to the Vizir *Kiuprili Ahmed Pasha*, in which he signified, that the States of *Poland* considered as null and invalid the conditions of peace, to which the King had submitted without their consent, and would rather suffer death, than the infamy of being said to pay a farthing by way of tribute.

The Vizir presses the Ambassador of *Poland* with threats to stand to their promises.

III. The Emperor hearing this, saw himself deceived by the *Poles*, and extremely regretted, that he had suffered himself to be prevailed upon by an unseasonable regard to the *Koran* (1) and the promise of tribute (2), to abandon the war, and order his forces to return, since they would have undergone less hardship in their winter-quarters in *Podolia* and *Moldavia*, than in their march home. However being actuated by a spirit of resentment more than fear, he determines to take a severe and memorable revenge for the injury offered him. The Vizir answers the letters of the States of *Poland* with terrible threats, reproaches them for their perfidiousness, in refusing to observe the conditions of peace, by which the Emperor had been so gracious to save them from immediate destruction, and for daring to declare it to the most powerful Monarch, and by that means incur his indignation. He added, it was in vain for them to pretend the dissent of the kingdom, since what had been done by the King and the Senators of the first rank, must necessarily be agreed to by the rest. Lastly, he advised them immediately to perform what they had promised, and to divert the Emperor's resentments from themselves by a speedy and just submission; which

Annotations.

(1) to the *Koran*] The Reader will not perhaps wonder, that a regard to the *Koran* should be assigned among the causes of making the peace of *Buchach*†, when he is informed that the *Turks* are excited to a perpetual enmity with the *Christians*, by no other ground of their Superstition so much as by that mass of Blasphemy. But though they are commanded by the precepts of the *Koran* to make war upon the *Christians*, even when there is no other cause for it but the propagation of *Mahometism*, yet that law determines the manner in which peace may and ought to be made. For first it permits to make a truce, if the enemy be stronger than the Musulmans, that these may have time to augment their forces, and to heal their wounds, if they have received any. And it commands, that a firm and lasting peace be made, when the enemy embraces *Mahometism*, the enlargement whereof is the sole end of a just war, or promises to pay an annual tribute. For in such a case, he cannot be compelled further to *Mahometism*, nor be hurt any way unless he revolts. And if any one commits hostilities upon such a tributary, he shall be punished as severely as if he had attacked a Musulman's house or lands. For the *Fetvah* answers upon that point: *Unlerun mali bizum mali muz gibi jane jan, gioze gioz*, &c. Such a man's substance and riches, are as our substance, his soul as our soul, his eye as our eye, &c.

(2) promise of tribute] I justly assign as another cause of the conclusion of the first *Polish* war, the promise made by the King of *Poland* of paying tribute. For the *Turks* aim at nothing more, than to have an enemy bound to pay them a small sum of money, which they may easily call a tribute. That once obtained, they do not want contrivances to increase that sum daily, and reduce it to a real tribute; and so make countries, that intended only to put themselves under their Protection, entirely subject to their dominion. Instances of such frauds, are not only the *Christian* Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*; but also the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, who is himself a *Mahometan*, and of the same religion, whose ancestors enjoyed much larger priviledges when they submitted to the *Turks*, than their Descendants do at present.

† This name is variously written by the Author, as *Doroshenko*, *Doroßenßko*, and *Doroßenßki*, which last seems truest.

if

if they refus'd to do, he threatens them with a war more fierce than the former, and with the total deſtruction of their kingdom.

IV. But when theſe remonſtrances had no effect upon the *Poles*, the Emperor orders all the forces poſſible to be raiſed in the Empire; and an Army not inferior to the former, meet at *Adrianople* early in the ſpring. All things being ready in the month *Rebiul achyr* of the year 1084, he marches out of the City with great pomp, againſt the *Poles*, flattering himſelf with the hopes of being able by one effort to ſubdue them, weakened as they were by the laſt year's ill ſucceſs, and to annex *Poland*, now deſtitute of defence, to his Empire. But the *Poles* had turned even their misfortune to their advantage, and compoſed their domeſtick diſſentions, which had opened the way to the *Turkiſh* victories the foregoing year; they aſſemble all their forces; and before the Emperor could reach them with his army, paſs the *Tyras* at *Chotin* under the conduct of *John Sobieski*; thinking it more adviſeable to invade their enemies, than to drive them from their own walls.

The Sultan marches his forces into *Poland*.

The King ſends his army under the command of *Sobieſki* to the borders.

H. 1084.

A. C. 1673.

V. A few days after, the Emperor likewiſe advances with his army, and finds the place, where he deſigned to paſs over, ſeiz'd by the enemy. He is ſurprized at the boldneſs of a people lately vanquiſhed, and imagining that they, led by their evil genius to deſtruction, had ſhut themſelves up between the *Tyras* and *Danube*, reminds his own army of their former victories, and the glory of the *Othman* name, and commands them bravely to attack the enemy. The *Poles* reſolving to wipe out the diſgrace they had incurred the laſt year, draw up their troops, animated by the ſpeeches and example of their General. The two armies ingage, and the battle proves fierce and bloody, laſting with doubtful ſucceſs till the evening.

A fierce battle at *Chotin*.

VI. While both ſides fight with great ardor, *Petreczeicus* (3) Prince of *Moldavia*, and *Gregory* (4) the Son of *Gika* (5) Prince of *Walachia*, deſert from the

The Prince of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* go over to the *Poles*, who obtain the victory.

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) *Petreczeicus*] A *Moldavian* by birth, and of a noble, though not famous, family, in that province. He was raiſed to the higheſt honours by *Euſtratius Dabiza* Prince of *Moldavia*; ſix months after whoſe death, *Ducas* being depoſed, he obtained the principality. At *Chotin* he revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*, as has been mentioned in this Hiſtory, which was the cauſe of the defeat of the *Turks*. After the victory, not being able with the aſſiſtance of the *Poles* to preſerve his principality, he retired with them into *Poland*, where he continued till his death, which happened in 1684. Not long after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, he returned into *Moldavia*, and with the aſſiſtance of his Relation *Bainſki*, took Prince *Ducas*; but upon an irruption of the *Tartars* was forced to withdraw a ſecond time into *Poland*, and not without loſs. But the King of *Poland* granted him the town of *Jazlovecz* with ſome villages, and a yearly penſion of one hundred thouſand *Zolots*; this he enjoyed till his death, and dying without heirs, the ſame favour was granted to his widow, till her ſecond marriage with a *Polander*.

(4) *Gregory*] Prince of *Walachia*, ſon of *George Gika*, Deſpot of that country. A man truly great, and adorned with many virtues, had he not ſullied them by his treachery to his father. Twice he revolted from the *Turks*, and twice was received into favour. The firſt time was to the *Germans*, at the battle of St. *Gothard*, under the Vizir *Kiaprili Ahmed Paſha*; and the ſecond, to the *Poles* at the battle of *Chotin*. In his laſt revolt, the *Turks* endeavoured to ſecure him to their obedience by detaining his Wife and Children as hoſtages; but, notwithſtanding that, he ſhowed a *Chriſtian* courage in the very heat of the battle, deſpiſing all his goods and riches. After the battle, he retired through *Poland* to the Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he was created Prince of the Empire; but not receiving there ſo handſome an allowance as the Emperor's Miniſters had made him expect, he reſolved to return to *Conſtantinople*. To that end he writes a letter to his old friend *Panagiotes Nicuſius*, a perſon then in very great credit at the *Othman* Port, wherein he gives an account of his ill fate, and entreats him to obtain his pardon from the Sultan. *Panagiotes* writes him an anſwer, and aſſures him, he could eaſily have him reſtored to the Sultan's favour, if he would but come himſelf and implore his clemency. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Gregory* deſires the Emperors leave to return, which not being able to obtain, he pretends a deſign to ſpend the remainder of his days in *Germany*, and embrace the *Romiſh* Religion, if he could but have a diſ-

the *Turks* to the *Poles*; upon which the left wing commanded by *Ibrahim Pasha*, crying out they were betrayed, quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their leader. The right wing likewise is soon broken by the valour of the *Poles*, and at first indeed retreat gradually, but the enemy's troops pressing upon them with vigor, they quickly take to flight, and abandon not only the field of battle, but also their cannon, with all their warlike provisions. The Emperor, (who had remained behind about four hours march,) when he sees his soldiers flying in disorder, full of indignation, at first endeavours to re-animate them by his speeches, and to lead them back to the battle, then uses threats, kills some of the foremost run-aways, calls upon the rest, to reflect upon the law which they professed, and choose rather to die valiantly fighting, than by the hands of the executioner, and by that means lose the promised crown of martyrdom. At last when he finds, that neither his words nor sword have any effect, he is forced to save himself also by flight from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The death of the King of *Poland* prevents the further progress of the General.

VII. The *Othman* army being thus defeated, there appeared nothing to prevent the *Poles* from not only recovering what they had lost, but even extending the limits of their kingdom. *Camieniec*, which they found to be a check to their progress, was pressed with a severe famine, which would probably soon force the garrison to abandon that fortress. But all these hopes were suddenly destroyed by the death of *Michael* King of *Poland*, which happened shortly after, and which occasioned the Nobles to prosecute their affairs more remissly, being drawn off from the care of the war to the election of a new King.

Annotations.

pensation from the Pope to marry another wife. This pleasing the Emperor, he gives *Gregory* not only a safe-conduct, but also a recommendation to the Pope. With these he comes to *Rome*, kisses the Pope's toe, tells him, that though he had a wife alive in confinement among the *Turks*, yet he could not conquer the lusts of the flesh, and therefore was obliged to marry a second wife whilst his first was alive, and desires a dispensation for that purpose: but promises at the same time, that if his request was granted, he would publickly profess himself a member of the *Roman* Church. The Pope demurred at first, and consulted the Cardinals, what was most expedient for the Church to do; either strictly to observe the rigid law of the Gospel, which forbids Polygamy; or by this indulgence to bring a Schismatical, but otherwise an illustrious, Prince, into the bosom of the Church. After long deliberation, the last opinion was preferred to the first, and a licence for marrying a second wife was given to *Gregory*, who thereupon made publick profession of the Catholick Faith. *Gregory* having thus gained credit, pretends to have received a letter from *Venice*, wherein he was informed, that there was in that place a young Lady of the noble family of the *Justiniani*, who would not disdain to marry him. Upon showing this letter, he received a recommendation from the Pope to the republic of *Venice*,, and departed for that place. There he spent some months, under pretence of making preparations for his wedding, and transacting other affairs, but at last changing his dress, he went on board a Cypriot ship, and set sail for *Constantinople*. Having thus deceived both the Emperor and the Pope, he lay concealed for some time at *Constantinople*, in his friend *Panagiotes*'s house, till he had obtained from the Sultan a full pardon, and an oblivion of all that was past. After which he made a publick entry into *Constantinople*, and obtained not only the enlargement of his wife and children, and the restitution of all his goods, but also a promise of being restored to his principality within three months. But he died forty days after, either of the piles, or of poison given as he confessed on his death-bed by *Timon* a Physician, said to have been bribed by the *Cantacuzeni*.

(5) *Gika*] He was an *Albanian*, born in the village *Kioprili*, from whence originally came the famous family of the *Kioprili ogli*. In the time of *Stephen*, sirnamed *Burduze*, i. e. the Fat, Prince of *Moldavia*, he was *Capu Kiebaia*, or Resident at the *Othman* Port, but, upon *Stephen*'s rebellion, he was appointed his successor. Three years after, he was translated from *Moldavia* to *Walachia*, but was afterwards deprived of that dignity by the indirect practices of his son *Gregory*, of whom I have already spoken. For when *Gregory* resided at *Constantinople*, he told the Vizir, that his father was old, and sometimes had not the use of his senses; by which means he got him turned out, and was appointed Prince of *Walachia* in his room.

V. After

VIII. After long deliberation the crown is conferred upon *John Sobieski*, great Marſhal of the Kingdom, who beſides the nobleneſs of his Family, and his own perſonal merits, by his late victory againſt the *Turks*, had procured the votes of the States of the kingdom. *John Sobieſki is choſen King of Poland.*

IX. This choice was by no means agreeable to the *Othman* Court, ſince he, who, when General of a ſubdued nation, had defeated their victorious army, being now King of Conquerors, ſeemed to threaten the vanquiſhed with ſome greater calamity. The Emperor therefore prepares a very powerful army to oppoſe him; and beſides the remains of the former ſlaughter, which he had placed in winter-quarters in *Moldavia* and *Dobruja*, he raiſes new forces in *Aſia* and *Europe*, and to the uſual number of Janizaries adds twelve thouſand *Serden Giechdi** (6), appointing each eleven Aſpers a day. In order likewiſe to enlarge and ſtrengthen his army, he ſent his commands to *Selim Gierai* (7) Chan of *Tartary*, and directed him to bring with him two men out of every *Cazan* (8) of the *Bujac* and *Crim Tartars*. *The Sultan makes greater preparations for war againſt the Poles.*

X. The

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) *Serden Giechdi**] This name, as to its Etymology, ſignifies, one that does not value his head, or that has devoted his life and head to the Sultan's ſervice. This kind of militia is not perpetual, but is raiſed, and disbanded, at the Sultan's pleaſure. For when there is any great expedition in hand, or a fortified place to be beſieged, the Sultan orders ſo many thouſand of *Serden Giechdi** to be raiſed, with the pay of about ten Aſpers a day. When this order is notified, as many of the Janizaries as prefer a zeal for religion to their life, are liſted among the *Serden Giechdi**, till the number appointed by the Sultan is made up. And thus if a new Janizary, whoſe pay is about three Aſpers a day, liſts himſelf among the *Serden Giechdi**, he will receive afterwards thirteen Aſpers as long as he lives. Their buſineſs is, to be the firſt either in attacking an enemy's camp, or ſcaling the walls of a town, without complaining of the danger and difficulty of the place, or thinking any thing too hard. Their aſſaults are certainly very fierce, becauſe they run into the fire, and againſt the enemy's ſwords, not like men, but like wild beaſts void of underſtanding, and do not deſiſt from their attacks, till they are either recalled or killed. For this reaſon, when the expedition is over, very few, out of the whole number, come ſafe home; but ſuch as eſcape return to the *Oda* or *Chamber*, out of which they had been choſen, and cannot be compelled to ſerve in the ſame manner a ſecond time. But if they chuſe to be *Serden Giechdi** another year, they have an addition to their thirteen Aſpers a day of ten more, which they enjoy all their lives. If ſuch a *Serden Giechdi** is either grievouſly wounded, or loſes a hand or leg in battle, ſo as to be diſabled from going to war, he has an allowance of ten Aſpers a day, and ſometimes more or leſs according to the Sultan's pleaſure, and with that is ſent home under the name of *Oturak* or Sedentary, enjoying that penſion to his death. Not only the *Oturak* or wounded perſons, but alſo the veteran Janizaries, who have ſerved twenty or thirty years, and are unfit any longer to bear arms, have leave to return home as the *Oturak*, and are gratified with the ſame allowance. If theſe ſtay at *Conſtantinople*, they are ſometimes conſulted upon important affairs, and their opinion is delivered to the Sultan by the *Aga* of the Janizaries. Very often they follow the camp of their own accord, and are not obliged to fight, but only, if a ſiege or ſome expedition is propoſed, they are deſired to deliver their opinion about it. There are Horſe-*Serden Giechdi** choſen from among the *Spahi*, in the ſame manner, and are diſmiſſed as the *Oturak*.

(7) *Selim Gierai*] Chan of *Crim Tartary*, a man very famous both in war and peace, a moſt excellent hiſtorian, in the knowledge of military affairs ſuperior to moſt, and hardly ſecond to any. The *Turks* themſelves own, that every time they deſpiſed or neglected his advice, they ran into ſhameful errors. Three years before the taking of *Cameniec*, he was made Chan; twice he was depoſed, and as often reſtored; at laſt under Sultan *Muſtafa* II. he abdicated the throne, and went in pilgrimage to *Mecca*. He died at his country-houſe near *Conſtantinople*, and his ſons now ſucceed one another in the office of Chan. As for the diſpute between the families of *Chôban** *Gierai* and *Selim Gierai*, I have given a full account of it in a former note.

(8) *Cazan*] Or more elegantly *Cazan*; as to its Etymology, it ſignifies a *Caldron*, or *large Kettle*, in which ſeveral Companions may boyl their victuals together. From whence the families of the *Crim* and *Bujak Tartars* are named *Cazan*, each of which may contain about ten ſouls, more or leſs.

The republic of *Poland* heſitates on account of the vigorous proceedings of their King.

X. The King of *Poland* ſuſpecting what was really the caſe, that he was to engage with an enemy ſtronger and better prepared, applies himſelf to his affairs with no leſs attention, raiſes troops from all parts, and admoniſhes the ſtates of his kingdom to aſſemble all their forces, and confirm the victory, they had gained in the laſt expedition. But they were deaf to his advice. Fluſhed with their late victory, they contemn the enemy, and give out that the *Othman* power, broken by the loſs they had ſuſtained, could ſcarce recover itſelf in many years, that the forces already raiſed were ſufficient, and that the treaſures of the kingdom ought not to be fruitleſsly conſumed. Theſe were the publick pretences of the Nobles, but the true reaſon was, their fear leſt the King, whoſe boldneſs and heroical virtues were well known, when he found the whole kingdom united under his command, ſhould oppreſs them, exhauſted and weakened with a long war, and make the crown, which had been conferred on him by election, hereditary in his family. Beſides they were very loth to obey a perſon, who but a few days before had been their equal.

The *Poles* beſiege *Cameniec*. The *Turks* haſten to its relief.

XI. However the King, to perform the duty of a father of his country, and to overcome the enemy by art, ſince he could not by force, through the envy of his countrymen, had ſent what ſoldiers he had ready, to block up *Cameniec*, and reduced that City to ſuch ſtreights, that the garriſon had ſcarce proviſions enough for a few weeks. But the Emperor being informed of their diſtreſs, aſſembles his forces with greater ſpeed than before, and about the end of the month *Rebiul evvel*, in the year 1085, paſſes the *Danube* at *Sakie*, and marches with ſuch diligence, that ten days after the foremoſt of his troops appeared about *Chotin*.

H. 1085.
A. C. 1674.

The *Poles* being ſtruck with terror, abandon the ſiege.

XII. The *Poles*, who had ſcarce expected the *Turks* within a month or two, being ſurprized with the news of the Sultan's approach, and imagining that a body of light-armed men were ſent before, diſpatch certain perſons (9) ſkilled in the *Turkiſh* language to the *Othman* camp, to obſerve more exactly the number and ſtrength of the enemy. When theſe report that the Emperor and Vizir were incamped with a powerful army not far from *Chotin*, the *Poles*, ſeized with a panic, fly away, and abandon the ſiege.

The Sultan recovers *Chotin*, and takes *Human*.

XIII. The Sultan, who had determined to paſs the *Tyras*, being informed that the ſiege of *Cameniec* was raiſed, turns his arms to *Chotin*, and recovers that city in a ſhort time. After this, paſſing the *Tyras*, he encamps under the walls of *Cameniec*, and ſupplies the city with proviſions and ammunition, which began now to be wanted, and waits ſome days for the enemy. When he finds no enemy approaching, he takes *Human*, a town of *Podolia*, and applies himſelf to ſettle the affairs of the province, which he had ſubdued, thinking it neceſſary to confirm his preſent acquiſitions, before he made farther progreſs.

The rebellious *Coſſaks* offer the *Turks* aſſiſtance, but are rejected.

XIV. While, intent on theſe things, he remains in thoſe parts, *Doroſhenko*, Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, with four thouſand of his countrymen, comes uncalled to the aſſiſtance of the Sultan, and offers him his whole army. But *Mahomet*, either thinking it needleſs to march ſo great forces againſt ſo inconſiderable an enemy, or ſuſpecting *Doroſhenko*'s integrity, commands him to return home with

ANNOTATIONS.

The *Mirza*'s count their Subjects by *Cazan*, and when they are to go upon any expedition, the Chan tells them how many ſoldiers they are to bring with them out of each *Cazan*. There are ſaid to be about ſeventy thouſand of them in *Crim-Tartary*. But this number is not always the ſame, being ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs. For if the maſter of one *Cazan* marries the heir of another *Cazan*, both the *Cazans* are contracted into one. And, on the other hand, if a Father has more ſons than can conveniently live in one houſe, they part, and each make a *Cazan*.

(9) certain perſons] It is ſaid that one of theſe ſpies was taken and brought to the Sultan; to whom ingenuouſly confeſſing the cauſe of his coming, he was ordered to be carried about the camp, and then ſent away with a preſent of twenty gold crowns.

his

his men, alledging for reaſon, that he had no occaſion for the aſſiſtance of the *Coſſaks* againſt the *Poles*.

XV. This highly exaſperated *Doroſhensko*, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the *Othman* affairs. For there was no other cauſe of the *Coſſaks* revolting ſome years after from the *Turkiſh* obedience, and ſubmitting to the *Czars* of *Ruſſia*, as will be more amply related in its proper place.

Doroſhenſko Duke of the *Coſſaks* upon this repulſe, offers to ſurrender his people to the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*.

XVI. But the Emperor ſeeing he could not be ſecure of the poſſeſſion of *Cameniec*, whilſt inhabited by *Chriſtians*, ſince they might not only inform the enemies of every thing done there, but likewiſe put them in a way to take the city, commands all the inhabitants of the territory of *Cameniec* to be removed beyond the *Danube*, and mount *Hæmus* into the province of *Kyrk ekkleſie* (10), and lands to be aſſigned them. But he divides their country among two thouſand *Spahi's*, who were before ſeated in the territories of *Bender*, *Akkirrman*, and *Kili*. The ſeaſon appointed for warlike expeditions being ſpent in theſe affairs, the Emperor leaves *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha* (11) with a ſtrong garriſon at *Cameniec*, and returns himſelf with the main army to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the winter.

The Sultan tranſplants the *Poliſh* colonies into *Thrace*. He marches his forces back to *Adrianople*.

XVII. There deſpiſing now the enemy, of whom he had before been a little afraid, he devotes all the next year to his pleaſures, having commanded *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, governor of *Cameniec*, to obſerve the motions of the *Poles* with ſome regiments of Janizaries. In the mean while he ſolemnizes with great pomp the circumciſion of his two ſons, *Muſtapha* and *Ahmed*, and the nuptials of his daughter, upon which occaſion he amaſſes a greater treaſure (12), than the half of the revenue of the whole Empire would amount to.

At *Adrianople* he ſolemnizes the circumciſion of his two ſons, and the marriage of his daughter.

XVIII. On the other hand the *Poles*, who had prepared rather to repell the enemy, than come to a battle, imagining the long ſilence of the *Turks* to be only a ſtratagem, were cautious of making any attempt, ſo that except ſome

The King of *Poland* wages war againſt the *Turks*.

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(10) *Kyrk ekkleſie*] A province and town formerly called τεσσαράκοντα ἐκκλησίαι, the *Forty Churches*, becauſe there were formerly in it ſo many *Chriſtian* Churches. It is diſtant eight and thirty hours from *Conſtantinople*, and twelve from *Adrianople*: At preſent it has neither walls nor churches, and but very few *Chriſtian* inhabitants. For it is almoſt entirely poſſeſſed by *Jews*, tranſplanted thither from *Podolia* by Sultan *Mahomet*, by whom the ſame corrupt *German* is ſtill ſpoken as in *Poland*. Their chief produce is butter and cheeſe, which is ſent to the *Jews* living at *Conſtantinople*, after it has been marked with the *Chacham*'s ſeal, to denote that it is clean and made by *Jewiſh* hands.

(11) *Shiſhman* &c.] A brave *Turkiſh* General againſt the *Poles*, and renowned for many actions, but ſo thick and fat, that he was ſirnamed *Shiſhman*, i. e. *the Fat*. It is ſaid of him, that he kept a *French* Surgeon, who opened his belly, and took out the fat, every year, in the months of *June* and *July*, when he could hardly breathe, and was in danger of his life. But, at laſt, his fat increaſing to ſuch a degree, that it could no longer be taken out, he burſt like another *Judas*, ſo that his bowels guſhed out. Whether this be true, or only a ſtory invented by the *Turks*, I cannot ſay; but this I know, that it is conſtantly affirmed by the *Turks* that were about him.

(12) treaſure] Whenever the Sultans ſolemniſe the circumciſion of their ſons, they diſpatch orders to all the *Vizirs*, *Baſhas*, *Begs*, *Sanjaks*, *Wewodes*, and others that have any office within their dominions, and even to their courtiers, to ſend them large preſents. From this no one can be excuſed; and even thoſe that are appointed to guard the borders of the Empire, tho' they cannot come themſelves to the ſolemnity, are forced to ſend preſents by their ſervants. If the port is at peace with the Emperor of *Germany*, and the King of *Perſia*, the ambaſſadors of thoſe courts are alſo invited, and they cannot appear without large preſents. That I am not miſtaken in ſaying, that the Sultan amaſſed then as much treaſure, as half the yearly tribute of his whole Empire would amount to, the reader may judge by this one inſtance. Out of the ſingle principality of *Moldavia*, there were ſent him as preſents, twenty thouſand dolars, two ſable-skins, and two ounce-skins, one hundred cubits of gold and ſilver-cloth, called by the *Turks*, *Sheh meran*, two gold crowns ſet with diamonds, each of which coſt fifteen thouſand rix-dolars, beſides other things of leſs value.

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light skirmiſhes between the ſcouts on both ſides, there was nothing worth notice done this whole year. But in 1087, as if the deſtinies demanded a debt due to them, torrents of human blood are ſhed with greater profuſion. The King of *Poland*, diſcovering the true reaſon of the inactivity of the *Turks*, reſolves to turn their negligence to his advantage. He liſts therefore new ſoldiers, rather by the hopes of the ſpoils of the *Turks* and *Moldavians*, than by any juſt and uſual pay, and paſſing by *Cameniec*, which upon the deceaſe of *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, was without a governor, penetrates directly into *Moldavia*, in order, as he declared, to attack the *Turks* within their own territories. Sultan *Mahomet*, who charmed with the pleaſures and diverſions of the preceding year, had laid aſide all thoughts of war, and reſigned himſelf wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of *Shiſhman Ibrahim Paſha*, ſends *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha* (13), inveſted with the dignity of *Seraskier* (14), with an army againſt the *Poles*, who at his coming offer him battle. But he, as he was a man of great policy, and well skilled in military affairs, at firſt amuſes the King with pretences of peace, renders the enemy more negligent, and then after breaking off the treaty upon ſome ſlight cauſe, circumvents the *Poliſh* army by a thouſand artifices, and renders all their efforts ineffectual, and at laſt on a ſudden inveſts the King ſo cloſely in his camp, that he could neither ſend a meſſenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence.

He offers peace to the *Turks*.

XIX. The King with his whole army would undoubtedly have periſhed, ſince he laboured under an extreme want of proviſion, if divine providence had not permitted the *Turks* to be deceived by the ſame artifices, they themſelves had uſed. For affairs being reduced to the moſt deſperate ſituation, the King of *Poland* ſends ſome perſons into the *Turkiſh* camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. *Ibrahim Paſha* would ſcarce have conſented to their deſires, if he had not diſcovered, that there was a mutiny juſt breaking out in his own camp. The Janizaries, who were uneaſy at the quick marches, they had made to reduce the King to thoſe ſtraits, threw out ſeditious expreſſions not only againſt their General, but alſo againſt the Emperor himſelf, and publickly declared it great injuſtice to be obliged to contend with the enemies and ſeaſons, whilſt the Sultan diverted himſelf with hunting wild beaſts (15), and

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(13) *Shaitan* &c.] A very famous man among the *Turks*, called *Shaitan*, i. e. *Devil*, by his ſoldiers, on account of his cunning, and skill in military affairs. After he had defeated the *Poles* at *Zorauna*, and made a peace with them, he was at his return to *Conſtantinople*, named *Melek*, i. e. *Angel* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV. but he ſtill retained in the army the old name of *Shaitan*. The Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* made him, after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, *Seraſkier* (or General) againſt the *Germans*, in which command, he put in great danger the *German* army, that was then beſieging *Vivarium*, but having been defeated at *Strigonium*, and being accuſed of careleſsneſs and bribery, he was put to death.

(14) *Seraskier*] vulgarly, *Baſhbog*, the Head or General of the whole army. A *Seraskier* may be choſen from among the Baſhas of two or three *Horſe-Tails*. But if one of two *Tug*, or *Horſe-Tails*, is *Seraſkier*, there can be no Baſha in the ſame army privileged with three; and if any ſuch comes, he muſt either be *Seraſkier*, or the Vizir muſt ſend a third *Tug* to the firſt perſon. Any Baſha that is once made *Seraſkier* muſt indeed communicate his deſigns to the reſt of his companions, but he hath the ſupreme authority in the execution, and can command or forbid whatever he pleaſes in the camp. If the chief Vizir is appointed *Seraſkier*, he can alter all deſigns and undertakings, though contrary to the opinion of the reſt of the Baſhas, and arbitrarily command, what is, or is not, to be done. When an expedition is at an end, the name and power of *Seraſkier* ceaſes, till another expedition. But this title the Baſha of *Siliſtria* always bears, whoſe buſineſs it is to defend *Babadagy* and the frontiers of *Poland*.

(15) wild beaſts] When the Sultans are too much addicted to hunting, they always incur the hatred of their people and ſoldiers. For the *Turks* believe, that a mind too intent upon taking birds and wild beaſts, can neither govern itſelf nor the commonwealth, nor hearken to ſound advice. This opinion is grounded upon a common *Turkiſh* ſaying, *Kuſhbazi Cumarbazi ulduren olur cazi*, *He that kills a lover of birds* (which name

and rowled in other pleaſures; that they, who had been the chief inſtruments of founding and extending the Empire, were now put under the command of a *Seraskier*, and treated as if unworthy to fight under the conduct of the Emperor, or Vizir, according to the antient and uſual cuſtom. On the other hand the Chan (16) of *Crim Tartary*, perceiving he loſt more than he gained by this war, did not ceaſe to perſwade the *Seraskier* to peace, repreſenting that the conditions, which would now be offered by the King of *Poland*, were not to be ſlighted, for he did not doubt, the *Poles*, to reſcue themſelves from imminent danger, would conſent to whatever ſhould be demanded, but it was to be feared, if they were longer preſſed, deſpair would inflame their courage, and cauſe them to make an irruption, by which if they did not entirely defeat the *Othman* army, they would at leaſt revenge their own deaths with the ſlaughter of thouſands of their enemies, he added, that the winter was now approaching, and the *Othman* ſoldiers, unaccuſtomed to that ſeaſon, would afford an eaſy victory to the enemy. *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha* being moved by theſe and other remonſtrances, approves the advice, and demands of the King of *Poland* ſeveral nobles to be ſent as hoſtages to his camp. The King ſends to the *Seraskier* ſix under the title of ambaſſadors, and receives the ſame number from the *Turks*. Immediately the report of peace was ſpread through both camps; upon which the *Turkiſh* ſoldiers imagining, there was nothing to fear, and being pleaſed with ſeeing at laſt an end of their labours, grow remiſs, and careleſsly guard the paſſes.

XX. When the King of *Poland* ſees this, he takes with him a ſelect body of his army, leaving the weakeſt part to guard the camp, privately retires, and unexpectedly attacking ſome thouſands of *Tartars*, who had encamped under *Mobilow* (17), eaſily puts them to flight. An account of this misfortune is immediately brought to *Ibrahim Paſha*, who was then at dinner talking with the ambaſſadors. Struck with the news, he ſeverely reproaches the ambaſſadors for their treachery and breach of the law of nations, and immediately ſends his cavalry to the aſſiſtance of the *Tartars*. Theſe troops, on the 19th of *Rejeb* in 1087, find the *Poles* under *Zorauna*, and full of reſentment and revenge, ruſh upon them. The battle was long doubtful, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, and would have laſted ſtill longer, if night had not put a ſtop to their ardour. For the evening coming on, when the *Turks* perceive nothing could be done on account of the darkneſs, they retire to their camp, which is readily permitted them by the weary *Poles*, who alſo ſtrongly entrenched their own camp againſt the irruptions of the *Tartars*, fear ſupplying them with ſtrength.

The King eſcapes out of danger, and attacks the *Tartars*.

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XXI. The two camps being placed oppoſite to each other, ſkirmiſh for ſeventeen days without intermiſſion, ſometimes the *Poles*, ſometimes the *Turks*,

A peace is concluded.

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name comprehends alſo one that is too fond of hunting,) *and a player at dice, is to be reckoned a Hero.* This was the occaſion of all the calamities that befel *Mahomet*, and his ſon *Muſtapha* II. in our times, and the chief reaſon of their being depoſed. For when, notwithſtanding the repeated admonitions that were given them, they would not refrain from hunting, the people did not ceaſe to hate and deſpiſe them, till they had wreſted the ſcepter from their hands. But ſuch Emperors as do but ſeldom and moderately uſe that recreation, have never been cenſured for it by their ſubjects.

(16) Chan] Though the Chan of *Crim-Tartary* be ſubject to the *Turkiſh* Empire, and has hitherto continued faithful, yet, for his own advantage, he does not deſire that all *Poland* ſhould be under the *Turkiſh* yoke. Not to mention the many preſents he privately receives, almoſt every year, out of *Poland*, that kingdom may not improperly be called the ſtore-houſe of the *Tartars*, in which they can make continual incurſions, and draw very large ſums from thence, for the redemption of the great numbers of captives they carry away. But if *Poland* was tributary, or entirely ſubject, to the *Turks*, the *Tartars* would be debarred from exerciſing their uſual robberies, and therefore they endeavour to hinder it all the ways they can.

(17) *Mobilow*] A town of the *Poliſh Ukrania*, lying on the eaſtern ſide of the *Tyras*, twelve hours diſtant from *Soroca*, and about the ſame from *Camenies*.

being

being worſted. At laſt, after many labours, peace is concluded in the midſt of arms; and ſigned the 6th of *Shaban* by ambaſſadors of both parties. The inſtruments of peace being exchanged, the *Poliſh* ambaſſadors, preſented by the *Seraskier* with bred horſes, are diſmiſſed; and the *Turkiſh* hoſtages alſo return to the *Othman* camp. The *Poles*, when they come home, ſummoning an aſſembly of the States on the 19th of *Ziulcade* the ſame year, and notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Emperor of *Germany* to the contrary, ratify the conditions of the peace, and ſend to *Conſtantinople* the Palatine of *Culm* as ambaſſador extraordinary to the Port. But how prejudicial an unſeaſonable pride is in the management of publick affairs, appeared in the following inſtance.

The abſurd demand of the *Poliſh* ambaſſador.

XXII. The ambaſſador, before he entered the city, demanded by a letter what had never been done, that the Vizir ſhould meet him at the gate of *Conſtantinople*. This being refuſed, he would not enter the city (18), and retired towards the weſt to *Daud Paſha* (19), a village about an *Italian* mile from *Conſtantinople*. By theſe and the like delays, the negotiation is protracted from the

H. 1088. 26th of *Rejeb* 1688, to the 16th of *Sefer* the next year, when the peace is

A. C. 1677. at laſt confirmed in *Daud Paſha*; and on the firſt day of the month *Rebiul evvel*, in a publick council the inſtruments of it were delivered to the ambaſſador, drawn up in ſuch a manner as the Vizir thought proper (20). By theſe articles

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(18) the city] This obſtinacy and pride in the ambaſſador would have put an end to all hopes of peace, had not the Vizir, who was now meditating the *Vienna*-expedition, endeavoured by all means to keep every thing quiet on that ſide, and for that reaſon yielded a little to the ambaſſador, and permitted the *Reis Effendi* to conclude the peace at *Daud Paſha*. For, otherwiſe, the *Turks* are more ſcrupulouſly exact than any other Nation in obſerving the rites and ceremonies uſed of old by their Court, and they had rather ſee the whole world turned upſide down, than that the leaſt point of honour due to them ſhould be omitted.

(19) *Daud Paſha*] A place on the weſt-ſide of the City, and not above an *Italian* mile from the walls. There are to be ſeen ſtately palaces belonging to the Sultan, ſome houſes for the courtiers, and ſtables built of ſtone, all which are very handſom edifices. Beſides theſe, there are no other houſes, nor any inhabitants, except the *Boſtandji*, who take care of the adjoining garden. The name of it ſeems to be derived either from the founder, or from the over-ſeer of the ſtructure. Whenever the Sultan travels from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*, he takes up his firſt quarters there. This *Daud Paſha* muſt be diſtinguiſhed from another *Daud Paſha Mekiemeſi*, built in the middle of *Conſtantinople* by *Ildirim Bajazet*, whilſt the *Greek* Emperors were yet maſters of that City.

(20) thought proper] Becauſe it is of great importance to know the particulars of this treaty, it will not be amiſs to ſet them down here as they are extant in the Hiſtory of the war between the *Poles* and *Turks*, by *Monſieur De la Croix*. They are to this effect.

Being deſired by the ambaſſador of *Poland*, to inſert ſome articles among the *bleſſed* capitulations which we have with that kingdom, we have granted, and will, that the contents of them be obſerved and made publick.

1. If the *Lipkenſian Tartars*, who live in *Poland*, are willing to retire into the provinces that are ſubject to us, they ſhall have a whole year allowed them to do it; nor ſhall the *Poles* in any wiſe hinder them from moving their children and effects where they pleaſe.

2. Whereas all *Podolia*, according to its antient bounds, is ſubject to our imperial Majeſty, we will, that the *Poliſh* garriſons, which have hitherto poſſeſſed *Buar* and *Mejibos* evacuate thoſe places, leaving behind them all the cannon, that was found there when they were taken. But if any have been brought thither, ſince that time, out of *Poland*, they may be carried away. The inhabitants of thoſe places, ſhall either remain there, or depart elſewhere, without any moleſtation.

3. The bounds of *Podolia* ſhall be ſettled by old inhabitants of that province, who are men of approved integrity, and known experience; and the limits they ſhall appoint, ſhall for the future be the true and certain bounds of *Podolia*.

4. When the bounds are thus ſettled, all the *Poliſh* Noblemen, who have long poſſeſſed villages in *Podolia*, and are willing to ſtay there, ſhall pay to the *Othman* port, tribute, tenths, and other cuſtoms impoſed upon goods. A part of thoſe villages ſhall be left to them for their maintenance, and they and their poſterity ſhall enjoy it for ever, being confirmed by our privilege

articles, the *Poles* not only renounced all claim to *Cameniec*, which had been taken by the *Turks* in the former war, but likewiſe engaged to give up all authority

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privilege in their dignities, and exempted from the tribute on children, provided they attempt no hoſtilities.

5. The Churches that are not yet converted into *Moſchs*, ſhall remain in their poſſeſſion, and they may, without interruption, perform divine ſervice after their own way.

6. We will that *Ukrania* according to its old bounds be yielded to the *Coſſaks* that are ſubject to us, except the towns of *Bialocerkiew* and *Pauolocz*, which, out of our ſpecial grace, we have granted, with their territory, to the *Poles*. Further than this let them not extend themſelves ſo much as one inch, nor any way moleſt our ſubjects the *Coſſaks*.

7. We ſhall ſend commiſſioners to determine the bounds of theſe towns, as hath been already ordered with relation to *Podolia*.

8. We confirm the religious, who dwell at *Jeruſalem* in time of peace, in their poſſeſſions there, which they have enjoyed for a long time; and we charge all perſons not to dare to diſturb them.

9. We command our armies of *Crim* and *Bujak Tartars*, *Coſſaks*, and *Tranſylvanians*, from this day forwards for ever not to enter *Poland* without our orders, not to plunder it, nor exerciſe any hoſtilities therein: and if it can be proved, that ſuch a breach of peace hath been committed, thoſe that have received any damage ſhall have reſtitution for the ſame.

10. At the requeſt of the moſt ſublime Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, we remit to the *Poles* the tribute of twenty two thouſand dolars, which they have paid us for a long time. Beſides this remiſſion, and the towns of *Bialocerkieu* and *Pauolocz*, which we have freely granted them, we will, that the *bleſſed* capitulations of *Bujak* be inviolably obſerved.

11. The Judges appointed on the borders, ſhall paſs ſentence, not only upon the immoveable goods of our ſubjects, but alſo upon other affairs of leſs moment.

12. The inhabitants of *Cameniec*, who were expelled after the taking of that fortreſs, ſhall be at liberty to return into their own country, and of living in *Podolia* if they chuſe it.

13. And becauſe the inhabitants of *Cameniec* have forſaken their country, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they have no Churches; one Church ſhall be reſtored to thoſe who have remained there, or are willing to return: in like manner we grant one Church to the *Chriſtians* of the *Latin Communion* in the fortreſs of *Buar*, and if it is deſtroyed, it may be rebuilt.

14. The ſame thing ſhall alſo be obſerved in *Yaſlovez* and *Mejibos*, after we have choſen ſuch as are to be converted into *Moſchs*.

15. The priſoners that have been taken during the war, ſhall be exchanged on both ſides. There ſhall be but one Baſha in *Podolia*, and the other officers ſhall not be choſen from among the *Lipkenſian* or any other *Tartars*.

16. The *Lipkenſian Tartars*, that are near the frontiers, ſhall be obliged to remove their habitation further from the borders.

17. If there are in antient treaties any articles contrary to theſe, we annul them, but confirm the reſt; and promiſe, that as long as the King of *Poland*, with the great men and officers of his kingdom, make no attempt againſt the fortreſſes, neighboring cities, towns, villages, and territories under our government; they ſhall no way be moleſted or injured by our victorious armies, Baſhas and officers, whether *Moldavians*, *Tartars* of *Dobruje*, *Alkierman*, *Daben*, and of the *Boriſthenes*.

18. The *Poles* ſhall pay the uſual tribute to the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*: And if it is paid according to antient cuſtom, he ſhall be obliged on his part to maintain peace, friendſhip, and correſpondence with them, and not to ſuffer them to receive any damage or injury. The ſame ſhall be obſerved by Sultan *Galga*, and other *Tartarian* officers.

19. If any enemy declares war againſt the King of *Poland*, the Chan of *Tartary* ſhall be obliged to come to his aſſiſtance with an army. We will moreover, that in caſe we want any *Tartars* for our ſervice, they paſs no other way through *Poland*, than what they have hitherto uſed.

20. All priſoners that ſhall be brought out of *Poland*, by the *Tartars* or *Moldavians*, after the concluſion of this *bleſſed* treaty, we declare to be unjuſtly taken, and we forbid the ſelling them within our dominions: requiring that the ſame be obſerved in *Poland* with regard to our ſubjects.

21. If we happen to have war with any infidel King, and our imperial Majeſty is pleaſed to go in perſon, or to ſend a *Seraſkier* with our armies, or the Princes of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*; the King of *Poland*, by reaſon of the ſincere friendſhip, and ſtrict union and correſpondence he has with us, ſhall give our enemy no aſſiſtance, nor furniſh him with men, or money; neither ſhall he ſuffer our enemies to raiſe ſoldiers in his dominions, nor

authority over the *Coſſaks* of *Podolia* as ſubjects, and reſign it to the *Othman* port; to the *Lipkenſian Tartars* (21), who had till then been ſubject to *Poland*, they gave leave to depart; in ſhort, the whole treaty was ſo worded, as if it was not a king treating with a king, but a lord with his vaſſal. However, even this did not cure the pride of the *Poliſh* ambaſſador. For that he might not ſeem to have brought ſo magnificent a retinue with him to no purpoſe, when the peace was confirm'd, and he had received the writings on the emperor's part, he deſires and obtains leave of the vizir to make his publick entry.

His oſtentation, and the Vizir's ſayings upon it.

XXXIII. In this entry, beſides other marks of magnificence, he orders his horſes to be ſhod with ſilver, and the ſhoes to be faſtened with only two nails, that they

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publickly or privately, give leave to any Palatine or colonel to raiſe any.

22. The princes or governors of *Tranſylvania*, who are alſo kings of *Hungary*, being ſubject to us, and living under our government, becauſe that province has deſcended to us by hereditary right from our anceſtors; we will that the king of *Poland* live in a friendly manner with them, on account of their loyalty.

23. But if they ſhould rebell againſt us, the king of *Poland* ſhall, neither directly nor indirectly, give them any aſſiſtance. And if any Palatine of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, or any other rebellious prince ſhould fly into *Poland*, the king ſhall be obliged to detain him, and ſend him to the auſpicious Port. So ſhall he be an enemy to our enemies, and a friend to our friends.

24. If the king of *Poland* ſhall continue in amity with our *Port of Felicity*, we command thoſe princes to obſerve the ſame correſpondence with *Poland*, as they have hitherto done.

25. We order, the priſoners taken during the war, and ſince the treaty of peace has been on foot, to be releaſed without ranſom.

26. We order alſo, that ſuch priſoners as have been formerly taken, in caſe they have not embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, be releaſed, upon repaying the money they were ſold for, which their maſter ſhall be obliged to declare upon oath.

27. Merchants on both ſides ſhall be freely allowed to traffick by ſea and land, and to come into all our harbours, and elſewhere, only upon paying the cuſtoms appointed in each place.

28. They ſhall no way be moleſted or injured: and if any of them dies within our dominions, his goods ſhall faithfully be delivered to the maſter of the *caravan*, in order to be conveyed to the relations of the deceaſed; and we will, that the ſame be obſerved with reſpect to our ſubjects in *Poland*.

29. The Ambaſſadors, with their retinues, that ſhall come to preſerve a correſpondence with us, ſhall have free paſſage through our dominions, and ſhall have the neceſſary attendants allowed them; and we deſire that the ſame regard be paid to thoſe we ſhall ſend into *Poland*.

30. If *Armenian*, or other infidel merchants, are willing to paſs through *Moldavia*, in order to trade in our *happy* dominions, they ſhall be obliged to travel through the publick roads, and not through byways: and if they are ill-uſed in the publick roads, we will, that the offender be found out and puniſhed.

31. We will and command, that all the articles contained in this treaty of peace be punctually, exactly, and faithfully obſerved; may their duration be equal to that of our empire, which is to laſt as long as the world; to the end this peace and mutual correſpondence may be eternal.

32. We promiſe upon our imperial oath, and proteſt before God the creator of heaven and earth, and by the miracles of *Mahomet Muſtapha*, the great prophet, the ſun of two ages, on whom reſt the peace of the divine majeſty, that we ſhall tranſgreſs none of theſe articles, nor clog them with any difficulties, but that the peace and union now made and confirmed, ſhall laſt as long as our glorious empire; provided the king of *Poland*, his palatines, generals, and other ſubjects, do nothing contrary to the ſaid peace and union, and honour and value the right of peace and friendſhip. Therefore we command, that credit be given to this noble ſignature of ours; and do notify to the whole world, that we will have this treaty to be firm and indiſſoluble, according to the tenor. May all the inhabitants and ſubjects of *Poland* enjoy profound peace under the ſhadow of our protection. At *Daud Paſha* the 16th of the moon *Sefer*, 1089.

(21) *Lipkenſian Tartars.*] *Lipka* is the *Turkiſh* Name for *Lithuania*, from whence the *Tartars* that live in *Lithuania* are called *Lipca-Tartars*. They all profeſs the *Mahometan* religion, and tho' they pretend to be derived from the ſame ſtock as the *Crim-Tartars*, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm than they.

might

might the eaſier fall off in the ſtreets, which were paved, and ſtrike the *Turks* with admiration at the riches of *Poland*. But what he had deſigned for his honour, turned to his diſgrace. For the vizir, when one of theſe ſhoes was brought to him, is reported to have ſaid, that the infidel had indeed ſhoes of ſilver, but a head of braſs; ſince it was incredible, that any perſon in his ſenſes could be guilty of ſuch a ridiculous extravagance as to ſhoe his horſes with ſilver. The ſame vizir, when inform'd by the *Seraskier*, that the ambaſſador of *Poland* was coming with ſeven hundred attendants, and deſired proviſion for ſo large a retinue, he is ſaid to have ſent word to the *Seraskier*, to tell the ambaſſador, that if he meant to uſe ſo numerous a band to take *Conſtantinople*, his followers were very few; but if he intended to ſalute the lofty threſhold of the ſublime port, he had brought too many with him, and was afraid it would be polluted by the kiſſes of the *Poles*, however, that it was not more difficult for the ſultan to entertain as gueſts, ſeven hundred *Poles*, than to maintain ſeven thouſand peaſants of that nation, condemned to the imperial gallies. But to return from this digreſſion.

A war with *Ruſſia*. H. 1090. A. C. 1679.

XXXIV. Peace being now ſettled and confirmed with the *Poles*, in the ſame year 1090, a freſh war broke out between the *Othman* port and the *Ruſſians*. *Doroſhenko*, *Hetman* of *Sari Camyſh Cazagy*, (22) as I have obſerved, had voluntarily ſubmitted, with all his people, to the *Othman* Port; but afterwards, when he deſired to be a partner in the *Poliſh* expedition, meeting with a repulſe, he reſolved to revenge this affront by a revolt. But he found, that unleſs he called in the aſſiſtance of ſome more powerful ally, he ſhould be incapable of executing his deſigns, and that his efforts for the delivery of his country, would rather involve it deeper in oppreſſion. Having well weighed theſe affairs, he ſends, by private letters, for the officers of the *Coſſaks*, and others, whom he knew to have the greateſt influence over the people, and repreſents to them what he had hitherto done for the preſervation of their quiet and liberty, and by what methods he had endeavoured to aſſert and ſecure it. "I imagined (ſays he) that, op-
"preſſed and contemptuouſly treated by the *Poles*, we might find a ſure refuge
"under the protection of the *Turks*. They were ſo remote from our borders,
"that there ſeemed no reaſon to fear them; and their name ſo formidable to
"their enemies, that a ſhip under their colours ſeemed to be as ſafe as in the
"very harbour. To theſe conſiderations were added the promiſes made to us,
"ſuch as we could ſcarce have asked for; namely the enjoyment of our civil
"and religious liberties, freedom from tribute, and a large ſhare of the booty
"which we ſhould gain in their ſervice. That they would perform theſe promiſes
"I was inclined to believe, chiefly becauſe they ſeemed the more deſirous of
"our friendſhip, as they had more than once found us formidable ene-
"mies. But how little ſincerity is to be expected among infidels, is ſufficiently
"evident from what we have ſeen with our own eyes. When, to demonſtrate
"my fidelity, I marched in the *Poliſh* war to their aſſiſtance with a good part of
"the army; I was not only not received with due honour, but even treated with
"contempt, and, like a traytor, commanded to return home. They were jealous
"of our being eye-witneſſes of their conduct, and apprehenſive leſs the ſight of
"our churches, turned into moſchs, contrary to the moſt ſolemn engagements,
"and the tranſplanting the inhabitants into barren lands, ſhould open our eyes,
"and teach us what we were to expect. When a peace was concluded with the
"*Poles*, they freed us indeed from the yoke of that nation; but ſo freed us,
"that they have laid a heavier on our necks. Hence they voluntarily reſigned
"to the *Poles* the chief bulwarks of our country, *Bialoterkiew* and *Pawolocz*.
"Hence they, who at other times upon the ſlighteſt injury breathe nothing but
"fire and ſword, paſs over in ſtrange ſilence, the prohibition of commerce, and

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(22) *Sari Camyſh Cazagi.*] The *Coſſaks* of the yellow reed: which of them are ſo called, has been ſhown in a former note.

" other *Poliſh* arts, by which we are daily exhauſted; and the beſt part of our blood " ſucked out, that weakened and deprived of our ſtrength, we may be rendered " incapable of making any reſiſtance, whenever they ſhall think proper to im- " poſe their tyranny upon us. Theſe were the artifices of the *Othman* Princes, " by which they founded, and immenſely enlarged their Empire; to overcome " *Chriſtians* by *Chriſtians*, to ſubdue both, when exhauſted by a long war, and " when ſubdued, to treat them at firſt with lenity, and afterwards by degrees " to lay ſo heavy a yoke on them, that the weight of it may at laſt ſtupify the " bearers. If any ſhould doubt of this, or imagine I ſpeak out of envy to the " *Turks*, he will have a convincing proof in the Princes of *Moldavia*, who were " not ſubdued by the *Turks* with arms, but allured by mild ſpeeches and pro- " miſes of liberty to a voluntary ſubmiſſion, and yet are now oppreſſed with the " ſame ſervitude as the reſt of the *Chriſtians*, under the *Othman* dominion. " Taught by theſe examples, I too late lament our error; however it is not ſo " late, but a remedy may be applied to the wound, if you will ſhow your ſelves " worthy your name and anceſtors. But reſolution alone is not ſufficient; " ſtrength is required, in order to defend our religion and country, and to reſcue " our ſelves from unjuſt ſervitude; ſtrength, I ſay, without which, reſolution is " nothing but a head without a body. Since we are not equal to the burthen " of bearing both the *Turkiſh* and *Poliſh* war, it is neceſſary for us to deſire the " aſſiſtance of our neighbours, but of whom, it is our buſineſs to conſider. We " have already made ſufficient trial of the *Poles*, and I imagine, none of you will " ever think of putting yourſelves again under their yoke. The *Hungarians* " and *Germans* are more ſollicitous about their own, than the affairs of their " neighbours. In ſhort, there remains only the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, to whoſe father " my predeceſſor *Bogdan Kiemielniski* (23), many years ſince promiſed fidelity, " but we were afterwards obliged by force of arms to abandon our engage- " ments. If the word ſubjection appears diſagreeable to any perſon, let him

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(23) *Bogdanus Kiemielniſki*] *Hetman* of the *Coſſaks*, who was a terror not only to the *Poles*, but alſo to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The *Turks* call him *Chmil*, and have not yet forgot the ravages he committed on the coaſts of the *Euxine-Sea*. He was ſlain in a battle with the *Poles*, in which he diſputed the victory with them, to his laſt breath. He had two ſons; *George*, of whom we ſhall give an account in the following note; and *Timuſh* who married *Roxana*, daughter of *Baſilius* Prince of *Moldavia*. This *Baſilius* having been driven out of his principality by *Stephen* ſirnamed *Burduze*, retired to his Father-in-law *Kiemielniſki*, who lent him fourteen thouſand *Coſſaks*, under the command of *Timuſh*, to recover *Moldavia* and *Soczava*. (in which place he had left his wife, ſon, and treaſures with a good garriſon.) But three days before he came to *Soczava*, that town had been, through the governor's treachery, delivered to *Stephen*; who had ſeized *Baſilius*'s treaſures, and ſent his wife and ſon priſoners to *Jaſſij*. *Baſilius* with his *Coſſaks* prepares to beſiege the place, but were unſucceſsful. For *Timuſh*, in contempt of the enemy, pitches his tents under the very walls of the town, and begins drinking wine and millet-ale very plentifully, as if he had been already maſter of the place. This being obſerved by a *German* gunner, who was in the garriſon, he levels a cannon at the careleſs general, and ſhoots off his leg. *Timuſh* dying a few hours after of the wound, the *Coſſaks* are ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they raiſe the ſiege, and take to open flight. But few of them eſcaped into their country. For the *Moldavians*, who favoured *Stephen*, perceiving the flight of the *Coſſaks*, purſue them, kill many, and drive more into the *Tyras*. This *Bogdanus* is reported to have been ſo much addicted to drunkenneſs, that when *Baſilius* came to him, he could not for ſeven days meet with an opportunity of ſpeaking to him, by reaſon of his being perpetually drunk. At laſt on the eighth day, ſending for *Kiemielniski*, when he was going to give him an account of his misfortunes, he gave him a large cup full of wine, and told him: Drink this medicine, which cures all the ſorrows of the heart, and makes a man forget all his misfortunes. Upon which *Baſilius* turning to his attendants is reported to have ſaid: I once thought, that the *Coſſaks* were men, and begotten of men: but now I ſee that our common ſaying is true: The *Coſſaks* have been either turned from bears into men, or bears have been turned from *Coſſaks* into beaſts.

" conſider that liberty once loſt, if it cannot be reſtored to its former luſtre, will " inquire, not where it may be freed from all, but where it may enjoy the eaſieſt, conditions. We have nothing to fear as to our churches from a Prince " of the ſame religion with ourſelves, nothing as to our fortunes from a King, " who poſſeſſes much more by right, than he can take from us with injuſtice. " He is at preſent maſter of the beſt part of our country, and having amaſſed a " vaſt treaſure during a long peace, he can eaſily defend us againſt any enemy " whatſoever. That we ſhould fly to his protection, we are obliged by juſtice, " and the fidelity promiſed him by our fathers; and induced by the neceſſity of " our affairs, and the remembrance of his former gentle dominion over us. " Nor is there the leaſt doubt, but he will both receive us with open arms as " loſt ſons, and defend us as the bulwark of his kingdom againſt our enemies."

XXV. This ſpeech had ſo great an effect upon the whole aſſembly, that they declared their abhorrence of the treaty made with the *Turks*, and unanimouſly determined to ſubmit themſelves and their fortunes to the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*. Upon this *Doroſhenko* immediately diſpatched a truſty perſon, *Theodorus Alexias*, into *Muſcovy* with letters to the *Czar*, in which he aſſures him, that himſelf and countrymen are ſorry, that without any regard to their obligations, they had diſhonorably ſubjected their province to the *Turks*, but now they repent of their conduct, and intreat his Majeſty to receive them again under his protection, and defend them againſt the enemy; and in return they will readily venture their lives and fortunes in the defence of him and the kingdom of *Ruſſia*. Nothing could happen more agreeable to the *Czar*, ſince he found, that by this means not only *Ukrania*, which was always liable to the incurſions of the *Coſſaks*, was ſecured, but likewiſe his territories extended beyond the *Boryſthenes*, and his army increaſed with above ſixty thouſand men of approved valour. He returns therefore immediately an anſwer to *Doroſhenko* full of civility, in which he commends his deſign and fidelity to him, pardons the former revolt, exhorts him for the future to atone for the treachery of his countrymen by a firm and conſtant attachment to the Princes of *Ruſſia*, and on his part promiſes aſſiſtance againſt all their enemies, whenever there ſhould be occaſion.

The *Coſſaks* ſubmit to the *Czar*.

XXVI. This news being brought to *Conſtantinople*, not only haſtens the peace with *Poland*, but ſtrangely diſturbs the deſigns of the *Othman* court. The Emperor ſaw, that unleſs he would ſuffer his own and the *Othman* Empire's honour to be trampled upon, he could not avoid revenging this breach of faith, and proclaiming war againſt both the *Coſſaks* and the *Czar* of *Ruſſia*, under whoſe protection they had put themſelves. On the other hand he foreſaw, that the war would prove very difficult, not on account of the *Czar*'s power, (for at that time the *Ruſſians* were deſpiſed by the *Turks*) but becauſe he found, that his army would ſuffer more from the narrowneſs of the paſſes, and hunger, and cold, than from the enemy. To avoid therefore the war, if poſſible, and by policy recover the *Coſſaks* to his obedience, he releaſes *George Kiemielniſki* (24), ſon of *Bogdan*, formerly Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, who had been kept cloſe

The *Turks* appoint *George Kiemielniſki* Hetman of the *Coſſaks*.

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(24) *George Kiemielniſki*] The eldeſt ſon of the foreſaid *Bogdan*, who being ſlain by the *Poles*, *George* was advanced by the *Coſſaks* to the poſt of *Hetman*, in which he behaved with great reputation for three years, though in wars all the time with the *Poles*. At the end of theſe three years, *George* perceiving that the *Coſſak* forces were daily diminiſhed by their ſkirmiſhes with the *Poles*, and being afraid of falling like his father, a ſacrifice to the enemy, he reſolved to quit his dignity, and embrace a monaſtic life. For that purpoſe he changed his name and dreſs, and travelled through the deſerts of *Ukrania*, without acquainting any one with his deſign, towards a Monaſtery in that province dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*. In his journey, whilſt he was endeavouring to conceal himſelf from his countrymen, he fell among ſome parties of wandring *Poles*, by whom he was ſtripped, and miſerably beaten. Out of their hands he was reſcued by a body of *Tartars*, who not treating him more kindly, carried him into *Crim-Tartary*, and gave him to the Chan. The Chan gueſſing by his countenance, that he was not a perſon of ſo mean a condition as he pretended, endeavoured

cloſe priſoner in the Seven Towers, and appoints him Hetman in the room of *Doroſbenko*, hoping, that the *Coſſaks*, as well out of affection to the family of the *Kiemielniski*'s, as the remembrance of *Bogdan*'s merits, would readily ſubmit to his ſon.

He in vain ſollicits the *Coſſaks* to a revolt.

XXVII. *George* by the Vizir's command immediately ſends his friend *Stamatellus* to his countrymen, and informs them by letters, that the *Othman* port hearing of *Doroſbenko*'s revolt, had made him Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, in hopes, that they, who had been drawn off by that traytor from their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, when they ſaw their lawful General and Hetman would return to their duty, and repent of their proceedings, in which caſe the Emperor would forgive what was paſt, and confer new favours upon them. But the *Coſſaks*, who had found the *Turkiſh* yoke too heavy to be willing to ſubmit to it again, reſolutely reject the Sultan's offers, accuſe *Stamatellus* of impoſture, alledging, that their lawful Hetman *George* had been long dead in *Tartary*, and give out that a ſtratagem was contriving againſt them under the name of their deceaſed Hetman.

The Sultan proclaims war againſt the *Coſſaks* and *Ruſſians*.

XXVIII. The Emperor ſeeing the *Coſſaks* unmoved with words, thinks it neceſſary to uſe force, and accordingly ſends *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha, Seraskier* of *Siliſtria* (25), with his whole army to re-inſtate *George* in the country of the *Coſſaks*,

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endeavoured by all means to prevail upon him to embrace the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition. But neither promiſes nor threats being able to make him renounce the *Chriſtian* faith, he came to be known by a *Coſſak*, who had formerly ſerved his father, but who being taken by the *Tartars*, had abjured Chriſtianity, and was raiſed to conſiderable honours in the Chan's court. *Nicolaus* or *Ali* (for that was the renegado's name) fearing, leaſt the favour which the Chan ſhowed to his priſoner, ſhould turn to his own diſadvantage, made known *George*'s condition to the Chan. Whereupon the Chan ſent *George* to *Conſtantinople* to the *Othman* port, where he was immediately after his arrival thrown into the priſon of the Seven Towers, and very narrowly watched. After a few years, ſome *French* ſhips happened to anchor under the very walls of the priſon. When they were preparing for their return, *George* having an intimation of it, endeavoured to eſcape. Having found a bar of iron in the inner yard of the priſon, he forced open the grate of his window. But the place being ſo high, that he could not leap down without danger, he cut in long pieces the carpet, which ſerved him inſtead of a bed, and tying them together like a rope, let himſelf down; but not having exactly gueſſed at the height of the place, the noiſe he made in falling down, awaked one of the *Boſtanji*, and alarmed the priſon. *George* in the mean time, knowing he ſhould be purſued, takes courage, climbs up to the top of the outward wall, and from thence throws himſelf headlong into the ſea. But having hurted his head very much in his fall, and loſing his way in the dark through his fear, he hid himſelf between two rocks, which ſtood above water. There he was found the next morning half dead, by perſons ſent after him by the keeper of the priſon. And after he had been cruelly beat, he was more cloſely confined, tyed neck and heels, fettered, and manacled. In this confinement he remained from the year 1670 till 1677, and ſo accuſtomed was he to bear misfortunes, that he could then hardly be prevailed upon by perſons ſent to him for that purpoſe, to exchange his fetters for the office of Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, which was offered him. After having accepted the Hetmanſhip, he uſed all means imaginable to engage the *Coſſaks* to his ſide; but in vain: for moſt of them ſaid he was only a pretended ſon of *Bogdan*, and not their own General. Three years after, being ſent into *Ukrania*, to cover workmen that were going to build a fort at the mouth of the *Nieper*, he was ſlain in a battle by *Circo* a captain of ſome troops of *Coſſaks*.

(25) *Seraſkier* of *Siliſtria*] All the Baſhas who are entruſted with the defence of the northern provinces of the *Othman* Empire againſt the *Poles*, are indeed named Baſhas of *Siliſtria*, but they have their reſidence at *Babadagy*. *Siliſtria* is a City on the ſouth-ſide of the *Danube*, oppoſite to *Walachia*, well known in our modern maps. It is even to this day called in *Greek*, δρύςα, and hath a *Greek* Metropolitan. It contains a few *Turkiſh* inhabitants, great numbers of *Chriſtians* chiefly Slaves, *Bulgarians*, and *Walachians*. But *Babadagy* lies nearer the *Euxine* Sea, about twenty hours from the *Danube*, directly below *Sakzen*, called by the ancients *Oblucziza*. That both theſe places are very antient, we may gueſs by the

Coſſaks, with particular orders to endeavour to make himſelf maſter of *Chehrin* *, the metropolis of the province, and the ſeat of the Hetman. *Ibrahim* immediately obeys the orders; and paſſing the *Danube* on the 6th of *June*, in the year of Chriſt 1678, by long marches goes through *Moldavia* and *Podolia*.

XXIX. When he comes to *Chehrin* *, he finds ſixty thouſand *Ruſſians* and *Coſſaks* ſtrongly intrenched; is ſurprized at the unexpected ſight, (becauſe by the *Czar*'s command all the merchants or others, who were preparing to go into *Turkey*, had been detained at *Niſna*;) (26) and perceiving, that by reaſon of the fewneſs of his troops, (for he had ſcarce forty thouſand men) he could not poſſibly attack the enemies thus fortified, reſolves to wait for the *Tartars*, who were three days march from his camp. But by the vigilance of the *Ruſſians*, he was diſappointed; for hearing of the approach of the *Tartars* to join the *Turks*, the *Ruſſians* plant themſelves in an advantagious poſt between both, and attack the *Tartars* as they draw near with ſuch vigour, that in a few hours the field of battle is covered with the blood of the enemy. There fell in the action, beſides the Chan's ſon, eight *Mirza's*, and above ten thouſand common ſoldiers; the reſt are either taken priſoners, or diſperſed. The *Turks*, when they ſee ſuch a ſlaughter of their confederates, throw away their arms, with their courage, and in the fear that the *Ruſſians*, elated with their victory, would alſo fall upon them, fly with ſuchprecipitation, that they ſtop not till they have paſſed the river *Bog*. (27.)

The *Ruſſians* defeat the *Tartars*. The *Turks* fly.

XXX. This ill ſucceſs rendered the emperor ſtill more deſirous of peace. However, to prevent any blemiſh upon his honour, he ſends an ambaſſador to *Ruſſia*, not in his own, but in the Chan of *Tartary*'s name, amicably to perſuade the Czar to make peace with the Sultan, to reſtore *Chehrin* *, which undeniably belongs to the *Turks*, and to abandon the *Coſſaks* to their own evil genius: for he certainly knows the Sultan would rather wage a twenty years war, whatever ſhould be the ſucceſs, than loſe one foot of land to which he has a right.

The Sultan deſires peace of the Czar.

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the ſtructure of the walls, which ſeems to be *Roman*, and not *Turkiſh*; whence it is probable, thoſe cities were built by the *Romans*, to ſtop the irruptions of the *Barbarians* and *Scythians*. Beyond the mountains *Chenge*,* in the way from *Moldavia* to *Adrianople*, there appear the ruins of ſuch another antient city, about four *Italian* miles in compaſs. This laſt is named by the *Turks Roſokieſre*, which is a corruption from the *Greek* word Ρωσσόκαστρον. No hiſtorian, as far as I find, mentions it; but the *Greeks* at *Conſtantinople* have a ſtory about the origin of it, which, whether it be true or falſe, I dare not determine. They ſay, after the irruption of the *Bulgarians*, an army of *Ruſſians*, or perhaps of *Pacinacæ*- or rather a band of *Pechenigi*,* paſſed ſed the *Danube*, and made frequent incurſions into the provinces ſubject to the *Grecian* Empire: but being conquered by the *Grecians*, and penned up between the mountains, they laid down their arms; and, embracing the Chriſtian religion, had not only their lives granted them, but alſo obtained a place to build a town. At laſt thoſe *Ruſſians* rebelling againſt the Emperor, their town was taken by the *Grecians*, after a bloody fight, and all without exception put to the ſword.

(26) *Niſna*] A mart in that part of *Ukrania* ſubject to the Hetman of the *Cozacs*, ſituated in a very large plain, and near the river *Wuſtrow*, defended by no deſpicable caſtle. None but *Ruſſian* ſoldiers are permitted to live in the caſtle, but the town is inhabited by merchants of divers nations, *Ruſſians*, *Cozaks*, and *Moldavians*. The beſt part however conſiſts of *Greeks*, to whom the former Emperors of *Ruſſia* have granted many privileges, in order to encourage trade. They have not only built there two churches, in which divine ſervice is performed in their mother-tongue; but have alſo founded a *Greek* ſchool, and a fraternity or ſociety, into which ſome *Ruſſian* Princes have not thought it beneath them to be admitted. All the *brothers* are obliged, by the laws of this ſociety, to protect thoſe that have once been incorporated into it; to promote their advantage; to aſſiſt one another in neceſſity; and eſpecially, if any one dies, to take care that his goods deſcend to his right heirs.

(27) *Bog*] or *Bub*, formerly called *Hypanis*, a river well-known, between the *Tyras* and the *Boriſthenes*, near the town *Uzi*, vulgarly *Oczakow*, named by the *Greeks Olbiopolis*, diſcharges its ſelf into the *Euxine Sea*. It abounds in *Cataracts*, and is for that reaſon unnavigable; tho' it is ſo deep as not to be fordable in any place. This river muſt not be confounded with another *Bog*, a river of *Pocutia*, which riſeth not far from *Leopolis*, or *Lemburg*, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Viſtula* near *Warſaw*.

XXXI. But

The Czar sends an effectual letter to the Sultan.

XXXI. But the Czar of *Ruſſia*, who was not ignorant by whom the ambaſſador was really commiſſioned, ſends one of his court under the title of *Chauſh** at leaſt to *Conſtantinople*, with letters to the Emperor and Vizir, in which he adviſed them not to flatter themſelves that he could be impoſed upon by the ſame artifices as the *Poles*; ſince their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them. They ſhould deſiſt therefore from an unjuſt war, and leave *Ukrania* undiſturbed, to which he had acquired an undoubted right by *Bogdan Kiemielniski*'s reſignation, confirmed lately by *Doroſhenko*. But if they determine to proſecute the war, they might be aſſured, he would not agree to a peace till he had recovered the reſt of *Ukrania*, unjuſtly taken from his anceſtors, as far as the *Tyras*, and *Aſovia*.

The *Turks* again declare war againſt the *Ruſſians*.

XXXII. Having read this letter, the Vizir ſends for the *Mufti*, the *Caimacan*, the *Kadiuleskers*, and *Aga* of the Janizaries; and enquires what the law and reaſon preſcribed to be done. Moſt declare for peace, ſince there was little hope that any thing of advantage to the *Othman* intereſt could be done in theſe difficult and remote parts. The Vizir *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, (28) alone oppoſed theſe pacifick advices, declaring ſo great a ſlaughter, which the *Ruſſians* had made of the *Tartars*, ought not to paſs unrevenged. The reſt aſſenting out of complaiſance to the Vizir, it is determined to renew the war with the utmoſt vigour, and to raiſe a more powerful army. Accordingly the *Ruſſian* ambaſſador receives an anſwer, breathing nothing but fire and ſword.

The Vizir marches with the army.
H. 1089.
A. C. 1678.

XXXIII. When the time appointed for the refreſhment of the ſoldiers was expired, about the end of the month *Rebiul evvel* of the year 1089, the Emperor, attended with the Vizir, marches with his army to *Tatar Pazarjik*, (29) from whence he orders the Vizir, inveſted with a full command of the armies, to proceed. The Vizir, without any delay, paſſes through *Moldavia* by long marches, and in the following month reaches the *Bog*, where he ſpends ſome days in reviewing his army, and expects to be joined by the *Tartars* and *Coſſaks*, whom *George Kiemielniski* had drawn to his party.

He beſieges *Chehrin*.

XXXIV. After their arrival, he marches with eighty thouſand of his own ſoldiers, thirty thouſand *Tartars*, and four thouſand *Coſſaks*, towards *Chehrin*,* and on the eighth of the month *Jemaziul evvel* comes in ſight of the city. The *Ruſſians* and *Coſſaks*, who were in garriſon at that time, were employed in building a new fort without the city; and perceiving the unexpected approach of the *Turkiſh* army, retire in confuſion into the city, and inform their companions of

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(28) *Cara Muſtapha.*] The ſame who afterwards became ſo famous for beſieging *Vienna*. He was deſcended from an obſcure family in *Caramania*, but being brought up in the court of the two *Kioprili's*, father and ſon, and having ſerved both, he was firſt made Baſha of *Siliſtria* and *Damaſcus*, then admiral, afterwards *Caimacan*; and at laſt, upon the death of *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, advanced to the dignity of Prime Vizir. He was the moſt covetous of all the Vizirs that ever were in the *Othman* Empire, and that failing rendered ſeveral of his deſigns unſucceſsful, which otherwiſe would have been crowned with a good end. He was a man of great capacity, no leſs valiant than wiſe, warlike, ambitious, and daily invented a thouſand artifices to raiſe new wars againſt his neighbours. No other reaſon can be aſſigned of his fall, but that being too much blinded with his riches and power, he would have erected a new Empire in the weſt. After his death, above three thouſand purſes were found in the foundation of his domeſtick bath; the builders whereof (who were ſome *Albanian* Chriſtians, ſupervifors of the works for bringing water into the city) he cauſed to be all put to death, as ſoon as the work was finiſhed. He left one only ſon, *Ibrahim*, who led a miſerable life, till his relation *Amucjeogli Huſein Paſha* came to be raiſed to the dignity of Vizir; who remembring the favours he had received from *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, did not only ſend *Ibrahim* with three *Tugs* to *Aleppo*, but reſtored to him all he had loſt, and built him, at his own charge, a magnificent palace at *Conſtantinople*.

(29) *Tatar Pazarjik*] A pretty large town of *Thrace*, lying at the bottom of the mountains *Chenge*,* towards the north. It was built by colonies of *Aſiatick Turks*, called at preſent *Chitak*,* and planted by order of the *Othman* court, round the mountains of *Hamus*.

the impending danger. The Vizir obſerving their diſorder, inſtantly commands a body of men, under the conduct of his *Kiehaia*, (30) to attack the city, hoping by that means, the garriſon would be ſtruck with terror, and obliged to ſurrender. But though they fought for four hours with great bravery, they are forced to retire from the walls with diſhonour, and the loſs of their commander and two thouſand Janizaries. *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, taught by this misfortune, that all attempts againſt ſo ſtrong a fortreſs are in vain, unleſs it were inveſted in form, orders, before his ſoldiers had pitched their tents, the city to be ſurrounded, trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. But when even this did not ſucceed, by reaſon of the ſandy ſoil, by the advice of a *Pole* he cauſes bridges to be made on the other ſide, where the town was defended by a Moraſs, and commits the care of that work to *Kiorhaſſan Paſha*. But this alſo failed of the deſired ſucceſs.

The *Ruſſians* defeat part of the *Turkiſh* army.

XXXV. About the ſame time the *Ruſſian* army, under the command of *Romodanowski*, was approaching, and had paſſed the *Boryſthenes* before the Vizir could have any intelligence. To obviate their deſigns, the Vizir had ſent *Cara Mehemed Paſha*, Governor of *Aleppo*, with great part of his army, and given him leave to fight if an opportunity offered. But as he could not draw the *Ruſſians*, though ſuperior in number, to a battle, the Vizir ſuſpecting the matter, that the enemy deſigned to deſtroy the *Othman* army by delay, or to reinforce the garriſon of *Chebrin**, commands *Caplan Paſha* (31) to encamp with the reſt of the army between the city and the enemy. The *Ruſſians* perceiving all communication with the town was cut off on the 22d of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, they attack *Caplan Paſha*'s troops with ſuch vigour, that the foremoſt ranks being broken at the firſt onſet, the reſt fly for ſafety through the midſt of the moraſs. *Caplan Paſha*, when he finds that neither intreaties nor threats have any effect upon his terrified ſoldiers, and that affairs are deſperate, ſets fire to the bridges over the moraſs, to prevent the enemy from purſuing and deſtroying the whole *Othman* army.

*Chebrin** is taken by the *Turks*.

XXXVI. At laſt, the Vizir, perceiving winter was now coming on, in order either to conquer or retire, cauſes three mines to be made under the walls of the caſtle, and ſpringing them on the 21ſt of that month, commands his men to ſurround the city, and to enter the breaches. The garriſon finding, there was no hope of defending the city, ſince the walls were demoliſhed, fly out of the

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(30) *Kiehaia*] or more elegantly, *Ketchudabeg* the Vizir's deputy. His office is the moſt conſiderable in the *Othman* Empire, and his authority very great. For nothing can be done, or ordered, but it muſt paſs through his hands, and be confirmed by his letters. And if a *Ferman* is ſent to any Baſha without his letter, it is immediately looked upon as counterfeit. For which reaſon, though he has not ſo much as one *Tug*, and is with the *Chauſhbaſhi** to lead up under the arms to the Vizir ſuch Baſhas as are to be adorned with three *Tugs*, yet it is commonly ſaid of him, the *Kiehaia* is a Vizir to me, the Vizir a Sultan, and the Sultan as one of the Muſulmans. The Vizir cannot make a *Kiehaia* without the Sultan's conſent, and whenever he is turned out, he muſt be appointed Baſha of ſome place with three *Tugs*, but if he is diſmiſſed with two, is looked upon as baniſhed. Beſides this *Kiehaia*, the Vizir and Baſhas have another, who only takes care of their Court; and he muſt not be confounded with *Ketchudabeg*, whom they properly call *Ewkietchudaſi*.

(31) *Caplan Paſha*] A general of the *Turkiſh* army, celebrated for his bravery in the *Poliſh* wars, and of ſo great authority among the *Turks*, that the Vizir, though his mortal enemy, could never deſtroy him. The name of *Caplan* ſeems to have been given him for his courage: for it properly ſignifies a Tyger. And though the *Turks* generally chuſe to be called only after the names of the prophets, yet they do not reject the names of the two fierceſt creatures, *Arſlan*, Lion, and *Caplan*, Tyger; nay the Sultana-mother calls her ſon, notwithſtanding he is Emperor, no otherwiſe than *Arſlanum*, my Lion. For it is an affront from any one but the Sultan's father, to call him by his proper name. On the other hand, the name of *Padiſhah*, which is given him by all others, ſeeming to derogate from a mother's authority over her ſon, a middle way has been found out, and allowed only to his mother, namely to call him Lion.

gate, towards the *Boryſthenes*, and leave to the *Turks* rather the ruins, than the walls of the caſtle. However they had before laid a train under the magazine of gun-powder, by which means ſeveral thouſand of the common ſoldiers, who had flocked together for plunder, were blown up.

Both armies return home.

XXXVII. The next day the Vizir, with the officers of the army, views the city, which had coſt ſo much labour and blood; and as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commands the walls and houſes to be levelled with the ground. Then giving his ſoldiers ſome days of refreſhment, he endeavours to provoke the *Ruſſians* to a battle; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and preparing for their return, he orders *Caplan Paſha* with ſome light-armed troops to follow, and attack them in their march, or in the narrow paſſes. But neither does this avail any thing, becauſe the *Ruſſians*, retiring with cloſe ranks, and defended by a chain of waggons, vigorouſly repel the attacks of the *Turks*. The Vizir himſelf therefore is obliged for want of proviſions to return, and in his march loſes, beſides almoſt all his baggage and larger cannon, a greater number of men, than had been deſtroyed at *Chehrin** by the ſword or fire of the enemy, ſo at his return to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the month *Ramazan*, the army appeared rather to have been defeated, than victorious.

The complaints of the ſoldiers on account of this fruitleſs expedition.

XXXVIII. And indeed the victory at *Chehrin** was ſo far from inſpiring the ſoldiers with courage, that they rather conſidered thoſe who mentioned the renewing the war in *Ukrania* not only as enemies, but even as betrayers: and the remembrance of the death of thirty thouſand of their companions, and the fatigues, they had ſuſtained in their march, was too deeply fixed in their minds, to receive any ſatisfaction from having taken the ruins of *Chehrin**, and ſeen ſome hundreds of their enemy's heads placed round the Vizir's tent. The Vizir himſelf finding by experience, how difficult it was to carry on a war in places unknown, barren, and every where full of moraſſes and rivers, with little booty, and great danger, repented too late, that he oppoſed the motion for peace, and occaſioned the loſs of ſo many thouſand men without any advantage.

The Vizir attempts to build a new caſtle.

XXXIX. He would have deſiſted from the war, if the perpetual incurſions of the *Coſſaks*, who laid waſte all the country on the *Euxine*-ſea with impunity, had not prevented his pacific deſigns. He reſolves therefore to build a town and caſtle at the mouth of the *Boryſthenes* not far from *Oczacow*, hoping by that means the ſhips of the *Coſſaks* might eaſily be hindered from entring the *Euxine* ſea, and the *Zaporovian Coſſaks* be obliged by the want of ſalt to ſubmit to the *Othman* Empire. He commits this affair to *Mimar aga* (32) for whoſe defence, till

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(32) *Mimar aga*] The chief Architect. His principal buſineſs is to overſee all the new buildings in *Conſtantinople* and the Suburbs, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed. He hath the inſpection of all common builders, uſually called *Calfa* or *Chalife*; and can puniſh or fine them, if they bring out any building but a finger's breadth further than they ſhould into the ſtreet, if they make an oblique angle, or build too ſlightly, even though the owner ſhould not complain. It often happens that the *Mimar aga* knows not ſo much as what a cubit is, nor underſtands the leaſt thing of architecture; for being a place of profit, it is given not to the beſt architect, but to him that is moſt in favour with the Vizir. A man cannot build what he pleaſes, unleſs he has firſt bribed the *Mimar aga* with preſents. For, though the meaſure of all buildings be ſettled by orders from the Sultan, ſo that a *Chriſtian*'s houſe is to be thirteen, and a *Turk*'s fifteen yard's high, yet as *Conſtantinople* is moſtly built upon hills, the *Mimar aga* may, if he is well bribed, permit a building to riſe to a very conſiderable height; namely, by taking the dimenſion from the brow of the hill; by which means, a houſe that will be on the back part according to the ſtated meaſure, may, on the forepart riſe to thirty yards, and more. The ſame method is uſed, when the *Chriſtians* have a mind to rebuild their old Churches. For this being allowed them, but under ſuch ſevere reſtrictions, that they can neither add a new ſtone nor piece of timber to the old materials, the *Mimar aga* is bribed with a good ſum to reckon more ſtones and pieces of timber than there really

till the work was finiſhed, he ſends *Caplan Paſha* with ſix regiments of Janizaries.

XL. But this politick deſign of the Vizir is ruined by a ſudden and unexpected accident. For when the firſt foundations were ſcarce laid, *Circo*, General of the *Zaporovian Coſſaks*, returning from an expedition into *Tartary* with fifteen thouſand men, by chance paſſes by the neighboring parts, and hearing that a new fort was building, and not knowing by whom, approaches to view it. When he finds them to be *Turks*, he ſurrounds them, and though they defended themſelves with great reſolution, kills all the workmen and their guards with *Kiemielniski*, who had been made Hetman of the *Coſſaks* by the *Turks*, and pitching his camp upon the ſpot, immediately ſends a meſſenger to inform the *Czar* of what had been done, who diſpatches orders to *Dolhoruki*, ſucceſſor of *Romadonowski* in the command of the army, to join all his forces as ſoon as poſſible with *Circo*'s, oppoſe all attempts of the *Turks* with their united ſtrength and counſels.

It is demoliſhed by the *Coſſaks*, and the workmen killed.

XLI. The Vizir being at laſt convinced by theſe things, that it was in vain to exhauſt the ſtrength of the *Othman* Empire in thoſe countries, which might be employed in other parts to much greater advantage, agrees to a peace with the *Ruſſians*, which was extremely deſired by both parties. Thus was concluded a war, for the carrying on of which the *Othman* Emperor wanted neither inclination uor ſtrength, but only an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardſhips too ſevere for mortals. Beſides fortune ſeemed now inclinable to abandon the *Othman* arms.

The *Turks* being weary of the war, deſire peace.

XLII. But all this could not have diverted the *Othman* court from proſecuting their firſt deſign, if new commotions in *Hungary*, had not induced them to turn their arms that way, where they thought the war might be carried on with leſs difficulty, and more advantage. *Emeric Tekeli* (33) had about this time revolted from the Emperor of *Germany*, and in a few months engaged in his rebellion almoſt all the people in that part of *Hungary*, which ſtill remained to the Emperor. But when he found himſelf unable to withſtand the imperial

Tekeli breaks the peace beiween the *Turks* and the Emperor of *Germany*.

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ally are, and ſo they make up his number by adding new ones. But when they have any conſiderable edifice to build, as a *Jami* or a palace, they make uſe of *Greek* or *Armenian* Architects. For theſe laſt are excellent workmen; whereas the *Turks* can ſeldom or never arrive at any perfection. Which is not owing to their natural ſtupidity: for, by their skill in the Mathematicks and other ſciences, they plainly ſhow, that they are, if not ſuperior, yet at leaſt no way inferior in underſtanding, to other nations; but the reaſon is, becauſe the more noble *Turks*, or ſuch as have been ennobled on account of their learning and courage, (for nobility is derived among them, not from anceſtors, but from good and virtuous actions, as have been obſerved) though they apply themſelves to the Mathematicks, yet abhor all handy-crafts, as mean, and unbecoming their nobility.

(33) *Tekeli*] This Prince's actions are ſo well known to the *Europæans*, that I need not relate them here. After having loſt his eſtate in *Hungary*, he had a daily penſion of eighty Leonines from the *Turks*; and being releaſed from his impriſonment by *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, he was held in great honour among the *Turks* all the time they were engaged in war. Whenever Sultan *Muſtapha* was in the camp, he took him along with him for his companion, and generally made uſe of his counſel. After the concluſion of the peace of *Carlowitz*, in which it was ſtipulated, that ſuch perſons as were inclined to raiſe commotions, ſhould be hearkened to by neither party, he was ſent away by the ſame Sultan to *Nicomedia*, where he was preſented with a country-houſe; and being very much afflicted with the gout, he died ſoon after in that place. He ordered himſelf to be buried in the ſuburbs of *Pera*, without the *Greek*'s Churchyard; where the *Chriſtian* ambaſſadors and their domeſticks are uſually buried. Whilſt I was at *Conſtantinople*, I frequently uſed to converſe with him, and have often heard him ſay: What can we do, my Brother? It has pleaſed God to make us ſubject to a maſter, who, by his actions, does very well anſwer his ſhield, that is the creſcent. I have found their falſe prophet miſtaken in almoſt every point, yet in this I believe he ſpoke with a prophetic ſpirit, when he gave his followers a creſcent for their arms; for that very well denotes their inconſtancy.

arms,

arms, without foreign aſſiſtance, (becauſe the Emperor having made peace with the *French*, had aſſembled all his forces to extinguiſh this flame) he calls in the *Turks* to his aid, promiſing to pay them forty thouſand rix-dollars a year by way of tribute, and to aſſiſt them with thirty thouſand *Hungarians*, whenever there ſhould be occaſion.

XLIII. The *Othman* court long deliberated, whether the aſſiſtance demanded ſhould now be publickly granted to *Tekeli*, or deferred till the twenty years truce made by *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha* in 1075 be expired; and till then, the rebels be only ſupported in a private manner. The latter opinion was approved by all the *Ulema*, (34) with the Sultana-Mother, declaring it to be unjuſt to wage war with a prince, who had given no cauſe of complaint, but had hitherto ſtrictly obſerved the conditions of the truce. The Sultan and the Vizir were inclined to the former opinion, alledging, the iron ought to be ſtruck whilſt it was hot, nor would there happen again ſo fair an opportunity of propagating the *Mahometan* faith. *Hungary*, hitherto the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the Chriſtians, voluntarily offers ſubjection; *Germany*, exhauſted with the *French* and *Swediſh* wars, is ſcarce able to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the *Othman* army; that country being ſubdued, nothing can prevent the reſt of the nations, formerly ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, from being reduced to the obedience of the *Othman* power. The Sultan, that the war might not ſeem too heavy a burden upon his ſubjects, declares, he has ready for this deſign ſeventy thouſand purſes in his treaſury, a compleat army, and all other neceſſaries for ſeveral expeditions, and promiſes willingly to employ them all in bringing over the *Chriſtians* to the *Muſulman* religion, in extending the bounds of the Empire, and defending thoſe who had put themſelves under his protection. The Janizaries, inſtructed by the Vizir, (35) and their officers of his party, demand a war, and publickly declare they had rather die, than ſuffer the Emperor of *Germany* to oppreſs with impunity the ſubjects of the *Othman* Empire. The Sultana-Mother,(36) (who had been of a contrary opinion, is gained by the Vizir, with

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(34) *Ulema*] This is the name uſed to denote all thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed with any eccleſiaſtical degree. What theſe degrees are, we have ſhewed in a former note, *Part.* I. They have a very great authority with the people, becauſe it is believed they do nothing but what has been approved beforehand by the *Fetva*. And therefore if you ſee them join with the army in oppoſing any thing, you may aſſure your ſelf it will never be done.

(35) by the Vizir] They who are beſt acquainted with the counſels of the *Othman* court at that time, affirm, that none but the Sultan and the Viſir *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* deſired a war with the Emperor of *Germany*: but when the Sultan perceived, his mother and all the *Ulema* were againſt it, he ordered the Vizir to bring over the Aga of the Janizaries, and the reſt of the *Ojak Agalari*, by promiſes and other arts, to his opinion. For this maxim, *Cul ſefer iſter*, *The ſoldiers are for war*, is a ſufficient reaſon for declaring a new war. For though the power of the Sultan and Vizir be very great in all affairs, yet if the Janizaries and *Ulema* join in oppoſing the Sultan's deſigns; it behoves him to yield to them, and if he perſiſts in his reſolution, a ſedition immediately enſues. But if the Janizaries without the *Ulema* approve of the Sultan's deſign, or the *Ulema* without the Janizaries, the Sultan eaſily obtains his deſires. So very powerful is the union of the Janizaries and *Ulema*, that they can even depoſe the Sultan, and cut off the Vizir, or any other great man, as plainly appeared in the depoſing of Sultan *Mahomet*.

(36) Sultana-Mother] *Valide-Sultana*. This name is appropriated to the mother of the reigning Sultan, and ſhe cannot be ſo called before her ſon is arrived to the imperial dignity, or after his depoſition: becauſe none but *Mahomet Fatih* and *Selim yauvuz* have happened to mount the throne in their father's life-time. The Sultans have always treated their mothers with great reſpect, in compliance with the divine precepts and thoſe of the *Koran*. They can, not only introduce and change many things at pleaſure in the *Seraglio*, but alſo the Sultan is forbid by the laws, to lye with any of the women kept there, without his mother's conſent. Every day during the feaſt of *Bairam*, the Sultana-mother preſents a beautiful Virgin, well educated, richly dreſſed, and adorned with precious ſtones, for her ſon's uſe; and though the Vizir and the reſt of the Baſha's ſend, among other things, young Virgins for preſents to the Emperor, yet he touches none of them but what is brought him by his mother. If the Sultan has a mind to

chuſe

with the hopes, that out of the conquests her *Pashmaklyk* (37) would be increased to three hundred purses. After her consent, the Mufti also, who had long concealed his sentiments upon this affair, approves of the Emperor's designs by a *Fetvah*. However, the opposite party are not moved by his authority, but publickly defend their opinion, and disperse anonymous libels upon the *Divan*, advising the people not to consent to an unjust war, undertaken not only contrary to a peace confirmed by oath, but also to the anathema of Sultan *Soliman* (38).

XLIV. Notwithstanding this, the Vizir confiding in the disposition of his soldiers and the consent of the Sultan, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, persists in his design, and determines upon war with the Emperor of *Germany*. However, some pretences seemed requisite, that the soldiers, satisfied of the justice of the *Othman* arms, might engage in the expedition with the greater alacrity. The War is at last determined upon against the Emperor of *Germany*.

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chuse a concubine unknown to his mother, he may indeed do it without opposition, but he is reckoned to have acted contrary to the rules of the *Seraglio*, and against his mother's honour. Very often the Sultan communicates to his mother the affairs of state, as Sultan *Mahomet* is known to have done: and sometimes she has conferences with the Vizir and Mufti, under a veil, that she may not be seen, and recommends to them faithfulness to her son. Whenever she is sick, the *Hekim-effendi*, or chief physician, is brought into her bed-chamber, but he speaks to her through a veil hung round her bed; and if he must feel her pulse, it is through a piece of fine linnen cast over her arm; for it is reckoned as unlawful for any man to see the Sultana sick, as in health. Her revenues consist in above a thousand purses, raised out of the provinces of the Empire; and for the collecting of them there is an officer appointed, named *Kiethudai Valide-Sultan*, which is a place of great honour. She does what she pleases with her money; sometimes, in a case of necessity, she lends money to the treasury; and at other times raises soldiers for the publick service, as the mother of the present *Ahmed* III. is reported to have done, during his war with the *Muscovites*. Of the Sultan's concubines, some are no more than concubines, and others are *Haseki*. Any one that has but once had the honour of lying with the Sultan, is immediately set apart from the rest of the young women, and has servants and eunuchs allowed her; but she cannot have access to the Sultan, unless sent for. But if the Sultan loves any of those women more than the rest, he can set the crown upon her head, and she is thenceforward called *Chaseki Sultana*. After having received the crown, she may go in to the Sultan whenever she will, without being sent for. A *Kiebaia* is also appointed for her, and a regiment of *Baltaji*, with their leader, who are to execute the orders given them by the *Kiebaia*. They have moreover revenues assigned them, according to the Sultan's discretion; but it must not be under five hundred purses. For which reason, though a Sultan may crown five *Chaseki Sultana's*, yet many Emperors, as the present *Ahmed* III. and his brother *Mustapha* II. for instance, have, upon account of that expence, and of the wars they were engaged in, made no *Chaseki* at all, but been satisfied with concubines. As to the Sultan's concubines, if they have only daughters, they may be disposed of in marriage by his successor; but do not thereby acquire more honour than those that are barren. If a son is born to them, though he should die as soon as he comes into the world, the mother is removed into *Eski Serai*, that is, the old palace, from whence she is never to depart. But those that have a son living, are greatly respected by all, both courtiers and foreigners, because they may come one day to be *Valide-Sultana*.

(37) *Pashmaklyk*] This is the usual revenue assigned to the *Valide-Sultana*, and the other *Chaseki*. The name is derived from *Pashmak*, a *sandal*, because those revenues are said to be granted to buy sandals. In all towns taken by the *Turks*, some street is assigned for the *Pashmaklyk*; as in *Constantinople*, *Pera*. Hence it comes, that the *Valide-Sultana* has a very large *Pashmaklyk* almost throughout the *Turkish* Empire.

(38) of Sultan *Soliman*] The *Turks* in general firmly believe, that Sultan *Soliman*, after raising the siege of *Vienna*, bound all successors with a *Lanet*, never to lay siege again to that city, or enter its territories in a hostile manner. And for that reason, after the defeat of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, they all cried out with one voice, that by a causeless breaking of the truce, and slighting the curses of *Soliman*, the divine wrath had been drawn down upon the *Musulmans*, and provoked to destroy their Empire.

The *Turks* pretend a juſt ground for the war.

XLV. The peace with *Poland* having indeed been diſturbed by the Emperor, afforded a plauſible ground of breaking the truce; but becauſe this had been done underhand, and not by open hoſtilities, the Vizir found it neceſſary to urge ſome other reaſon more obvious to the publick. That the occaſion might appear to be given by the Emperor, and not by the Sultan, letters are ſent, in the Sultan's name, by a courier, to the Emperor, declaring that *Tekeli*, and the other Nobles of *Hungary*, had been forced by his oppreſſion to ſubject their country to the *Othman* Empire, and had promiſed to pay tribute; for which reaſon the Emperor was required to recall his troops ſent againſt them, and reſtore what he had taken from them, unleſs he would be conſidered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw upon himſelf the puniſhment due to his raſhneſs.

The Emperor of *Germany* ſends an ambaſſador to the Port to confirm the peace.

XLVI. The Emperor ſuſpecting the caſe, that the *Turks* were only ſeeking an occaſion of war, ſends Count *Albert Caprara* as ambaſſador extraordinary to *Conſtantinople*, and orders him to ſpare neither perſuaſions nor bribes that the truce may be continued, and the war diverted, which *Leopold* found himſelf incapable of ſupporting.

Tekeli, by the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*, takes ſeveral caſtles.

H. 1093.

A. C. 1682.

XLVII. But the Vizir, without waiting the ambaſſador's arrival, in the ſame year 1093, ſends *Ibrahim Paſha* (39) *Beglerbeg* of *Buda* with ſix thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of *Tekeli*, and ordered *Apaffi*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, to join his forces with the *Hungarians*. *Tekeli*, ſtrengthned with theſe ſupplies, the ſame ſummer takes *Caſſovia*, *Eperies*, *Leutſch*, *Levent*, *Lipſchet*, and *Tillek*, the *German* garriſons retiring with deſign to reſerve themſelves for a more favourable opportunity, rather than by a difficult and fruitleſs oppoſition expoſe themſelves to captivity.

The Sultan declares *Tekeli* King of *Hungary*.

XLVIII. The *Turks* imagining, from theſe beginnings, the expedition would prove fortunate, keep no farther meaſures, but, by the Baſha of *Buda*, declare *Tekeli* King of *Hungary*; exhort all the Nobles of that Kingdom, who ſtill continue faithful to the Emperor of *Germany*, to ſubmit to their new Sovereign; and attack the iſland of *Sehutt*, though not with the deſired ſucceſs. Mean while, the Vizir amuſes the Imperial ambaſſador with falſe hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemies preparations for reſiſtance.

The *Turks* offer impoſſible conditions of peace.

XLIX. At laſt, when he was informed of the ſucceſs of *Tekeli's* arms, he ſends for *Caprara*, and acquaints him, that the Sultan would grant the Emperor peace on no other conditions, than the reſtoration of *Hungary* to the ſtate in which it was in 1067, the payment of an annual tribute of five hundred thouſand florins to the *Othman* port; the demolition of *Leopoldopolis* and *Gutta*; the reſignation of *Neutraſchinta* and *Ekolt*, with the iſland of *Sehutt*, and the fortreſs of *Muran*, to *Tekeli*; a general amneſty to the *Hungarians*, with the

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(39) *Ibrahim Paſha*, &c.] A man ſo very eminent among the *Turks* both in war and peace, that he is to be reckoned among the greateſt men of his age. The firſt proof he gave of his virtues, was in the office of *Kiebaia*, which he diſcharged under the Vizir *Kioprili Mehemmed Paſha*. From hence being appointed Baſha of *Aleppo*, under *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, he was with him at the ſiege of *Candia*, and was of great ſervice to that Vizir in ſettling the articles for the ſurrender of the caſtle. When that expedition was over, the *Egyptians* rebel, and he being ſent to quell them, not only reſtores, in a ſhort time, that whole Kingdom to the *Othman* Empire, and to its former tranquillity, without any blood-ſhed, but alſo raiſed their annual tribute to one hundred and fifty purſes; and ſo artfully did he manage the reſtleſs tempers of the great men of *Egypt*, that whereas formerly a Baſha could hardly get out of their hands without the loſs of his honour, the governors can live there now with more ſafety. By theſe actions he acquired ſo great reputation and eſteem, that he was promoted to the beſt government in the whole *Othman* Empire, namely the *Beglerbeglic* of *Buda*. And here what he would have done (had not *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, blinded with too great an opinion of his own power, rejected good advice) did ſufficiently appear from his counſels and deſigns, compared with the event. His life hath been very elegantly penned by a *Turkiſh* hiſtorian, in which he appears throughout a moſt perfect and excellent pattern of all virtues.

reſtitution

restitution of their estates and privileges. When he found these terms were disliked by the Emperor, he immediately proclaims war against him, and orders the horse-tails to be publickly set up before the palace in the month *Shevvel*, of the year 1093. H. 1093. A. C. 1682.

L. A few days after the Vizir departs with great pomp from *Constantinople*, attended with the Mufti, *Cadileskiers*, and all the other great men, and goes to *Adrianople*, where he had determined to pass the winter, and prepare for the *German* expedition. He pitches his camp first about a mile from *Constantinople*, in a place called *Chirpiji**, *Chairi** (40), in order to give some refreshment to his retinue, that they might the better prepare themselves for the journey. The Vizir marches from *Constantinople* with an army.

LI. The same night there happens a violent storm, and such a whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that scarce a man in the whole camp would venture to stir; and besides the tents of the other Bashas, the pavilions of the Sultan, the Prime Vizir, and the Mufti, were overthrown. Five days after this, when they encamped near *Syllebria*, under an hill, upon the sea-shore, another storm arises, and so great a torrent of waters rushes from the mountains, that not only the tents, but likewise the baggage, horses, cattle, and the very soldiers themselves, are overwhelmed, or carried away with the stream into the sea. These two accidents, almost under the walls of *Constantinople*, struck no small terror into the superstitious *Turks*, accustomed to form a judgment of their future success from the beginnings. The unhappy omens to the *Turks*.

LII. Those who had before secretly opposed the war, and declared this expedition unjust, interpreted publickly these calamities to be marks of the divine vengeance, and God's displeasure against the *Musulman* arms. This occasions new complaints among the soldiers.

LIII. But the Sultan despises these as vulgar remarks, and unworthy a great mind; and having repaired the losses occasioned by the wind and waters, pursues his intended march, and comes to *Adrianople* about the end of the year 1093; and having, during the winter, supplied what was wanting to his warlike preparations, on the 27th of the month *Rebiulachyr*, in 1094, marches from thence with his whole army towards *Belgrade*; but on the way alters his resolution, and stops at *Hesarjic* (41), a town about eight hours from *Adrianople*. The Sultan accompanies the Vizir towards *Belgrade*. H. 1094. A. C. 1683.

LIV. Here, after a second review of his forces, he delivers the command of his army to the Prime Vizir, *Cara Mustapha Basha*, with *Mahomet*'s standard (42); exhorts The Sultan having appointed the Vizir his general, returns from *Belgrade* to *Constantinople*.

Annotations.

(40) *Chirpiji**, *Chairi**] A very large meadow without the walls of *Constantinople*, near *Daud Pasha*. It is so called, because the *Russian* old women are wont to wash their webs of cloth in the stream that runs through the midst of it, and afterwards dry them on the grass.

(41) *Hesarjic*] A town on the road to *Belgrade* from *Adrianople*, from which last place it lies about eight hours; remarkable for nothing but this stay of Sultan *Mahomet* at the time of the *Vienna* expedition.

(42) *Mahomet*'s standard] It is a standard of green silk, long and large, after the form whereof all standards called *Sanjak* are made. The Christians thought they had taken it at *Vienna*, but they were mistaken. For that standard was never known to fall into the enemies hands, though those about it have sometimes been almost all killed. Whenever the Sultan or Vizir command in person, this standard is carried into the camp, but never brought out in a battle; being carefully kept in the camp by *Nakybul Eshret*, who, if he sees the victory inclining to the enemies side, ought first to run away. However, at *Vienna*, *Cara Mustapha Pasha* himself took this standard, and would not part with it till quite out of danger. Whether it be *Mahomet*'s own standard, or another made in the same form, I cannot say: however this be, that which the *Turks* have is very antient, and much torn in many places. For which reason it is never all displayed, for fear the wind should tear it in pieces, but being rolled round a spear till the army is marching out of the city, it is carried to the Sultan with the usual ceremony; when they come to their first quarters, the standard is laid up in a gilt chest, in which is also the *Koran* and *Mahomet*'s robe, and being set on a camel, is carried before the Sultan or Vizir. As for inscriptions and marks, it has none, except *Alem*, which appears at the top of the spear. 'Tis said there was formerly written upon it, in black letters, the *Salavat*, or confession of the *Mahometan* faith; but these letters have been long effaced by time.

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exhorts him to fight valiantly against the enemies of the *Koran*, and gain, by his actions in this world, immortal honours, and glory, and paradise in the next. Having thus settled affairs, he returns to *Conſtantinople*, hunting all the way.

The Vizir calls a general council.

LV. After the Sultan's departure, the Vizir paſſing the *Save* at *Belgrade*, leads the army under his command to *Eſſek*, when *Emeric Tekeli*, lately made King of *Hungary* by the *Turks*, comes with about three hundred *Hungarian* Nobles to the *Turkiſh* camp, and is received with great reſpect by the Vizir, and honoured with conſiderable preſents. A few days after, is held a council of the chief officers of the army, ſummoned by the Prime Vizir, though he had received, by the Sultan's *Chatiſherif*, full power of acting as he pleaſed. But his view in this proceeding was, that if any thing ſhould happen unexpected, and contrary to his mind, it might not be imputed to him, but to the authors of the advice; and that he might, by this condeſcenſion and modeſty, gain the affections of his Baſhas, and inſpire them with a greater readineſs to execute his commands.

Tekeli declares his opinion in the council.

LVI. *Tekeli* is alſo called to this council, and as he was ſuppoſed to have a more perfect knowledge of the ſtate of *Germany*, is ordered to deliver his opinion firſt (43), and to declare what part of it ought principally to be attacked, and whether the ſiege of *Vienna* ſhould be undertaken this year, or delayed till the next: Whereupon he made the following ſpeech. "To thoſe who engage in great under-"takings, moſt invincible Vizir, three things are abſolutely neceſſary for the exe-"cution, money, men, and, above all, prudence, the directreſs of all actions. "With the firſt, the ſoldiers are to be encouraged, and foreigners bribed; with "the ſecond, the enemy is to be routed, and all obſtacles removed; and by the "laſt, the too great ardor incident to heroic minds is to be moderated. With-

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(43) his opinion] I well know, moſt Chriſtian writers aſcribe the ſiege of *Vienna* to *Tekeli*'s counſels; and uſe ſuch arguments, as may eaſily induce the reader to give their aſſent. For where is the improbability, that a rebel, bent upon freeing his country from a foreign yoke, ſhould uſe any means which he thought tended to the growth of his faction, and the ruin of the lawful Prince; and give his aſſociates counſels ſuitable to his deſigns. But the authority of many conſiderable men, whom I knew, and was intimately acquainted with in the *Turkiſh* court, hinders me from being of that opinion. Beſides *Ainji Soliman Paſha*, who, when Vizir, publickly and evidently demonſtrated *Tekeli*'s innocence; the principal are *Hazinader Ibrahim Paſha*, at firſt treaſurer to *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, then *Beg* of one of the gallies, afterwards ambaſſador extraordinary from the *Othman* court to the Emperor of *Germany*, and at laſt governor of *Belgrade*, with three horſe-tails. He was preſent at all the conſultations of thoſe times, and if any ſecret reſolution was taken, it was diſcovered to him by the Vizir, who had a great eſteem for him, on account of his quick parts and readineſs in giving advice. Whilſt I lived at *Conſtantinople*, I uſed often to invite him to my houſe, and did ſo gain his goodwill by treating him with wine, of which he was, though privately, an inſatiable lover, that he would open his whole mind to me. I happened once, upon ſuch an occaſion, to talk familiarly with him about the fall and death of *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*; and declared, I could not ſufficiently wonder how ſo great a man, who had for ſeven years diſcharged the office of Vizir with praiſe, ſhould ſo eaſily hearken to *Tekeli*, a rebel, who did not favour one Kingdom more than another; ſince probably he aimed at nothing more, than, under pretence of friendſhip and ſervice, to impoſe upon the *Othman* court, and incite them againſt the *Germans*; on purpoſe, that, after they had both exhauſted their ſtrength, he might render himſelf abſolute maſter of *Hungary*. To whom *Ibrahim Paſha* replied with a common *Turkiſh* ſaying; ; *Eger dinumuz airi iſe Allahumuz bir dur*; i. e. "Though we have a different law, we have "but one and the ſame God, and there-"fore muſt ſpeak the truth. They who "ſay that *Tekeli* was the adviſer of that un-"dertaking, accuſe him falſly. For my part, "I know, he not only was againſt the ſiege "of *Vienna*, but adviſed very different things "(thoſe mentioned by me in the text;) "which, if my maſter had followed, he would "not have brought ſo great a diſhonour up-"on the *Othman* Empire, nor been deprived "of his dignity and life." The ſame was told me afterwards by *Tekeli* himſelf, who complained, the calumny was invented by *Maurocordatus*, and the Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* provoked by the ſame perſon to impriſon him.

" out prudence, the greateſt treaſures and forces have often proved unſucceſsful; and
" with it, ſmall armies have frequently overthrown extenſive kingdoms, as ſufficient-
" ly appears in the *Aliothman* Empire: and in our preſent debate we want that
" alone, ſince the *Othman* Empire has raiſed ſo great treaſure and forces, that they
" ſeem to ſurpaſs even fame; which, upon this occaſion, forgetful of herſelf,
" may juſtly be credited. There are two expeditions propoſed to the *Othman*
" ſoldiery, both equally glorious, but not equally practicable and advantagious
" to the Empire, namely, the ſiege of *Vienna*, and the conqueſt of the whole
" Kingdom of *Hungary*. If I ſhould reject the former, or rather declare it great-
" ly detrimental to the *Othman* intereſt, I ſhall perhaps to the generallity ſeem ab-
" ſurd, but not to thoſe who thoroughly underſtand the ſituation of the *European*
" affairs, much leſs to this auguſt and wiſe council, before whom I now deliver
" my ſentiments, in obedience to the moſt invincible Vizir's command. *Vienna*
" is too remote from the borders of your Empire; and though it may not be ſo
" ſtrong, as to be impenetrable to the *Othman* valour, yet it will be in vain to expect
" to take it at the firſt aſſault. Before you reach it, you muſt paſs through the ene-
" mies country, in many places defended with conſiderable caſtles, the garriſons
" of which will never ceaſe to annoy you, and, whilſt they dare not face your
" army, will ſtill intercept parties, till they are entirely ſubdued. If by the
" bravery of the garriſon of *Vienna*, which I preſume will not be weak, the ſiege
" ſhall be prolonged, the *Othman* Empire will be expoſed to greater danger, than
" any ſince the taking of *Conſtantinople*, and the eſtabliſhment of its dominion
" in the weſt. The proviſions for ſuch an army for ſeveral months cannot poſſi-
" bly be brought at one time; and conſequently will be intercepted by the
" enemy, who will alſo plunder your baggage, and, by their ſudden incurſions,
" ſo weary the army, and reduce it to ſuch extremities, that it muſt either periſh
" with hunger, or abandon the ſiege with great loſs and diſhonour. But if this
" expedition ſhould be attended with better ſucceſs, and *Vienna* ſurrender to
" your arms, unleſs you ſhall think proper to abandon it of your own accord,
" (which I hardly believe you will do) it appears to me, that your Empire will be
" involved in a more dangerous war: for that city is reckoned the bulwark of
" Chriſtendom, and the Chriſtian faith would be thought entirely ruined, if *Vienna*
" remained in your hands. To reſcue it therefore from deſtruction, all the princes
" profeſſing Chriſtianity will, at the firſt rumour of the ſiege, undoubtedly unite;
" and, forgetting their private quarrels, take the moſt proper meaſures to ſtop
" the progreſs of your victories. The King of *France* is your ally, but not ſo
" far, as to ſuffer the Chriſtian religion to be utterly extirpated. He permits the
" Emperor of *Germany* to be preſſed, but it is with no other view than to en-
" large his own dominions, and prevent that prince from having it in his power
" to hurt him. He is very far from deſiring to have you, who are more power-
" ful and opulent, in his neighbourhood. The *German* princes frequently re-
" fuſe their Emperor aid, or contribute not ſo much as they can, leſt the Emper-
" or ſhould receive too great an acceſſion of power, and make an attempt upon
" their liberty. But if they ſhall ſee their own dominions expoſed to the utmoſt
" danger, they will unite all their forces in their defence, and oppoſe your deſigns.
" Beſides, if they ſhall find there is no other hope of ſafety, and their diſtreſſed
" country cannot be otherwiſe protected, they will voluntarily ſubmit to the King of
" *France*, and declare him Emperor; and if he join even the remains of the *Ger-*
" *mans* to his own army, I am afraid he will become more formidable than you
" imagine. You ought therefore to be cautious, leſt, while you endeavour to
" ſuppreſs a weak enemy, you raiſe up againſt you another much more powerful,
" and furniſh him with arms, without being ſenſible of it. If you conſider theſe
" things, moſt invincible Vizir, and weigh them in the balance of your pru-
" dence, known to the whole world, you will clearly perceive how difficult and
" dangerous this expedition is, and will turn your thoughts to ſome other ſcene
" of action, in which the *Othman* valour may exert it ſelf with leſs hazard and
" more advantage. That ſcene is *Hungary*, a large and fertile Kingdom, which,
" after frequently repelling your arms, and, what no other province has done,

" obſtructing for two ages your victories, now voluntarily ſubmits to your laws, " and even earneſtly ſues for your aſſiſtance. The ſtates of this kingdom, for " the moſt part, follow my banner; the reſt, who are ſtill ſubject to the Emperor of " *Germany*'s tyranny, wait only for an opportunity to ſhew how weary they are " of the *German* yoke; which opportunity if you grant them, I do not ſee what " method you can take more advantageous to the *Othman* Empire. For when " all *Hungary* is once ſubdued and ſettled, there will be no obſtacle to your re- " duction not only of *Vienna*, but of all *Germany* in one campain. That King- " dom will ſupply you with plenty of proviſions, which may be ſafely conveyed, " when the enemies garriſons are deſtroyed; and will prove a perpetual and ſure " magazine for expeditions to any quarter. If therefore I may be allowed free- " ly to declare my opinion, I think that nothing can be more beneficial to the " *Othman* affairs, than to employ this whole year in ſubduing and ſettling the " Kingdom of *Hungary*, taking the caſtles, ſtill poſſeſſed by the *Germans*, forti- " fying them, and furniſhing them with garriſons and ſtores for two or three " years, ſo that they may be ſecure from the enemy and famine; and, withal, in " gaining the affection of the *Hungarians*, and confirming them in their obe- " dience. If theſe meaſures be taken, I am in hopes that next winter I ſhall " have above eighty thouſand of my countrymen in my camp. But becauſe it " would be needleſs that ſo great an army ſhould be fatigued in marches and " ſieges, it is my advice, that the Vizir himſelf, if he thinks proper, encamp about " *Buda* or *Belgrade* with the greater part of the army, and by his preſence reſtrain " the rebels, or thoſe who endeavour to throw off their ſubjection; march a- " gainſt the enemy, if their troops ſhould appear, and deſeat them; if they re- " tire into the cities and caſtles, ſend the *Tartars* and other light-armed troops " into the neighbouring provinces of *Germany*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, " and *Sileſia*, with orders to lay waſte theſe countries; to deſtroy the ſtanding " corn every where; to carry away, or if that cannot be done, to burn all that " is laid up. By this means the enemy's army will be diſperſed without difficulty " or danger, and will not be able to ſubſiſt either this or the next year for want " of corn. If this be done, I dare enage, not only *Vienna*, but likewiſe the " whole *German* Empire will be the reward of a ſingle campain."

The opinion of the principal Baſhas.

LVII. *Tekeli* ſpoke in this manner, and indeed with more freedom than was agreeable to the Vizir, who, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater deſigns, could not hearken now to wholſome advice. However, fearing if he ſhould openly diſcover his opinion, he might alienate from him the minds of the *Hungarians*, not yet ſufficiently confirmed; and, by that means, become ſuſpected by the *Turks*, he conceals his diſlike, and commands the other Baſhas to declare their opinions. There were then preſent among the other Baſhas two very eminent for their warlike conduct and prudence, and of great authority in the *Othman* camp, *Ibrahim Paſha* of *Buda*, and *Ahmed Paſha* (44), who was *Teſkerdar*, or high-treaſurer. Theſe partly gueſſing the Vizir's opinion, and knowing he would prove an enemy to thoſe who ſhould be againſt the intended ſiege of *Vienna*; on the other hand, being convinced, by *Tekeli*'s repreſentation, of the danger to which the *Othman* Empire would be expoſed by that expedition, gave ambiguous anſwers. It ought (ſay they) to be left to the well-known wiſdom of the Vizir, whether the war is to be carried into *Hungary* or *Germany*. If the eſtabliſhment of *Hungary* is thought to deſerve a whole year's employment of the army, the Vizir ſhould march no further than *Buda*, and encamp in the neigbourhood of that city. There the army may be divided into three parts, one to guard the camp, and the other two to ravage the adjacent provinces of the enemy; to take the caſtles of *Hungary*, and when taken, fortify them with garriſons and works. There is no danger to be apprehended from the ſeparation of the army, it being hardly credible, that the ene-

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(44) *Ahmed Paſha*] He was bred up under the *Kiopriliogli*, who had filled almoſt all the Baſhalics of the Empire with their *chaduri**, and officers.

mies, both unprepared, and a few years since exhausted by a *French* war, could raise any forces; and if they could, they would be unable to resist even a fourth part of the *Othman* army. But if the siege of *Vienna* is thought of greater importance, it would be prudent not to waste the time in besieging other places, lest so great an army, like Sultan *Soliman's*, be obliged by the approach of winter to abandon the siege without success. In a word, the soldiers ought to be led thither instantly, while they are warm and burn with a desire of battle.

LVIII. *Cara Mustapha Pasha* perceiving even these two Bashas were not entirely of his mind, the better to conceal his designs both from friends and enemies, pretends to approve of *Tekeli's* advice, and orders his army to march to *Tavarin*, and sends the Imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto detained and amused with hopes of peace, to *Buda*, that he might not be a witness and observer of proceedings. The Vizir's design concealed.

LIX. At the same time *Selim Gierai*, Chan of the *Tartars*, comes to the *Othman* camp with his troops, and is received by the Vizir with great and unusual honours, and presented with an ermin vest, a breast-plate and sword set with diamonds and other precious stones. The Tartars join the *Turks*.

LX. Having thus assembled all the forces he expected, he marches towards *Tavarin*, and in the latter end of the month *jemaziul achyr*, passes the *Raab* after the *Hungarian* soldiers, who were left to guard the ford, had shamefully abandoned their post (45); and encamps under the very walls of *Tavarin*. But he had scarce begun to open his trenches, and batter the walls, when he is informed by his scouts that the Emperor *Leopold* was fled from *Vienna* to *Linzia*; that every thing there was in confusion, the walls were in a ruinous condition, the garrison weak and seized with terror, the magazines empty of ammunition, the store-houses of provision, and the inhabitants almost dead with fear of the *Turks*. The Vizir, encouraged by this account to prosecute his designs, forms another scheme to extort the consent of the other generals. He tries first to gain the Janizaries by various arts, and, by certain persons, promises them, if they would readily undertake or insist upon this expedition, not only greater honours and larger pay, but likewise the plunder of all the treasures of *Germany*, which were supposed to be laid up at *Vienna*. Besides this, he engages the *Aga* of the Janizaries in his party by many plausible pretences, and promises of mountains of gold, by whose means the *Kulkiehaia* (46), and the rest of the *Ojak Agalari* (47), are prevailed upon; so that the Janizaries openly complain, the strength of the *Othman* Empire is consumed to no purpose in the siege of an inconsiderable place, and the time wasted, in which the rival of *Constantinople*, and the metropolis of *Germany*, and of all the *Giaurs*, might be subdued. The Vizir, having gained this point, sends again for the chief Bashas, and informs them of what was said among the Janizaries, and bids them declare their opinion, whether it be proper to gratify their desires, or to defer that important work to a future expedition. The Vizir persuades the Janizaries to agree to the siege of *Vienna*.

LXI. The Bashas perceiving the Vizir to be wavering, resolutely and unanimously advise against the siege of *Vienna*, a city (say they) must not be left in the hands of the enemy, which is not only easy to be taken, but likewise will The Bashas and *Tekeli* endeavour to dissuade him from it.

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(45) their post] Some say, that Count *Buddan* treacherously gave the *Turks* a free passage; but because his crime was never clearly proved, I rather chuse to leave the matter doubtful, than determine any thing about it without foundation.

(46) *Kulkiehaia*] The lieutenant of the whole militia, next to the *Aga* of the Janizaries, and above him in the Imperial *Divan*. He hath the lists of the Janizaries, and of all the *Turkish* foot, and when any regiment of Janizaries is to be put into garrisons, he is to send them. He imparts all the affairs of the Janizaries to their *Aga*, and manages them; and therefore has very great power in that body.

(47) *Ojak Agalari*] This general name denotes both those who have the command of the whole militia of the Janizaries, as the *Kulkiehaia*, *Zagarji bashi*, *Sampsonji bashi*, and also the rest of the *Buluk Agalari*, who have at least one regiment under them,

open

open a door to the conqueſt of all *Germany*; nor is that to be attempted, from which little advantage, but great danger ought to be expected. *Tekeli* above all oppoſed it, becauſe he ſaw, if the Vizir ſhould beſiege *Vienna*, all his hopes of the kingdom of *Hungary* would be deſtroyed; and told the Vizir he would highly prejudice the *Othman* intereſt, by perſiſting in his deſign, and neglecting *Hungary*, the people whereof at the laſt paſſage over the *Raab*, had ſufficiently ſhown their averſion to the *German* yoke, and their inclination to ſubmit to the *Othman* conqueror.

The Baſhas ſubmit to the Vizir's authority, and march towards *Vienna*.

LXII. At laſt the Vizir, when he finds he cannot prevail by his ſpeeches, impatient of delay, produces the Sultan's *Chatiſherif*, by which he was made arbiter of peace or war, and the command of the whole army committed to him with full power. The Baſhas, upon the ſight of this, are ſilent, and by an implicit obedience, rather than the real judgment of their minds, promiſe to execute the commands of their dictator. The council breaking up, the army decamps, and only a ſmall body of troops are left under the command of *Kior Huſſein Paſha* (48) to block up *Tavarin*; the reſt of the forces move with the utmoſt expedition towards *Vienna*. In their march they ſeize the baggage of ſeveral imperial officers, which had been detained by the difficulty of the roads kill the troops that convoyed them, and entering the enemy's country, take a great number of priſoners, with whom they appear before *Vienna* the 18th day of *Jemaziul achyr*.

Vienna beſieged and attacked.

LXIII. The tents being pitched, the trenches opened, and other things neceſſary for the ſiege prepared, the Vizir ſoon after makes himſelf maſter of the outer-works, beats down the walls with his cannon and mines, and aſſaults the city itſelf with ſuch vigour, that though the garriſon, aſſiſted by the citizens, bravely fought for their religion and country, and diſputed every inch of ground, yet very probably, the city would have been ſoon taken, if the Vizir had continued the ſiege as vigorouſly as he begun it. But the ſupreme arbiter of fortune pitying the ſtate of Chriſtendom, unexpectedly intervenes to the aſſiſtance of diſtreſſed *Germany*, and to ſhow, he can produce happineſs even out of misfortune, fills the mind of the Vizir, who otherwiſe was a man of great prudence and experience, with ſuch abſurd deſigns, that he imagines it for his intereſt to prolong the ſiege of the city. The outer-works, as I ſaid, being eaſily taken, he was fully perſwaded, he ſhould ſoon be maſter of the city, and accordingly writ to the Sultan, that in a ſhort time he would ſend him the keys.

The treachery of the Vizir towards the Sultan. He is ambitious of the Empire of the weſt.

LXIV. Theſe hopes excited his ambition, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, he falls into ſuch ſtrange notions, as to imagine himſelf able to throw off the *Othman* dominion, and ſeizing the metropolis of *Germany*, found a Muſulman Empire in the weſt, which ſhould rival that in the eaſt, and putting on the *Sorguj* (49), aſſume the title of Sultan of *Vienna*, and

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(48) *Kior Huſſein*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his courage and experience. So called, becauſe he was one-eyed, or had a blemiſh in one of his eyes. For *Kior*, in the *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* languages, ſignifies one that is blind, or has but one eye.

(49) *Sorguj*] A Creſt made of curious feathers, and adorned with precious ſtones. It is faſtned to the Turban, either in token of royal power, or to ſhow that he who wears it, is an officer of the Sultan's *Divan*. Upon this laſt account, all the *Chauſhi** and *Gieduk agalari* are adorned with the *Sorguj*, but of a plainer ſort. As a ſign of royal power it is worn by the Sultan, and by the three Baſhas of *Egypt*, *Babylon*, and formerly of *Buda*. The Sultans heretofore uſed, on account of the three larger kingdoms under their dominion, namely of *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Hungary*, to wear three *Sorguj*, one on the right ſide of their Turban, another on the left, and a third in the fore-part, faſtened with little chains: but after having loſt *Hungary*, they continued to wear the ſame *Sorguj* for the kingdom of *Babylon*. The three Baſhas above-mentioned have but one *Sorguj* on the left-ſide of the Turban; the Baſha of *Egypt* is, beſides, honoured by the inhabitants (but not at court) with the name of Sultan, becauſe in the *Arabic* language, which is moſtly uſed in *Egypt*, the word Sultan ſignifies Lord or Prince. [*Sorguj* is to be pronounced, as if writ in *Engliſh*, *Sorguge*.]

Germany.

Germany. He thought he had nothing to fear from the Sultan, ſince all the diſciplined troops of the whole *Othman* Empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for Sultan *Mahomet* to bring an army equal in number, not to ſay in valour, againſt him. The Emperor of *Germany* ſeemed leſs formidable to him, whoſe capitol he hoped to have in his power before the troops expected from *Poland* could join his forces, which he perſwaded himſelf would be too late from the known ſlowneſs of the *Poliſh* proceedings. He had brought with him a great treaſure, as well his own as the Sultan's, and reſolved to increaſe it with the addition of the riches of the *German* Princes, which he ſuppoſed to be repoſited in the city beſieged. He knew, the Paſhas and other governors of the caſtles in *Hungary*, (moſt of whom were his creatures, and appointed by him during his ſeven year's Vizirſhip,) were attached to his intereſt, and imagined would prove no obſtacle to his advancement. Nothing remained but to gain *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, a man of great authority, not only in *Hungary*, but alſo with the whole army, and the principal officers of the Janizaries and *Spahis*. For this purpoſe by large preſents he prevailed upon all thoſe, whom he knew to have any influence in the army; he promiſed *Ibrahim Paſha* the kingdom of *Hungary* for ever (*Ebedi*) (50), to divide all the provinces belonging to it among the *Spahis* by way of *Timar* (51), and to ſettle the whole army in the cities and lands of *Hungary* as new colonies, after driving out or inſlaving the old poſſeſſors. But he reſerved for himſelf under the title of Sultan, all *Germany* as far as the borders of *France*, *Tranſylvania*, and *Poland*, which he reſolved the next year either to ſubdue or make tributary.

LXV. Let us leave the Vizir, full of theſe thoughts and deſigns, in the camp before *Vienna*, and ſee what meaſures were taken by the *Chriſtians* to repell

The Emperor of *Germany* deſires the aſſiſtance of the *Poles*.

Annotations.

(50) *Ebedi*] *i. e.* properly for ever, or for a man's whole life. Whence thoſe privileges are denoted by that name, with which the Sultan inveſts for ever any Vizir, Baſha, or Prince: and they who are thus diſtinguiſhed are named *Teebiten*. Such was that *Chatiſherif*, which, according to the *Chriſtian* writers, was granted to *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, whereby he was declared not liable to be puniſhed with death. But they do not know, that ſuch a *Chatiſherif* is granted by the Sultan to all, even to thoſe who are put to death three days after their promotion to the office of Vizir; with this condition however, *Eger her chydmetimuze ſadacat ve iſticametde olurſe*, "If thou art faithful and obedient "to us in all and every ſervice." Whence it comes to paſs, that they are no more ſecure as to their honour, goods, or life than others. For the Vizirs are never put to death, but for a real or pretended want of fidelity or obedience due to the Emperor. Such a kind of *Chatiſherif* was given to *Conſtantine Brancovan*, of bleſſed memory, Prince of *Walachia*; who after having been advanced to that principality by the contrivance of the *Cantacuzeni*, did not only leſſen their power, but alſo obtained, by means of large ſums of money, and other arts, that inſtrument from Sultan *Ahmed*. But of how little ſervice it was to him, appeared by what happened at *Conſtantinople* in my time. For he was not only deprived of his principality, but alſo ſtrangled publickly in the market-place, with his four ſons: and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had accepted of the dignity of Prince of the Empire from the Emperor of *Germany*, and the order of St. *Andrew* from the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, and kept a correſpondence with them by letters about the affairs of ſtate. For, that the affection he pretended to have for the *Chriſtians*, was not real, he plainly manifeſted in two expeditions: The firſt in the year 1690, when he ſhowed the *Turks* a way over the mountains of *Walachia* into *Tranſylvania*, which had been till then unknown; and by that means was the cauſe of *Heiſler*'s being cut in pieces, who relying upon his friendſhip, had with four thouſand *Germans* encamped at the foot of thoſe mountains, where he thought himſelf ſafe: The other was in the year 1711, when after having drawn, by his fair promiſes, *Peter*, *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, into *Moldavia*, he openly refuſed him proviſions and aſſiſtance.

(51) *Timar*] *Timar Spahi* are the Nobles, or the old *Spahi*, who have, for their ſtipend, villages aſſigned them in the provinces ſubject to the Empire. And they are obliged, in proportion to the revenues, to carry three ſlaves at leaſt, with them to the wars.

the enemy. While Count *Caprara* was in vain waiting at *Conſtantinople* for the confirmation of the peace, the Emperor of *Germany*'s ambaſſador in *Poland* had much better ſucceſs in his negotiations. The ſtates of that kingdom were excited either by the common danger, or the Pope's exhortations and promiſes, and united ſo firmly, that having ſuſpended or compoſed their inteſtine diviſions, they unanimouſly determined to raiſe an army, and oppoſe the enemy of the Croſs, before he ſhould be able to compleat the ruin of *Germany* and *Poland*. An alliance therefore is eaſily made between the Emperor *Leopold* and King *John Sobieski*, and one of the principal articles was, that if the capital of either nation ſhould be beſieged by the enemy, both Princes ſhould march in perſon with their whole army to its relief.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, the general of the imperial army, beſieges *Wywar*, without ſucceſs.

LXVI. The Emperor being ſtrengthened on that ſide, declares the next year *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain* General of his army; and as ſoon as he heard the *Turks* had proclaimed war againſt him in the uſual manner at *Conſtantinople*, he orders him to march with what forces he had ready into *Hungary*, and before the *Turks* could arrive, make himſelf maſter of ſome caſtle in that country, which might ſerve as a bulwark to *Germany*. The Duke, to diſcharge the duties of a prudent and valiant general, firſt endeavours to ſeize *Gran*†, the garriſon of which he had been aſſured was very weak; but finding that ſeveral thouſand of the *Turks* of *Wywar* had entered the city, he ſets fire to the bridge, by which there was a communication between the two cities, and on the 7th day of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, inveſts *Wywar* on every ſide. They fight for eight days with equal bravery, but not with equal ſucceſs. For the Duke of *Lorrain* being informed, that the Vizir was marching with a powerful army from *Belgrade* againſt him, though he had great hopes of taking the city in a ſhort time, on the 14th of the ſame month abandons the ſiege, reinforces the garriſon of *Vienna* with ſeveral regiments, and ſo encamps with the reſt of his army near the city on the confines of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, that he might provide for the exigencies of both countries, and ſafely wait for the forces of *Poland* and the other Princes.

† *Strigonium.*

The Emperor of *Germany* departs from *Vienna* to *Lincium*.

LXVII. *Leopold* hearing that *Hungary* was abandoned by his troops, and the *Turks* were preparing for the ſiege of *Vienna*, and thinking himſelf not ſecure within the walls, commits the defence of it to Count *Staremberg*, a man of approved integrity, valour, and prudence, himſelf retires to *Lincium* upon the *Danube* above *Vienna*, and from thence ſends letters to all the neighboring Princes to deſire their aſſiſtance.

The avarice of the Vizir occaſions the ruin of the whole army.

LXVIII. Mean while the Vizir continues the ſiege of *Vienna*, but not in ſuch a manner, as prudence and the art of war, but as his vain imaginations had ſuggeſted to him. For being perſwaded, that the city could not eſcape falling into his hands, he would not ſuffer it to be cloſely blocked up on all ſides, and the *Turkiſh* ſoldiers to attack the breaches every where with equal vigour, but orders them daily to aſſault in ſmall parties only, that the garriſon, being exhauſted with continual watching and loſs of their men, might be obliged to ſurrender the caſtle. When the Janizaries, ignorant of the Vizir's deſigns, began publickly to complain of theſe proceedings, and repreſented, that through the imprudence of their general, more thouſands of the *Othman* ſoldiers were deſtroyed by theſe skirmiſhes, than by a general aſſault of the whole army at once; the Vizir himſelf unwarily diſcovers part of his projects, and tells thoſe, who acquainted him with what was ſaid, that he could not now ſatisfy the deſires of the ſoldiers, becauſe he certainly knew, there were great treaſures in that city, which it would be improper and contrary to the Sultan's command to give up for plunder. Beſides leſt the ſoldiers ſhould by chance enter the city, and in the firſt heat ſeize upon theſe treaſures, he orders proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any *Othman* troops ſhould paſs the walls, they ſhould ſtop there, and ſecure themſelves with a trench, and not preſume to advance or enter any houſe, before he ſhould come and give them freſh orders. Laſtly, that he might guard againſt all inconveniences, fearing leſt after the taking of the city, the want of corn ſhould oblige him to change or defer his deſigns, he diſtributes to the ſoldiers very ſparingly

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the provisions he had brought with him in great plenty, alledging, that good part of it was to be reserved for the troops to be left in garrison when the city should be taken. Mean while, all the provisions expected from *Hungary* were intercepted by the garrisons of *Posonium*, *Tavarin*, and *Comorra*, as *Tekeli* had foretold to the Vizir; upon which account the siege of *Vienna* being retarded much longer than was expected, so great a scarcity arises, that, a thing before unknown in the *Turkish* camp (52), ten drams of bread, and even that without salt, were sold for one *rhub* (53), and other eatables and liquors rose in their price, in proportion to the bread.

LXIX. The Vizir, to remedy this misfortune, before the famine caused a sedition in the army, sends a Basha with twenty thousand men to *Tekeli*'s aid, with orders to attack *Posonium*, because that city was less able than the other fortresses of *Hungary* to make resistance; and take care that the provisions and warlike stores collected at *Buda* might be safely brought to the *Othman* camp. But even this design, either because it was not prudently concerted, or unseasonably discovered, failed of success. For *Charles* duke of *Lorrain* being informed of the Vizir's intentions, sends several regiments under the command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, to oppose the attempt of the *Turks* against *Posonium*. They first meet with *Tekeli*, and quickly disperse his *Hungarian* troops, and afterwards attack the *Turks*, who are struck with such terror at the defeat of the *Hungarians*, that, besides a thousand killed, and many taken, they leave a thousand waggons loaded with provisions and warlike engines as a booty to the conquerors.

The *Turks*, who were sent out to forage, are defeated by the Imperial troops.

LXX. This defeat was not only a presage, but also no small cause of a greater calamity, which was ready to fall upon the *Othman* army. For the Janizaries,

This occasions seditious complaints in the camp.

Annotations.

(52) camp] The *Turks* take a most particular care to have their soldiers furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions. For the Janizaries, before they enter the enemies territories, will have fresh bread every day, and will not vouchsafe, before that time, to touch any that has been twice baked, or baked the day before. And if they should miss having it, or their daily allowance of meat, butter and rice, their leaders can hardly keep them from a mutiny. They provide against a scarcity in the following manner: They chuse a man of approved honesty, and cloathing him with a *Caftan*, appoint him *Mubaeji*, or steward of the victualling. Him they tell how much provisions are wanted, for how many men, and so many months; and then, six months before the provisions are to be laid up in the store-houses, they issue out of the treasury a sum of money to buy the victuals, in proportion to the price fixed by the Sultan's order, according to the plenty or scarcity of the year. After that, the *Casab bashi*, or chief butcher, is sent for, and ordered to provide so many sheep and oxen against the ensuing expedition, and the price of them is immediately paid out of the treasury. These two, upon receipt of the money, send Men into *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, *Dobruja*, *Bujak*, *Crim Tartary*, and the other provinces of *Rumelia*, to buy up cattle and provisions, which they lay up in the store-houses prepared for that purpose; but if they are not there by the time appointed, the persons whose business it was to see it done, are to be put to death. When the expedition is begun, the Sultan dispatches orders for assembling horses, oxen and camels out of the provinces, to carry the victuals. On the enemy's borders, where there can be no store-houses, the *Mubaeji* is commanded to bring provisions into the camp, for so many months as there shall be occasion. Besides these provisions that are gathered by the *Mubaeji*, the Emperor has also a yearly contribution, named *Uszur*, and raised out of the tenths of the whole Empire. The remotest provinces pay it in money, but the nearest send wheat and barley into the camp: for the *Turks* will not receive or eat any other sort of corn. These provisions here mentioned are for the Janizaries. But the Bashas and Spahi are obliged to find their own provisions, and the Sultan furnishes them with nothing but a few carts. For this reason, they either send men to buy wheat, or if they and the *Mubaeji* are friends, they desire him by letter to get them the quantity they want; and they pay him for it by their *Capukiebaia*, which each of them is obliged to have at *Constantinople*, at the price fixed by the Sultan. By this means, every one providing himself with victuals, there can hardly happen a scarcity in the *Turkish* camp.

(53) *rhub*] It is the fourth part of a *Leonine*, as *Tult* is a third.

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who had before ſo vigorouſly forced the enemy out of their fortifications, when they ſaw proviſions were wanting, and the troops which were to convoy the waggons (ſo long and impatiently expected) routed and deſtroyed, begin publickly to exclaim, that they came to fight not againſt famine, but the enemy; and not content to expreſs their wants in words only, grow negligent in the diſcharge of their duty, and allow the garriſon, now reduced to the utmoſt extremity, time and opportunity to reſume their courage, and repair their breaches. The obſtinacy of the Vizir, and the difficulty of the ſiege, had before ſunk the reſolution of the officers and the Baſhas; ſo that they no longer regarded what was moſt advantagious to their affairs, but executed, like mercenaries, the orders that were given them; and would have been ſurprized by the Imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, being taken, had not opened their eyes, and ſhown them to what danger they were expoſed. But this indolence had now taken too deep root in the minds of the ſoldiers, for them to be rouzed by the proſpect of a battle, on which the fortune of the whole *Othman* Empire depended. On the contrary, fatigued with making trenches and ramparts, they were heard frequently to ſay: "O infidel, if "thou wilt not come thy ſelf, at leaſt ſhow thy Cap; on the ſight of which we "ſhall fly hence in an hour."

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LXXI. One would have imagined, theſe expreſſions were not unuſual among the ſoldiers, exaſperated againſt their general, and have thought they would have diſcharged the rage, conceived in their camp and trenches, upon the heads of their enemies, if the event had not ſoon after ſhown them to be their real ſentiments. For upon the approach of the *Poliſh* auxiliaries, though it was eaſy for the *Turks* to prevent the junction of the two armies, not a ſingle man would ſtir to divert this imminent danger. Shortly after, when they were aſſured the enemy's forces were marching againſt them, the night before the battle almoſt a fourth part of the army diſperſed themſelves, and the reſt, whoſe religion engaged them to remain, ſhowed ſo little reſolution and ardor, that they did not ſeem willing even to try the fortune of a battle.

The Vizir, immoved with fear, conſults with the Paſhas.

LXXII. The Baſhas themſelves are ſtruck with dread at the deſertion of their ſoldiers; the Vizir alone, whom theſe things ought to have convinced of the viciſſitude of human affairs, continues fearleſs, and imagines nothing inſuperable by his power. However, he aſſembles the other officers, and asks them, what courſe they thought ſhould be taken. *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, firſt declares his opinion, and adviſes the raiſing of the ſiege, the marching of the troops againſt the enemy, the cutting down of the neighbouring woods, and making a rampart with the trees, and fortifying it with cannon, in order to receive the firſt and warmeſt attack; and that afterwards the horſe ſhould fall upon the enemy in flank as they retire. This method, if rightly purſued, would, it was to be hoped, gain an eaſy and ſpeedy victory. He added, the *Othman* army being already weakened by the toils of a long ſiege, could not be divided, nor part of it left in the works without great danger, much leſs ſhould a paſſage be open to the enemy as far as the very camp, the extent of which would render the defence of it more difficult to the *Othman* forces, and the attack more eaſy to the aſſailants.

LXXIII. All the Paſhas, except a few, approve this advice, and entreat the Vizir not to abuſe his authority, nor be the occaſion of the greateſt detriment to the *Othman* Empire. The Vizir alone obſtinately oppoſes the admonitions, and ſays, "I know not what fatal calamity threatens the *Othman* affairs, that ſo ma-"ny perſons of eminent prudence ſhould almoſt all be hurried into perverſe and un-"reaſonable opinions. You adviſe the abandoning of *Vienna*, which we have "beſieged for three months, and now reduced to ſuch extremities, that it can "ſcarce hold out ſo many days. But if you voluntarily ſuffer it to eſcape "out of your hands, what do you elſe but willfully reſign, without a battle, "the wiſhed for victory to a ſmall body of the enemy, which ſcarce deſerve "the name of an army, if compared with the innumerable and invincible forces "of the *Othman* Empire? Will not the garriſon, if they ſee our ſoldiers quit-"ting their trenches and works, attack them as they retire, repair their walls,

" which we have demoliſhed, recover what we have taken, deſtroy the ramparts " raiſed againſt them, and render the ſiege more difficult to us when we return? " Will not our own ſoldiers, if after ſo many labours in vain ſuſtained, ſo many of " their companions killed unrevenged, when they are juſt ready to ſeize the wiſhed " for prize, we ſhould lead them farther from it, will they not (I ſay) ſink in " their courage, and fight with leſs vigour, and, as the proverb expreſſes it, do " their buſineſs with only the ends of their fingers? Will not the enemy's army, " when they find the ſiege raiſed by us, refuſe to try the fortune of a battle, " which in their preſent circumſtances they cannot avoid, without hazarding their " all; and victoriouſly retire without the loſs of a man; and leave us thus de- " luded to engage with much more cruel enemies, for the autumnal rains are ap- " proaching, which formerly obliged *Soliman*, in other reſpects an invincible " Emperor, to abandon the ſiege? But if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, and the *Ger-* " *mans*, puſhed by their evil genius, be induced to fight, which of you will " venture to promiſe, that the Janizaries, even after a victory, will return to the " ſiege, and again enter thoſe trenches, where they have hitherto ſuſtained ſo " many fatigues, and loſt ſo many companions? You are ſufficiently acquainted " with their obſtinacy by their ſeditious expreſſions, which deſerve indeed to " be puniſhed, but that the preſent ſituation of affairs renders it neceſſary to op- " poſe the rebels to the enemy, rather than the ſword of the executioner. I do " not deny, theſe turbulent men have greatly abated of their former ardor; " but they will grow ſtill more indolent, if you remove them out of their " trenches, and tacitly command them to deſpair of taking the city. It may be " eaſy to recover what the enemy ſhall ſeize during the battle; but conſider, it " is much eaſier to defend what we are already poſſeſſed of, than to recover it. " The deſire of revenge will animate the Janizaries to return to the ſiege; but " take care, leſt their fury, if the garriſon ſhould make a vigorous defence, be " not turned againſt our heads. We are now in a ſituation, that we muſt either " live or die. But to overcome, after we have abandoned a city beſieged by us " ſo many months, has the appearance rather of a defeat than a victory. The " Sultan daily expects from us an account of our ſucceſs, and has already " made preparations for a triumph. If the event ſhall prove contrary, it is " eaſy to imagine what danger hangs over your heads as well as mine. If you " conſider theſe things, and weigh them in the balance of prudence, you will per- " ceive, it is in vain to lead the army into the field, in vain to fight for victory, " unleſs the greateſt part of the Janizaries be left to defend the works, and carry " on the ſiege. It will terrify the enemies, if they find we are ready in our " camp for battle, and at the ſame time proſecuting the ſiege as vigorouſly as " before; it will conceal our weakneſs; prevent the garriſon from attacking our " rear; inſpire our ſoldiers with courage; and in ſhort, is the only method by " which we can obtain not only an eaſy, but a compleat victory."

LXXIV. When the Vizir had ended his ſpeech, the Baſhas anſwer, " There is " nothing to be feared from the garriſon, who being equally, if not more ex- " hauſted by ſickneſs and labours than the *Othman* ſoldiers, will be more ſolli- " citous about the defence of the fortifications ſtill left them, than the recovery " of what they have loſt: beſides, the trenches and other works are much ſtronger " than the city, and if one or two regiments are left to defend them, it will be " more difficult for the garriſon of *Vienna* to ſeize them, than for the Janiza- " ries to take the city. The other Janizaries now employed in the trenches, " may be much more advantageouſly oppoſed to the enemy, whoſe army is not " to be contemned, ſince it contains not only the forces of almoſt all *Germany*, " but alſo a conſiderable body of auxiliaries from *Poland*. It is certain the Jani- " zaries ſometimes obſtinately refuſe to obey the commands of their generals, " and even threaten their lives; but it is no leſs certain, they are eaſily ſoftened " by ſome little preſents, and promiſes of increaſing their pay; nor is it probable, " that after ſo many fatigues, they will leave the reward of them to others, " when they are juſt at the end of their labours. The dividing of the battle in " two parts will be more inconvenient to the *Othman* army, than to the enemy; The Paſhas inſiſt upon their opinions.

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LXXII. The Baſhas themſelves are ſtruck with dread at the deſertion of their ſoldiers; the Vizir alone, whom theſe things ought to have convinced of the viciſſitude of human affairs, continues fearleſs, and imagines nothing inſuperable by his power. However, he aſſembles the other officers, and asks them, what courſe they thought ſhould be taken. *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, firſt declares his opinion, and adviſes the raiſing of the ſiege, the marching of the troops againſt the enemy, the cutting down of the neighbouring woods, and making a rampart with the trees, and fortifying it with cannon, in order to receive the firſt and warmeſt attack; and that afterwards the horſe ſhould fall upon the enemy in flank as they retire. This method, if rightly purſued, would, it was to be hoped, gain an eaſy and ſpeedy victory. He added, the *Othman* army being already weakened by the toils of a long ſiege, could not be divided, nor part of it left in the works without great danger, much leſs ſhould a paſſage be open to the enemy as far as the very camp, the extent of which would render the defence of it more difficult to the *Othman* forces, and the attack more eaſy to the aſſailants.

LXXIII. All the Paſhas, except a few, approve this advice, and entreat the Vizir not to abuſe his authority, nor be the occaſion of the greateſt detriment to the *Othman* Empire. The Vizir alone obſtinately oppoſes the admonitions, and ſays, "I know not what fatal calamity threatens the *Othman* affairs, that ſo ma-"ny perſons of eminent prudence ſhould almoſt all be hurried into perverſe and un-"reaſonable opinions. You adviſe the abandoning of *Vienna*, which we have "beſieged for three months, and now reduced to ſuch extremities, that it can "ſcarce hold out ſo many days. But if you voluntarily ſuffer it to eſcape "out of your hands, what do you elſe but willfully reſign, without a battle, "the wiſhed for victory to a ſmall body of the enemy, which ſcarce deſerve "the name of an army, if compared with the innumerable and invincible forces "of the *Othman* Empire? Will not the garriſon, if they ſee our ſoldiers quit-"ting their trenches and works, attack them as they retire, repair their walls,

" which we have demoliſhed, recover what we have taken, deſtroy the ramparts " raiſed againſt them, and render the ſiege more difficult to us when we return? " Will not our own ſoldiers, if after ſo many labours in vain ſuſtained, ſo many of " their companions killed unrevenged, when they are juſt ready to ſeize the wiſhed " for prize, we ſhould lead them farther from it, will they not (I ſay) ſink in " their courage, and fight with leſs vigour, and, as the proverb expreſſes it, do " their buſineſs with only the ends of their fingers? Will not the enemy's army, " when they find the ſiege raiſed by us, refuſe to try the fortune of a battle, " which in their preſent circumſtances they cannot avoid, without hazarding their " all; and victoriouſly retire without the loſs of a man; and leave us thus de- " luded to engage with much more cruel enemies, for the autumnal rains are ap- " proaching, which formerly obliged *Soliman*, in other reſpects an invincible " Emperor, to abandon the ſiege? But if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, and the *Ger-* " *mans*, puſhed by their evil genius, be induced to fight, which of you will " venture to promiſe, that the Janizaries, even after a victory, will return to the " ſiege, and again enter thoſe trenches, where they have hitherto ſuſtained ſo " many fatigues, and loſt ſo many companions? You are ſufficiently acquainted " with their obſtinacy by their ſeditious expreſſions, which deſerve indeed to " be puniſhed, but that the preſent ſituation of affairs renders it neceſſary to op- " poſe the rebels to the enemy, rather than the ſword of the executioner. I do " not deny, theſe turbulent men have greatly abated of their former ardor; " but they will grow ſtill more indolent, if you remove them out of their " trenches, and tacitly command them to deſpair of taking the city. It may be " eaſy to recover what the enemy ſhall ſeize during the battle; but conſider, it " is much eaſier to defend what we are already poſſeſſed of, than to recover it. " The deſire of revenge will animate the Janizaries to return to the ſiege; but " take care, leſt their fury, if the garriſon ſhould make a vigorous defence, be " not turned againſt our heads. We are now in a ſituation, that we muſt either " live or die. But to overcome, after we have abandoned a city beſieged by us " ſo many months, has the appearance rather of a defeat than a victory. The " Sultan daily expects from us an account of our ſucceſs, and has already " made preparations for a triumph. If the event ſhall prove contrary, it is " eaſy to imagine what danger hangs over your heads as well as mine. If you " conſider theſe things, and weigh them in the balance of prudence, you will per- " ceive, it is in vain to lead the army into the field, in vain to fight for victory, " unleſs the greateſt part of the Janizaries be left to defend the works, and carry " on the ſiege. It will terrify the enemies, if they find we are ready in our " camp for battle, and at the ſame time proſecuting the ſiege as vigorouſly as " before; it will conceal our weakneſs; prevent the garriſon from attacking our " rear; inſpire our ſoldiers with courage; and in ſhort, is the only method by " which we can obtain not only an eaſy, but a compleat victory."

The Paſhas inſiſt upon their opinions.

LXXIV. When the Vizir had ended his ſpeech, the Baſhas anſwer, " There is " nothing to be feared from the garriſon, who being equally, if not more ex- " hauſted by ſickneſs and labours than the *Othman* ſoldiers, will be more ſolli- " citous about the defence of the fortifications ſtill left them, than the recovery " of what they have loſt: beſides, the trenches and other works are much ſtronger " than the city, and if one or two regiments are left to defend them, it will be " more difficult for the garriſon of *Vienna* to ſeize them, than for the Janiza- " ries to take the city. The other Janizaries now employed in the trenches, " may be much more advantageouſly oppoſed to the enemy, whoſe army is not " to be contemned, ſince it contains not only the forces of almoſt all *Germany*, " but alſo a conſiderable body of auxiliaries from *Poland*. It is certain the Jani- " zaries ſometimes obſtinately refuſe to obey the commands of their generals, " and even threaten their lives; but it is no leſs certain, they are eaſily ſoftened " by ſome little preſents, and promiſes of increaſing their pay; nor is it probable, " that after ſo many fatigues, they will leave the reward of them to others, " when they are juſt at the end of their labours. The dividing of the battle in " two parts will be more inconvenient to the *Othman* army, than to the enemy;

" and there is reaſon to apprehend the terror, which this method is expected to ſtrike " into them, will render the *Germans* deſperate, ſince the conteſt is not for one " city, but for the ſafety of all Chriſtendom; and ſo may bring deſtruction to " the whole *Othman* army."

The Vizir gives the ſanction of his authority to his opinion.

LXXV. But neither could theſe remonſtrances divert the Vizir from his purpoſe, who alledged, the management of this expedition was committed to him by the Sultan; that an account of it would be expected from him; that if any misfortune happened, it would be imputed to him, and not to them; and he could not ſuffer it to be ſaid, he had gone through ſo many hardſhips, and loſt ſo many men, without any advantage.

Having put his priſoners to death, he draws out his forces into the field.

LXXVI. The *Chriſtian* army therefore advancing on the 20th day of the mouth *Ramazan*, *Cara Muſtapha* orders firſt all the captives, of whom the *Tartars* had collected almoſt thirty thouſand, to be killed; then he divides his forces, which were not employed in the ſiege, into three parts. He gives the command of the left wing to *Ibrahim Paſha* of *Buda*, and of the right to *Cara Mehemed Paſha* (54) of *Diarbekir*. The body of the army, with the Aga of the Janizaries and *Spahis* he reſerves for himſelf; and orders them at leaſt to ſtand firm, and repell the firſt ſhock of the enemy. The reſt of the Janizaries he leaves under the command of his *Kiehaia* in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Though the officers of the army ſeemed to execute theſe orders with great vigour, the Vizir ſoon found what *Ibrahim Paſha* had told him was true, and now too late repented, that he had not followed his advice.

The Janizaries quit their trenches.

LXXVII. For upon the firſt charge of the *Germans*, thoſe who were placed in both wings, quit their ranks, and refuſe to obey the orders of their generals. The Janizaries, who were left in the works, obſerving what was done in the battle, of their own accord abandon the ſiege, and remove out of their trenches under pretence indeed of aſſiſting their companions, who were in diſtreſs, but in reality to withdraw themſelves from the danger, the *Poliſh* forces ſoon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was entirely unſupported. The reſt of the Janizaries and *Spahis* with their officers think leſs of fighting, than flying, and endeavoured to eſcape from the danger with the utmoſt precipitation.

The *Turks* are defeated, and and put to flight.

LXXVIII. *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, when he ſees his ſoldiers diſperſed on every ſide, and the impoſſibility of renewing the battle, returns alſo himſelf to the camp, and finding no man in his tent, laments his ill fortune with a flood of tears, takes up alone the ſtandard of *Mahomet*, and follows the remains of his army with all poſſible ſpeed. Night coming on, the darkneſs covers the fugitives from the enemy's ſword, but does not remove their fears, which had ſo deeply poſſeſſed them, that inſenſible of the fatigues of the way, they never ſtop, till they reach their companions, who had been left at the ſiege of *Iavarin*, twenty five *German* miles from *Vienna*. Such was the more than panic terror, which the ſupreme arbiter of human affairs had filled their minds with, that they, who before were averſe to the leaſt labour, and cryed out, they were brought, not to bear fatigues and hunger, but to fight, now in one day and a night traverſed on foot, without meat or drink the ſpace of fifty hours.

The *Poles* firſt attack the *Turkiſh* camp.

LXXIX. Mean time the *Chriſtians*, finding the *Turks* after a ſhort skirmiſh retreat to their camp, and not knowing what paſſed there, imagine the Vizir had laid an ambuſh for them, becauſe they could not poſſibly believe, that ſuch a numerous army of *Turks* would turn their backs upon ſo ſlight an attack; and therefore, the night encreaſing their apprehenſions of danger, they reſolve to ſtop, and to aſſault the camp the next morning. But when they were informed by their ſcouts, that the *Turks* were fled (55), and had relinquiſhed their camp, the

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(54) *Cara Mehemed*] A man of no great fame, but highly in favour with *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he never contradicted him, (for he could not bear contradiction) and yielded a blind obedience to all the Vizir's orders: for which deſerts, he was, after the death of *Ibrahim Paſha*, made Beglerbeg of *Buda*.

(55) were fled] Happy is that *Chriſtian* general, who ſuſtains the firſt, ſecond, and third

the *Poles*, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, enter the camp in the night, and find there, beſides an hundred and eighty large cannon and other warlike proviſions, a great booty, and victuals enough for ſeveral months. While the *Chriſtian* camp reſounds with joy, and not only *Germany*, but all *Europe* congratulate the conquerors upon the relief of *Vienna*, there appears a very different face of things among the *Turks*, who had eſcaped from the defeat.

LXXX. The Vizir, when he had reached the camp at *Yavarin*, earneſtly ſtudies not to repair his loſs, but to turn upon others the danger, to which according to the *Turkiſh* cuſtom he was liable. But he perceived it was not poſſible to execute his purpoſe, unleſs he could remove *Ibrahim* Beglerbeg of *Buda*, and the reſt, who were privy to his counſels, ſince they might by their authority add great weight to the charge, which would be preferred againſt him, and diſcover his deſigns againſt the *Othman* Empire; and becauſe he thought, he had made them his enemies by his obſtinacy. For this purpoſe he ſends on ſome pretenſe for all thoſe, who had ſtrongly oppoſed him in the laſt conſultation concerning the ſiege of *Vienna*, and commands the Baſhas, when they come, to be ſtrangled, and the other officers of the army to be put to death, giving out, that they, in conjunction with *Tekeli*, had firſt adviſed the ſiege of *Vienna*, and obliged him in a manner to undertake it, notwithſtanding his reluctance; and afterwards were very ſlow in obeying his orders, and in the battle were the firſt that took to flight.

LXXXI. After this he puts a ſtrong garriſon into *Strigonium* and *Vywar*, and encamping with the reſt of the army under the walls of *Buda*, makes *Cara Mehemed Paſha*, who had always implicitly followed his opinion, governor of that city. He ſtrengthens *Strigonium* and *Vywar*.

LXXXII. In the mean time, the *Chriſtians* had refreſhed themſelves a little, and reſolving to reap in *Hungary* ſome other fruits of their victory, beſides the relief of *Vienna*, move towards the eaſt. The *Poles* claimed the right of marching in the van, and having routed ſome troops of the flying *Turks* and *Tartars*, flushed both with the former victory, the greateſt ſhare of which they aſſumed to themſelves, and with their freſh ſucceſſes proceed unadviſedly, and wander about the country without any order, as if they had now ſubdued all the *Turkiſh* forces. In this manner, on the 16th day of the month *Shevval*, they happen to meet near *Strigonium* ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand Janizaries, whom *Boſtanji* (56) *Muſtapha Paſha* and *Halil Paſha* had drawn together. The *Poles* The *Poles*, in their purſuit of the *Turks*, are in danger.

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third onſets of the *Turks*. For at the third, or at moſt the fourth repulſe, he will certainly ſee them turn their backs; and if he advances againſt them with a ſlow pace, which I have obſerved to be ſometimes done by the *Germans*, he will perceive them, not only to abandon their camp and cannon, and take to open flight, but alſo put the whole army in diſorder by the confuſed cry of, *Giaur gildi*, *The Infidel is coming*. Once indeed, namely in the year 1711, in a battle with the *Ruſſians*, they renewed the attack ſeven times; but the reaſon was, that the generals of the *Ruſſian* army, not being uſed to an open fight with them, durſt not purſue them when they gave way. For otherwiſe the Janizaries are not obliged to make above three charges, and if they are repulſed, they abandon their camp, and think of nothing but flight, pulling the *Spahi* off their horſes, and killing ſuch as make any reſiſtance, and ſo become the worſt of enemies to the horſe. For which reaſon, the *Turkiſh* horſe, in a flight, and whenever they ſee their foot giving way, never come near them, nay avoid them more carefully than the enemies themſelves.

(56) *Boſtanji Muſtapha*] He was called, in the *Othman* Court, both *Boſtanji* and *Cuſhchi** *Muſtapha* having before his office of *Boſtanji*, been *Cuſhchi** or Keeper of the Emperor's birds. He was taken by the *Poles* at the battle of *Strigonium*, and ſix years after redeemed by my father, for a good ſum of money, by the Sultan's order, together with *Ali Paſha*: After which he was promoted to the office of *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, and *Ali Paſha* was made governor of *Tripoli* in *Syria*. But they did not long enjoy the Sultan's favour; for both died ſhortly after, *Muſtapha Paſha* whilſt he was *Caimacan* expreſſed his gratitude to my father by doing me ſeveral good offices. He left a ſon *Capuji Paſha* a man of learning, affability, and a good character at court.

boldly

boldly attacking this body, and endeavouring to rout them at the firſt onſet, the *Turks*, who before had thought rather of flying than fighting, perceiving the *Poles* to be alone, and ſeparated from the *Germans*, halt, and oblige them to retreat with greater ſpeed than they came, and not content to have repulſed them, ſurround and oppreſs the unwary enemy on every ſide. The *Poles* ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt, if the *German* army had not very ſeaſonably came in to their aſſiſtance, when they began to retreat; whereupon the *Turks* retired, the enemy not daring to purſue them, after they had killed about a thouſand men, with the ſon of general *Tablonowski*, and taken ſeveral drums and ſtandards.

The *Germans* in conjunction with the *Poles*, defeat the *Turks* a ſecond time at the *Danube*.

LXXXIII. Next day, the *Poliſh* and *German* armies being united, attack the *Turks*, who had encamp'd about an hour's diſtance from *Barkan*, and, after a fierce and ſharp battle, defeat them. Whilſt they endeavour in their flight to paſs the bridge over the *Danube*, which was not very firmly built, fear increaſing their haſte and confuſion, their weight breaks it down, before a fourth part can get over; by which means they fall into the river, and are carried away with the rapid ſtream. The reſt fly to *Barkan*, and, upon the approach of the *Germans*, immediately deliver up the town and their arms, with both their generals. There fell in the battle about three thouſand *Turks*, the reſt were almoſt all either drowned in the *Danube*, or taken priſoners; ſo that out of the whole army, but very few eſcaped to carry the news of the defeat to their companions.

The *Imperialiſts* take *Gran*.

LXXXIV. After this battle, the generals of the victorious army prepared to beſiege *Strigonium*, but ſoon after changed their reſolution, being informed that the Vizir had re-aſſembled an army of eighty thouſand men, with intent, by a freſh battle, to wipe out the diſgrace he received at *Vienna*. The falſity of this rumour being quickly diſcovered, on the ſecond day of the month *Zylcade*, they again attack that fortreſs with ſo much fury, that the *Turks* were ſeized with terror, and the governor *Bekir Baſha*, though he had above four thouſand men in the city, on the fourth day of the ſiege ſurrenders (57) upon capitulation; a place which had before reſiſted a much larger army as many months.

Petreczeicus, Prince of *Moldavia*, with the *Coſſaks*, invades *Baſharabia*.

LXXXV. Whilſt the caſtles of *Hungary* are thus reduced to the obedience of the Chriſtians by the Imperial army; the like is attempted in another quarter, tho' not with equal ſucceſs, by *Petreczeicus*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who, in the battle of *Chehrin*, had revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*. After the departure of the King of *Poland* for the relief of *Vienna*, he joins the *Moldavian* forces of his party with *Konicky* (58), general of the *Coſſaks*, and, paſſing the *Tyras*, marches through *Moldavia* into *Beſſarabia*.

He ravages that country with great cruelty.

LXXXVI. When he finds the country without any defence, the *Bujak* and *Crim Tartars* being almoſt all employed in the ſiege of *Vienna*, he leaves the *Coſſaks* to guard his camp, and marches out with his *Moldavian* troops; deſtroys the country on all ſides, with ſuch cruelty, that he ſpared neither age nor ſex; impaled alive, or daſhed out the brains of the *Tartarian* children, whom it would have been better to have carried away, and educated in the Chriſtian faith; he cauſed the virgins to be raviſhed, and then killed; the women with-child to be ripped up, and the old men to be put to the moſt dreadful tortures, to make them diſcover their riches; in a word, he omitted no method of cruelty and barbarity which had ever been invented in former ages.

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(57) ſurrenders] Hence one of the poets ſaid in a kind of prophetical manner: *Chikdum ſhamum capuſinden, ſelam ladum uſturguni, Beligradi, Buduni.* "I went out at the "gate of *Damaſcus* (for the government of "*Damaſcus* was the firſt preferment of *Cara* "*Muſtapha Paſha*, author of the *Othman* "port's misfortune) and from thence bid "farewel to *Strigonium*, *Belgrade*, and "*Buda*."

(58) *Konicky*] He was Hetman of the *Coſſaks* between the *Tyras* and the *Boryſthenes*, who had not yet ſhaken off the *Poliſh* yoke. The *Poles* had appointed him, after the defection of *Doroſhenko* and *Circo* to the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*.

LXXXVII. While the *Moldavians* (59) are thus performing the part of executioners, rather than of ſoldiers, the *Tartars*, which had eſcaped from the battle of *Vienna*, come, and, finding themſelves inferior to the enemy, at firſt lie concealed in the borders; where, being reinforced, they ſuddenly attack the *Moldavians*, diſperſed over the country, and take a ſevere revenge for the ſlaughter of their companions; then they encloſe the *Coſſaks*, who remained in the camp, on every ſide. Theſe, on account of their fewneſs, not daring to engage with the *Turks*, defend themſelves with a chain of waggons, and proceed ſlowly to the river *Hieraſus*, hoping they ſhould thus ſecure themſelves from the attacks of the *Tartars*, till they reached their own country. But their number daily decreaſing, and proviſion failing, they are diſperſed by famine and the ſnows, rather than by the ſword of the enemy. In their flight, many are ſlain by the *Tartars*, and more taken priſoners, and of the whole army, but a few troops of *Coſſaks*, with *Petreczeicus* and *Konicki*, eſcape with great danger into *Poland*; nor would they have eſcaped, if the horſes of the *Tartars*, being quite ſpent, had not prevented them from continuing the purſuit. He is afterwards defeated by the *Tartars*.

LXXXVIII. *Ducai*, Prince of *Moldavia*, underwent a much harder fate. At his return from the *Vienna* expedition, in which (as I ſaid) he was engaged, when he ſees the ſtate of *Moldavia* in confuſion, almoſt all the Nobles having either revolted to *Petreczeicus*, or fled for ſafety to the neighbouring countries, and finds *Jaſſy*, his capital, deſolate, he retires with a few followers to *Domneſtim*, a village in the territory of *Putna*, in expectation of better times. Here whilſt he is intent upon ſettling the affairs of the province, he is ſuddenly attacked by *Bainski* (60), a *Moldavian*, related to *Petreczeicus*, and taken, and carried into *Poland*; where, being cloſely impriſoned, he not long after dies at *Warſaw*. *Ducai*, Prince of *Moldavia*, taken by the *Poles*.

LXXXIX. In his room the *Turks* appoint *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* (61) a man indeed of very noble extraction, but weak, and more proper for times of peace than of war; for which reaſon he was ſoon after deprived of his dignity, as will be remembered in its place. *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* is appointed in his room.

XC. Having thus given an account of what paſſed this year between the two armies in the field; the courſe of the hiſtory requires a narrative of what was tranſacted in the mean time at the *Othman* court. The Sultan, having ſent the Vizir upon the expedition, ranged the plains of *Thrace* and *Greece*, and, confiding in the prudence and fortune of his Vizir, diverted himſelf with hunting about *Deſpot Tailaſt*, and knew nothing of what was doing in the army and ſtate, but as informed by meſſengers from the Vizir. By him being aſſured that *Vienna*, now reduced to the laſt extremity, could hold out but a few days longer, and nothing was to What paſſed at the *Port* during the ſiege of *Vienna*.

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(59) the *Moldavians*] This was not the fault of all the *Moldavians*; for all the old and principal Barons, when they found themſelves unable to reſiſt *Petreczeicus*, had retired to the mountains, and into *Walachia*: but it was done by ſome of the younger, who, for want of experience, had been allured by the deceitful promiſes of *Petreczeicus* and the *Poles*, with which they had, though in vain, endeavoured to impoſe upon the reſt.

(60) *Bainſki*,] A *Moldavian* by extraction, and a relation of *Petreczeicus*, after whoſe death he returned to *Moldavia*, and was appointed by my father *Serdar*, that is, general of the army beyond the *Pruth*.

(61) *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*,] The ſon of *Michael Cantacuzenus*, of the *Conſtantinopolitan* family of the *Cantacuzeni*. In his youth he obtained the place of maſter of the wardrobe in *Walachia*, from whence being turned out, for what reaſon I know not, he was ſome years a jeweller at *Conſtantinople*: at laſt, having made a preſent to Sultan *Mahomet* at the circumciſion of his ſons, of a ſilver *Sbadirvan*, or fountain, which kept running twenty-four hours together, he was advanced by him to the principality of *Moldavia*; and being deprived of it ſoon after, he was reſtored again to the ſame dignity, after the impriſonment of *Ducas*. At length, being depoſed by *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, Seraskier of *Siliſtria*, for his unskilfulneſs in military affairs, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, he was at his arrival ſo roughly received by the *Caimacan*, that the fright brought a *Polypus* in his neck, of which he died within three days in priſon. The *Moldavians* rank him among their cruel princes.

be feared from the enemy, who were ſo terrified by the *Othman* arms, that they had not only abandoned the ſiege of *Vywar* before the *Muſulman* army approached, but concealed their forces behind ramparts at a diſtance from the city; the Sultan moved nearer to *Conſtantinople*, and reſolved to hunt in the country about that city, with deſign, if he ſhould receive the welcome news of the taking the metropolis of *Germany*, he might be in the neighbourhood of his capital, and celebrate his triumph with the greater pomp and magnificence. But when he heard of the defeat of his army with ſo great a ſlaughter, he returned with reluctance to *Conſtantinople*, not to ſolemnize the triumph, with which he had till then flattered himſelf, but to aſſiſt the ſtate in this diſtreſs by his preſence, and reſtrain the ſeditious, by whom, he knew, the common people might eaſily be drawn into an inſurrection on the preſent occaſion.

The Vizir's excuſe to the Sultan.

XCI. Not long after letters are brought to him from the Vizir, eſcaped to *Buda*, in which was a particular account of the tranſactions of the whole campain. He repreſented the labours he had ſuſtained to defend and enlarge the Empire, and with what vigour he had endeavoured to ſubdue ſo ſtrong and obſtinate a city; that the proſperous beginning of the ſiege had given him great hopes of taking the city, and made him confident, that in a ſhort time he ſhould be able to offer it to his Majeſty, with the whole Empire of the Weſt; but that afterwards he was deprived of thoſe advantages, not by the enemy's arms, but by the artifices and treachery of his officers; and eſpecially of *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who was the firſt mover of the ſiege of *Vienna*; but afterwards changing his opinion, becauſe he either perceived, if the city was taken, the Beglerbeg of *Buda* would not be ſo conſiderable as before, or aſpired himſelf to the dignity of Prime Vizir, not only refuſed to obey his orders, and oppoſed all his counſels, but, by his example, encouraged the ſoldiers and officers to be negligent in their duty. That he had borne all theſe things, being averſe to the death of a man illuſtrious on ſo many accounts in the *Othman* Empire; but that this unſeaſonable clemency had proved the occaſion of the defeat. For, having given him the command of the left wing, at the firſt charge of the *Germans*, before the battle could be ſaid to be begun, he ran away with his troops in diſorder, and thereby gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking and defeating the reſt of the army. That at laſt, being cloſely preſſed in their retreat by the enemy, when he had found the Beglerbeg, who obſtinately purſued his own as well as the Empire's ruin, could not otherwiſe be reclaimed, and was apprehenſive he would afford the enemies a greater victory than the paſt, he was forced to devote him as a victim to the ſafety of the ſtate, and thought it a ſignal ſervice to the Sultan and Empire, to remove a man who had been the cauſe of ſo great a misfortune to both. That he had ſo firm a confidence in the Emperor's juſtice, that he could not imagine he would impute to his fault or negligence what had been done by means of the diſobedience of others.

He deſires pardon, and promiſes *Vienna* the next year.

XCII. He alſo deſires the Sultan to give him again the command of his armies in the next campain, and leave to recruit his forces, by which means if he did not ſubdue all *Germany*, with *Vienna*, he would voluntarily ſubmit his head to the ſword or the bow-ſtring. With theſe letters he had ſent very rich preſents (62), not only to the *Valide-Sultana*, but likewiſe to all the officers of the court,

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(62) rich preſents,] By theſe, as the ſtrongeſt arguments of his innocence, *Cara Muſtapha* would have cleared himſelf, and thrown the fault upon others; but in vain. It is ſaid, upon this occaſion, that a *Jew*, named *Connorto Anacauogly*, who was kept by *Cara Muſtapha*, uttered a witty ſaying, very expreſſive of the pannic the *Turks* were poſſeſſed with. For being asked by the Vizir at *Buda*, whether he had any thing of value to ſend as a preſent to the Sultan, he anſwered, he had nothing at *Buda*, having left his moſt valuable effects at *Belgrade*. The Vizir offered him five hundred light-armed horſe, called *Beſhli*, to fetch them, and keep him from being plundered by the wandering bands of *Turks* or *Tartars*, the *Jew* replied, there is no occaſion for ſo many, for three men are ſufficient to ſecure me, becauſe I have a *Shapka*, or *German* Cap, the very ſight of which is enough to fright the largeſt bands of plunderers out of

court, whom he knew to be in favour with the Emperor, by whoſe repreſentations the Sultan was ſo fully perſwaded of the Vizir's innocence, that he not only declared, *Ibrahim Paſha* and the reſt, put to death near *Tavarin*, to be juſtly puniſhed, but alſo confirmed *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* in the Vizirſhip, and the command of his new army.

The Vizir being confirmed by the Sultan's letters, attempts to put other Paſhas to death.

XCIII. The Vizir receiving theſe letters takes courage, and laying aſide his fears, wholly applies himſelf to the augmenting of his forces, and making all the neceſſary preparations for an early campain. Perhaps he would have freed himſelf from danger, wiped out the diſgrace he had received, and recovered his former authority, if he had not, out of too great a confidence of his power, been too haſty to re-eſtabliſh it. He had put to death, as I have obſerved, without the Sultan's knowledge, *Ibrahim Paſha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with ſome others privy to his deſigns, and the Sultan had approved it by his letters. There ſtill remained ſome, whom the Vizir had not ventured to puniſh with the reſt, for fear the great number of executions ſhould raiſe a ſuſpicion in the Sultan. He afterwards allured them with promiſes to hinder their accuſing him. However he did not think it prudent to ſuffer them to live, ſince he would always have reaſon to fear, they might be bribed by his enemies to diſcover what had paſſed between them. But ſome pretenſes were neceſſary to be alledged for putting them to death, becauſe all thoſe, who had been the occaſion of the *Vienna*-defeat, had already been executed, and it ſeemed unjuſt to call again to account perſons, who had been acquitted. As he could not find or invent any plauſible excuſes, he privately intimates to the Sultan by letters, that the Aga of the Janizaries, and other Baſhas, whom he named, had again ſhowed themſelves diſobedient to his orders, and made uſe of his clemency to them, in pardoning their ill conduct at the ſiege of *Vienna*, not to correct, but to confirm themſelves in their obſtinate reſolution to ruin the Empire. His Majeſty had indeed granted him the power of puniſhing whatever officers he found guilty; but he was unwilling to uſe that power, leſt his enemies ſhould take occaſion from thence to accuſe him wrongfully; and therefore deſired to know his Majeſty's pleaſure about them.

The treachery and falſe repreſentations of the Vizir are detected.

XCIV. Though this repreſentation was very plauſible, it found the *Othman* court ſo much changed, that the Vizir, inſtead of obtaining his deſire, was imprudently the occaſion of his own ruin. For there was tranſmitted to the court by the other officers, who had been preſent at the ſiege of *Vienna*, a more faithful account of the tranſactions, whereby the artifices and deſigns of the Vizir were diſcovered. Neither had the contents of this laſt letter been ſo cloſely concealed, but that the patrons of the perſons accuſed, were informed of the danger of their friends, and had an opportunity of uſing their endeavours to ſave them. Beſides an unhappy meſſenger was arrived with the news of the taking of *Strigonium* †, and the defeat of the *Turkiſh* forces at *Barcan*, and acquainted both the Sultan and the great men, what fatal conſequences were likely to attend that misfortune, affirming, the ſlaughter was much greater than was believed, or the Vizir deſired they ſhould know.

† *Gran.*

The courtiers conceit the ruin of the Vizir.

XCV. The Sultan being thus diſpoſed to the Vizir's deſtruction, is conſtantly beſieged by his enemies; ſometimes they relate the ſeditious expreſſions of the ſoldiers and people for delaying *Cara Muſtapha's* puniſhment; ſometimes repreſent the neceſſity of depoſing him, though he were innocent, becauſe the change of Vizirs uſually proves of great ſervice in times of misfortune; ſometimes deſcribe the Vizir's treachery and artifices in ſuch lively colours, that at laſt the Sultan determines to ſend *Capujilar Kiehajaſi* † with the *Chatiſherif* into *Hungary*, to put *Cara Muſtapha* to death.

† i. e. The *Kiehaia* of the *Capuji*.

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of their wits, and make them take to their heels. Whereupon the Vizir is reported to ſay with a ſigh, Our common ſaying is very true; "Thoſe whom God has put "to flight, fear even the *Jews*."

XCVI. The

He is at laſt put to death by the command of the Sultan, and another Vizir advanced in his room.

H. 1095.

A. C. 1684.

XCVI. The *Kiehaia* finds the Vizir at *Belgrade* intent upon recruiting his army, and adviſing with the Aga of the Janizaries, ſeizes him in his own houſe, and ſhowing him the Sultan's mandate on the 6th day of *Muharrem*, in the year 1095, orders him, who made no reſiſtance, and affirmed he was crowned with martyrdom, to be ſtrangled by four executioners, and carries his head to *Conſtantinople*. The Sultan appoints in his room *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* (63), who had before been *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, and delivering the ſeal of the Empire, adviſes him, that warned by the fate of his predeceſſor, he ſhould ſerve the *Othman* Empire with greater fidelity, and endeavour to take a ſevere revenge of the enemy for the diſgrace it had ſuffered. But the imprudent conduct of *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* had raiſed too many enemies for the *Othman* Empire now in its decline to contend with. He had conceived ſo great an opinion of the power of the *Turks*, that when he reſolved upon the expedition to *Vienna*, he was ſo far from drawing off the reſt of the *Chriſtian* Princes from the enemy's intereſts to his own, that he offered them many injuries, as if he wanted to provoke them to declare war againſt the *Othman* Empire.

The occaſion of the breach of the peace with the republic of *Venice*.

XCVII. *Petro Ciurani*, as the *Venetian* ambaſſador or *Baili*, was arrived at *Conſtantinople* with two men of war and three merchant-ſhips, and upon his landing had ordered the goods, which he had brought, to be carried to his houſe. *Giumrukchi** (64) ſuſpecting from the quantity, that the effects belonged to ſome merchants, and not to the ambaſſador, viſits the ſhips, and upon examination, finding that a great part of the freight was aſſigned to merchants, who refuſed to pay the cuſtoms, confiſcates them contrary to the rights of ambaſſadors, and orders them to be carried into the Sultan's warehouſes. The *Baili* endeavours at firſt by perſwaſion to recover what was taken from him, ſhowing from publick records, that it was the privilege not only of his predeceſſors, but of all foreign ambaſſadors, to bring to *Conſtantinople* cuſtom-free whatever merchandize they pleaſed, as well on the merchant's account, as their own. But at laſt, when he perceives, words were of no effect, and the will of the *Turks* was a law, he promiſes the *Giumrukchi** a large ſum of money, and ſo redeems the ſhips, which had been ſeized. A few days after, a *Venetian* nobleman, who had been formerly taken priſoner at ſea, makes his eſcape to the *Venetian* ſhips, which were ſent to convoy home *Moroſini* the former *Baili*. But theſe ſhips being detained ſome time on account of the *Baili*'s indiſpoſition, the maſter of the *Venetian* is informed, that his ſlave was on board with intent to eſcape. Whereupon he petitions the Vizir by an *Arzuhal* (65), that he might be reſtored

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(63) *Cara Ibrahim*] This man was at firſt *Kietchudabeg* to *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, and afterwards, when he went upon the *Chegrinian** expedition, was made *Caimacan*. In theſe poſts he behaved in a haughty and turbulent manner, ſo that both *Turks* and *Chriſtians* were diſpleaſed at his advancement. But after he was made Vizir, taught perhaps by his predeceſſor's ſad fate, he affected, contrary to his former cuſtom, to make himſelf popular, and to be very eaſy of acceſs: And at court, he took particular care never to be far from the Sultan, and to remove from the courtiers all occaſion of ſlandering him; by which means he would have long remained poſſeſſed of his honour, had not fortune ſhowed herſelf at that time an enemy to the *Turkiſh* affairs, and concealing his virtues, exhibited his faults to the Sultan, by means of *Soliman Paſha*.

(64) *Giumrukchi**] or *Giumruk Emini*, the receiver of the cuſtoms, of whom an account has been given in Part I. His name ſeems to be derived from the modern *Greek* word κουμερκιάριος, which I take to be a corruption of the *Italian* word *Commerciario*.

(65) *Arzuhal*] as much as to ſay, the opening of the cauſe. So thoſe petitions are called, that are preſented to the Vizir in the *Divan* about judiciary matters. They muſt be penned ſo conciſely, though the cauſe be never ſo great or intricate, as not to fill up above half an octavo page, for the Vizir's reſolution, and the conſultations and ſentence of the Judges muſt be writ on the other part of the page. For this reaſon it is not every *Turk*, though very learned in other reſpects, that can draw up an *Arzuhal*; but there are *Arzuhalchi** appointed for that purpoſe, who keep their offices near the Vizir's court, and are always ready to be hired. Whoever has a cauſe

red to him. The *Boſtanji Paſha* is ſent to examine all the ſhips, and if the captive be found, to ſeize and reſtore him to his maſter. When the *Baſtanji Paſha* comes, the captain of the ſhip denies he had any fugitive on board, and upon the *Boſtanji*'s inſiſting to ſearch, oppoſes him by force; however numbers have the advantage of courage, the ſhip is ſearched, the captive found and carried away, and the ſailors who had taken arms, are partly killed, and partly left under ſtrict guard in the ſhip. The Sultan hearing a *Venetian* ſhip had preſumed in the very port of *Conſtantinople* to uſe arms, detains both the ambaſſadors, *Ciurani* and *Moroſini*, and refuſes to diſcharge them, till they had paid ſeveral purſes to redeem the ſailors, and atone for their crime.

The *Venetian* ambaſſador eſcapes from *Conſtantinople*.

XCVIII. The republic of *Venice* being informed of what had happened at *Conſtantinople*, as *Vienna* was at that time beſieged, and the event doubtful, take no notice of the affront, but when they hear of the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, they boldly demand ſatisfaction; which being refuſed, they make an alliance with the Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Poland*, and proclaim war againſt the *Othman* Port. The *Venetian* ambaſſador delivers the ſolemn declaration to the *Caimacam*, and afterwards changing his habit flies from *Conſtantinople*.

This renders the *Turks* extremely uneaſy.

XCIX. So great and unexpected a blow ſtruck the *Turks* with almoſt inexpreſſible terror. Neceſſity required them to employ their whole ſtrength againſt the *Germans*, and *Poles*, and they ſaw that no leſs forces would be able to oppoſe the *Venetians*. The *Venetian* army indeed could not be ſo great; but becauſe it was doubtful what courſe they would take, it was requiſite to fortify all the maritime places with ſuch garriſons, as would be ſufficient to form a powerful army. There was no fleet except ſix Sultanas, and thoſe old and leaky; nor any hopes of procuring one ſoon, becauſe the *Hungarian* expedition would employ all the money in the treaſury.

The new Vizir endeavours to ſoften the reſentments of the *Venetians*:

C. For theſe reaſons *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* uſes all his endeavours to pacify the *Venetians*, declares the injuries complained of, were not done by the Sultan's order, but through the avarice of his predeceſſor; and promiſes to reſtore what had been ſeized, if they would deſiſt from the war.

But in vain; for which reaſon the *Turks* prepare forces againſt all their enemies.

CI. But the *Venetians* were deaf to theſe flattering promiſes, and declared, they could not break their alliance with the *Chriſtian* Princes; that they had hitherto ſuffered injuries enough, but now the time of revenging them was come. The Vizir ſeeing the ſtorm which threatned the *Othman* Empire on every ſide, cannot be diverted, applies his whole care and abilities to ſupport it in the beſt manner poſſible: He appoints *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha*, a man of approved valour, Seraskier againſt the *Germans*, and *Aineji* (66) *Soliman Paſha* againſt *Poland*, and orders the high admiral to obſerve the motions of the *Venetians*. He himſelf continues at *Conſtantinople* under pretence of indiſpoſition, and gives particular directions to the generals, that they ſhould faithfully inform him of the progreſs of affairs, but acquaint the Sultan only with their good ſucceſſes, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

The Imperialiſts take *Vicegrade* and *Vacia*, and repell the ſuccours of the *Turks*.

CII. While theſe things are tranſacting at *Conſtantinople*, the imperial army under the command of the Duke of *Lorrain* in the month of *Jemaziul achyr* of the year 1095, marched into *Hungary*, and about the end of that month be-

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cauſe to lay before the Vizir, applies to them; nay the very *Reis Effendi*, or High-Chancellor of the Empire, though a very good ſcribe, does not venture to write an *Arzubal*, but ſends an account of his cauſe to one of the *Arzubalchi** to have it drawn up.

(70) *Aineji Soliman*] A *Boſnian*, born of *Chriſtian* Parents, but educated in his youth in the *Mahometan* Religion, and brought up in the court of the *Kioprili*'s. He was ſucceſſively *Talbiſchi**, *Kiehaia*, Seraskier of *Babadagy*, and at laſt Prime Vizir. The name of *Aineji* or *the Deceitful*, was given him, upon account of the many artifices he uſed to deceive both friends and enemies, in the ſame manner as *Ulyſſes* was ſtyled by *Homer*, πολύτροπος and πολυμήτις. He had an uncle, a *Boſnian Archimandrite*, a member of the *Greek* Church, who was in great eſteem with *John* and *Peter*, Czars of *Muſcovy*, becauſe he had taken great pains to bring over many in *Servia* and *Bulgaria* to their party.

ſieged *Vicegrade*, which in a few days is taken; for the garriſon deſpairing to preſerve the city, had retired into the caſtle, where they defend themſelves longer; but when the cannon begin to play, finding no ſuccours appear, on the 4th of the month *Rejeb*, they deliver up the caſtle on conditions to the Duke of *Lorrain*; as they are marching from thence to *Vacia*, they are met near that city by the Beglerbeg of *Buda* with his troops, who was ſent before by the Seraskier *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha*, to amuſe the *Germans*, and retard, if poſſible, their further progreſs. As ſoon as he appeared, the imperial troops fall upon him with ſuch fury, that he is obliged to retire with great loſs, and leave the country open to their conqueſts. The enemy being routed, the Imperialiſts beſiege *Vacia*, and preſs the city with various engines and continual aſſaults. *Budan Paſha* marches to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged, and being reinforced, twice attacks the imperial camp, is twice repulſed, and having loſt fifteen thouſand men, returns from whence he came. The governor of *Vacia* ſeeing thoſe defeated from whom he expected relief, ſurrenders the city upon the ſame conditions, which had been granted to *Vicegrade*.

The Imperialiſts take *Peſtum*, and beſiege *Buda*, but without ſucceſs.

CIII. Theſe with the neighboring towns being ſubdued, the Duke of *Lorrain* marches with his army to *Buda*, and on the 1ſt of the month *Shaban* encamps under the very walls. The firſt attack is upon *Peſtum*, a town oppoſite to *Buda* on the other ſide the *Danube*, which being taken in a few hours, the Capital of *Hungary* itſelf is cloſely beſieged. Whilſt the *Germans* are intent upon the ſiege, the Seraskier *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha* advances with the whole *Othman* army, and endeavours to break through the lines, with which the Imperialiſts had fortified their camp, and at the ſame time orders a body of Janizaries and *Spahis* to attack the enemy another way, and try whether they could penetrate through their camp, and throw ſupplies into the garriſon. But being repulſed as often as they ventured to attack, he deſiſts, and pitches his tents oppoſite to the enemy, commanding his men to annoy them with continual skirmiſhes and incurſions, and eſpecially to endeavour to throw in all the ſuccours poſſible into the city. But all theſe efforts would not have relieved the city, ſince the *Germans* aſſaulted it with great bravery, and never ſuffered the enemy in their attacks to retire without loſs, if the garriſon had not, (whether through accident or treachery, is unknown,) diſcovered the mines; which were deſigned to demoliſh great part of their walls, juſt as the beſiegers had determined to ſurround the city; and removed the gunpowder. For the generals of the imperial army, who had hoped to take the city before the Seraskier ſhould be reinforced, perceiving, they muſt now begin their work again, call a council of the reſt of the officers, and ask their opinion, whether it is proper to continue the ſiege or not. Almoſt all adviſe to raiſe it, becauſe it ſeem'd too adventurous, at the ſame time to beſiege the city, and contend with a ſuperior army; and it appeared from the enemy's caſe at the ſiege of *Vienna*, how great loſs the army may ſuſtain by ſuch counſels. Prudence thus moderating their ardor, and the *Turks* making no oppoſition, on the 23d of *Zylcade*, after four months ſiege, the *Germans* being weakened, retire from the city with their baggage, having ſent their larger cannon before; whereupon the *Turks*, who had been kept in ſuſpence between hope and fear by that expedition, reſume their courage, and enjoy a calm after the appearance of ſo great a ſtorm.

The Imperialiſts gain two victories over the *Turks*.

CIV. In the mean time Count *Leſley*, who was ſent by the Duke of *Lorrain* with a party into *Sclavonia*, had beſieged *Wirrowit*, a conſiderable fortreſs in that country, defeated the *Turkiſh* auxiliaries in two battles, and aſſaulted the walls with ſuch fury, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender the 23d of the month *Shaban*. About the ſame time *Tekeli* is routed by the Imperialiſts at *Eperies* in Upper *Hungary*, and his cabinet and baggage are taken by the conquerors.

The Seraſkier ſettles the affairs in *Moldavia* and *Walachia*.

CV. While the Seraskier of *Hungary* is thus engaged with the *Germans* with doubtful fortune, and greater loſs than advantage, *Aineji Soliman Paſha* with better

better ſucceſs fights the *Poles* at *Babadagy* (67), where having aſſembled his army, he paſſes the *Danube* near *Sakcza*, and hearing the *Poliſh* troops did not yet appear, thinks it more proper to ſettle the affairs of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, than march any farther, ſince the preſent ſituation of things rendered it more neceſſary to defend than inlarge the borders of the Empire. Theſe two provinces were at that time governed by the two *Cantacuzeni's*, *Moldavia* by *Demetrius*, and *Walachia* by *Serban* (68). The former being a weak man, and unskilled in warlike affairs, and not having ſufficient authority to reſtrain his people in times of confuſion, was thought unqualified for the adminiſtration of his principality; and the Seraskier was diffident of the latter, becauſe he found he kept a correſpondence by letters with the Emperor of *Germany*, and eſpecially with the Czar of *Ruſſia*.

CVI. He reſolves therefore to diveſt them both of their authority; but being bribed by *Serban* with a large ſum of money, conceals his treachery, and, imagining the danger from thoſe parts was very remote, confirms him in his government. But he deprives *Demetrius* of his dignity, becauſe the times required a Prince of greater experience; and, with the conſent of all the Nobles, appoints *Conſtantine Cantemir* (73), Serdar (74) of the Province in his room. But, leſt

He confirms *Serban* in the Principality of *Walachia*, and having depoſed *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, advances *Conſtantine Cantimir* in his room.

ANNOTATIONS.

(67) *Babadagy*] It is the ſeat of the Baſha of *Siliſtria*, who is appointed to defend the northern provinces of the Empire, and under whoſe juriſdiction are all the countries between Mount *Hæmus*, the *Euxine* Sea, the *Danube*, and the *Tyras*. *Babadagy* ſignifies etymologically the *Father-Mountain*, becauſe, oppoſite to the town, there is a mountain higher than the reſt. There are found in the neighbourhood of this city, eagles called *Giujigien* by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, which are larger than all other birds, and in ſo great plenty, that the bow-makers all over *Turky* and *Tartary* are from thence furniſhed with feathers for their arrows, though there are not above twelve quills and thoſe in their tails that are fit for that uſe, which are commonly ſold for a Leonine. They are reckoned better for that purpoſe than all others, and a skilful archer does not care to uſe any other. If a man has ſeveral arrows in his quiver made with other feathers, and but one amongſt them fledged with a quill of one of theſe eagles, that one remaining untouched, will eat all the reſt to the wood. And it ſeems have been upon account of this ſtrength, that the *Tartarian* name of *Giujigien* was given to that kind of eagles.

(72) *Serban*,] a magnanimous Prince of the Imperial family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and full of Chriſtian zeal. After his obtaining the Principality of *Walachia*, upon the tranſlation of *Ducas* the *Rumelian* to *Moldavia*, he bent all his cares and endeavours to drive entirely out of *Europe* the *Turkiſh* tyranny, which was already brought very low by the *Germans*. To that end, he had not only ſent to *Vienna* his own brother, *George Cantacuzenus*, as ambaſſador to *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*; but alſo made a cloſe alliance with *John* and *Peter*, Czars of *Muſcovy*, by the *Boſnian Archimandrite* uncle to the Vizir *Soliman Paſha*, and had obtained a promiſe from them, that after *Conſtantinople* was taken, he, as being deſcended from the Imperial family, ſhould be declared Emperor of the *Greeks*. He had moreover made very great preparations, cauſed thirty-eight cannons to be caſt, and hired an army of twenty-four thouſand *Servians*, *Sclavonians*, and *Hirvati*, which he kept aſſembled in the woods and mountains. The *Turks* knew it perfectly well, but as they were ſufficiently haraſſed by the *German* armies, they diſſembled their reſentment, and durſt not attack ſo powerful a man, till he had publickly declared againſt them. But that Chriſtian zeal, which the fear of an enemy's power could not extinguiſh, became unſerviceable and deſtructive to its author. For *Conſtantine Stolnicus*, the brother of *Serban*, and his ſiſter's ſon, *Brancovan*, ſeeing they could not, by any perſuaſions, divert the Prince from his purpoſe, are thought, by an unheard of crime, to have poiſoned him at a feaſt, that they might live peaceably, and without any diſturbance in their own eſtates. He left one ſon, Prince *George*, who lives at preſent in *Tranſylvania*, under the protection of the Emperor of *Germany*; and four daughters, *Smaragda*, who died ſoon after her marriage; *Maria*, wife of *Matthew Balaczan*, *Caſſandra*, whom I married, and *Balaſſa*.

(73) *Conſtantine Cantemir*,] Sirnamed the *Old*, Prince of *Moldavia* eight years. His father, *Theodorus Cantemir*, being killed by the *Bujak Tartars*, he retired in his youth into *Poland*, and ſerved for ſeventeen years in the armies of *Uladiſlaus* and *Caſimir*, Kings of *Poland*, where he gave no contemptible proofs of his courage, and was upon that account made a colonel by *Caſimir*. After the concluſion of the war between *Sweden* and *Poland*, he went to

George

he ſhould be ſerved in his battles with the *Poles*, as the Sultan was at *Chotin*, to ſecure *Cantemir*'s fidelity, he ſends his eldeſt ſon, *Antiochus*, and four of his principal Barons, as hoſtages to *Conſtantinople*.

The King of *Poland* takes *Quancze*, and entering *Moldavia*, is put to flight by the *Turks*.

CVII. The Seraskier being detained by theſe affairs longer than he expected, *John* III, King of *Poland*, on the twelfth of the month *Ramazan*, aſſembles his forces at *Buchach**, and, before any ſuch deſign was ſuſpected, at the firſt aſſault, takes the caſtle of *Quancze*, ſituated on the *Tyras*, oppoſite to *Chotin*, and about two hours diſtant from *Caminiec*. Then he attempts to build a bridge over the *Tyras*, to tranſport his troops, animated by this ſucceſs, into *Moldavia*. But when the bridge was juſt finiſhed, the Seraskier advances with his army, and not only prevents the intended irruption into *Moldavia*, but likewiſe paſſing the *Tyras*, ſurprizes the King, and ſhuts him up in his camp; orders the *Tartars* to ſet fire to the ſtanding corn about them; and to cut off food from the cattle, while he with his forces daily harraſſes the *Poles*, and gives them no time to reſt or draw up their army. The King, finding things deſperate, eſcapes firſt out of the camp with a few attendants, and is ſoon after followed by the officers, who, having burnt their baggage, and thrown their warlike engines into a lake, lead home the remains of the army, not without great loſs.

The ſucceſs of the *Venetians* by ſea and land.

CVIII. The *Venetians* had much better ſucceſs againſt the enemies of the Croſs in the *Adriatic* ſea. They begin the war at *Morlacchi* in *Dalmatia*, ſubdue *Urana*, *Obrowazzo*, and *Scardona*, burn *Dernis*, and take the caſtle of *Duare* by ſtratagem. The *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Moroſini*, who ſurrendered *Candia* to the *Turks*, ſails the twenty-ſixth of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, and arriving at *Leucas*, lays cloſe ſiege to the city. *Bekiraga*, governor of the caſtle, after ſeventeen days defence, ſeeing no ſuccours appear, delivers up the city to the *Venetians* the ſixth of the month *Ramazan*, and paſſes over with his men into the Continent. The iſland being ſubdued, the *Venetians* ſend part

Annotations.

George Gicas, Prince of *Walachia*, and was by him promoted to the office of *Chauſh* Spatareſt*. After *George*'s firſt revolt to the *Germans*, being by good fortune parted from him, he retired to *Euſtathius Dabiza*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who gave him his father's place, namely the government of *Kiegieczenſian Codri*, and ſhortly after appointed him *Vernic* of *Barlad*. The ſame places he enjoyed under Prince *Ducas*, who ſucceeded *Dabiza*, and having ſtifled the rebellion raiſed by the *Moldavians* againſt *Ducas*, he was, for his good ſervices honoured with the dignity of *Great Kluczery*, or commiſſioner of the proviſions, and appointed *Calauz*, or conductor of the *Moldavian* army, by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, in the expedition againſt *Caminiec*. After the depoſition of *Ducas*, he poſſeſſed the ſame employment under *Petreczecus*, and having freed the Sultan's concubines from the attempt made upon them by the *Poles*, he received great commendations for it from the chief eunuch, and obtained from the Vizir the promiſe of the principality. Upon the revolt of *Petreczecus* to the *Poles* at *Chotin*, *Cantemir* was of great ſervice to his ſucceſſor, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, in ſecuring the *Moldavians* to his intereſt, and was rewarded for it with the dignity of *Serdar*; which he alſo enjoyed under *Ducas*, after his reſtoration. But this Prince growing jealous of him, and creating him a great deal of trouble and vexation, he retired into *Walachia* to *Serbanus Cantacuzenus*. When *Ducas* was taken by the *Poles*, *Cantemir* returned again into *Moldavia*, but though he had obtained a ſignal victory againſt the *Poles*, ſnares were laid privately and openly for him by the new Prince, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*; nay the Seraskier alſo, *Soliman Paſha*, was bribed with thirty purſes to take away his life for ſome feigned cauſe. Being informed of it by the Seraskier himſelf, he fled again into *Walachia*, and having demonſtrated the falſhood of *Demetrius*'s accuſations againſt him, he was appointed Prince of *Moldavia* by the Seraskier. He afterwards gave a freſh proof of his valour at the battle of *Boian*, and broke through the firſt ranks of the *Poles*, which brought him into great favour at the *Othman* court. Having enjoyed his Principality eight years wanting three months, he died *March* 23, 1693, and left two ſons, *Antiochus* and *Demetrius*; and two daughters, *Roxana* and *Elizabetha*.

(74) Serdar,] the general, in *Moldavia*, of the forces appointed to defend, from the *Coſaks* and *Tartars*, the borders that lie between the rivers *Hieraſus* and *Tyras*. He is next in degree to the Hetman, being almoſt the ſame as the *Hetman Polny* amongſt the *Poles*.

of

of their forces, under the command of *Straſoldo*, into *Acarnania*, a province of *Epirus*, and oblige *Venizze* and *Seromero* to ſubmit. As they are proceeding further, they are met by *Seffer Aga* with four thouſand *Turks*, who endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of their arms; but he being defeated, the inhabitants of the country voluntarily ſubmit to the conqueror, and promiſe to pay tribute. In the mean while, the reſt of the army had paſſed into the *Morea*, and ſo fiercely aſſaulted *Pereveſa*, that on the eighth day of the month *Ramazan*, *Mehemed Effendi*, who commanded the garriſon, was obliged to deliver up the caſtle to the *Venetians*. Beſides theſe ſucceſſes, there came an account from *Tine*, an iſland in the *Archipelago*, that ſeveral *Turkiſh* galleys, ſent to ſeize it, had been repulſed with great loſs.

CIX. Theſe misfortunes grieved not the *Othman* court ſo much, as the raiſing of the ſiege of *Buda*, and their ſucceſs in *Poland*, gave them joy. For the power of the *Venetians* did not ſeem ſo great, but that it would be eaſy to recover their loſſes, when once the *German* and *Poliſh* armies were repulſed, and the borders of the Empire ſecured on that ſide. To this end, *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* appoints the generals, who had before been ſo ſucceſsful, Seraskiers againſt the *Germans* and *Poles*; and ſends only a ſmall army, with a fleet, againſt the *Venetians*. New expeditions of the *Turks* againſt the enemies.

CX. Mean time, the *Germans* had cloſely beſieged *Vywar* during the whole winter, and ſo deprived it of proviſion, that the famine deſtroyed more of the garriſon than the ſword had done in a month's ſiege. The city, thus weakened, on the firſt day of *Shaban* in the year 1096, is aſſaulted in form, and the ſiege carried on with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon a few days after was obliged to abandon the outer works. Upon the report of this, the Seraskier *Sheitan Ibrahim Paſha* haſtens to the relief of the city, and finding it dangerous to attack an army ſo ſtrongly intrenched, has recourſe to his uſual artifices, and beſieges at once *Gran* and *Vicegrade*, hoping by this means to draw off the enemy's forces from *Vywar*. And the fortune of war ſeem'd indeed to favour him; for in a few days he not only recovered *Vicegrade*, but ſo diſtreſs'd *Gran*, not yet ſufficiently repaired ſince the laſt ſiege, that it ſeemed in no leſs danger than *Vywar*. The Imperialiſts beſiege *Vywar*, and the *Turks* *Gran*. H. 1096. A. C. 1685.

CXI. But before the Seraskier could finiſh what he had begun, the Duke of *Lorrain* leaving ſixteen thouſand men to continue the ſiege of *Vywar*, marches with the reſt of the army againſt him, and on the 2d of the month *Ramazan*, advances within ſight of the *Turkiſh* camp. The Seraskier ſeeing the enemy's approach, and imagining he had gain'd his point, immediately abandons the ſiege of *Gran*, and draws up his army ſo advantageouſly, that the enemy could not ſurround, nor attack him in front or flank without great danger. The right wing was defended by the rapid waters of the *Danube*; the left by a ridge of mountains, which extended for ſeveral leagues. Behind his army was the road to *Buda*, which ſecured it from the want of proviſion; and the front was covered with wide and difficult moraſſes, which muſt be paſſed by thoſe, who would attack the *Othman* army. The Seraskier thus ſituated continues four days without motion, either by delay to elude the attempts of the enemy, or to deſtroy them in their paſſage, if they ſhould venture to attack him. But the Duke of *Lorrain* perceiving the Seraskier's deſign, and conſidering that his army could not without extreme danger to all Chriſtendom, be expoſed in ſuch places, where they would have nature rather than men to contend with, counterfeits a flight, ſounds a retreat, and in the night of the 14th day of the month *Ramazan* retires with his whole camp. The *Turks* imagining the *Germans* were flying in earneſt, boldly follow them, and though often repulſed by the Imperialiſts, continue all night to attack them as they retreat. The Imperialiſts proceed farther, and leave a ſpace for the enemy, both to paſs the moraſſes, and open their front. At laſt, when they perceive more are paſſed over than can return without loſs, they halt and ſo furiouſly attack the *Turks*, who follow them in confuſion, that they, who before imagined they ſhould utterly deſtroy the *Chriſtian* forces, now retire to their camp with greater precipitation than they came. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded one of the wings, in order to a more exact obſervation of The Imperialiſts defeat the *Turkiſh* army by a ſtratagem.

the deſigns of the *Turks*, follows them with his troops in the path, they had made over the moraſſes; and the Duke of *Lorrain* takes the ſame courſe on the other ſide, though neither knew the other's intention. Upon this the *Turks* being ſeized with a panic, notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions and threats of the Seraskier, before they engaged, take to flight in ſuch confuſion, that the Janizaries killed and unhorſed their own cavalry to fly with more ſpeed, and a greater number of the *Othmans* were killed in the flight by their companions than by the enemy. The camp, baggage, treaſure, proviſion, and a great quantity of warlike ſtores fell a prey to the conquerors.

The Imperialiſts take *Vywar*.

CXII. After the battle, the Imperialiſts return to the ſiege of *Vywar*, and on the 19th of the month *Ramazan*, aſſault on every ſide the breaches made by their cannon, and with the loſs of a few men take the city. Several thouſands of the garriſon with the governor are ſlain, the reſt made priſoners, or forced into the river; and the city affords a rich booty.

The Seraſkier attempting peace meets with a repulſe.

CXIII. The *Turks* are ſtruck with ſuch terror at the ſudden taking of this fortreſs, that not only the garriſons of *Novigrade* and *Vicegrade* abandon thoſe cities at the report of the *Germans* approach, but the Seraskier himſelf, though in other reſpects a man of invincible courage, and a veteran ſoldier, ſent *Ahmed Chelebi**, one of his officers, twice to the Imperial general, to try whether any peace might be made with the Emperor. But, as the preſent ſituation of affairs promiſed more and greater victories, and the Seraskier ſeemed to deſire peace, in order to divert the danger which threatened him on account of his ill ſucceſs at *Gran*, or to amuſe the enemy, rather than with a ſincere intention, the officer, after two denials, returned to the Seraskier without any thing done.

Various ſucceſſes.

CXIV. While the duke of *Lorrain* was yet engaged in the ſiege of *Vywar*, Count *Leſly* with a ſmall body of troops had laid waſte all *Sclavonia*, routed the Paſha of *Poſhega*, and on the 12th of the month *Ramazan*, burnt great part of the bridge over the wide moraſſes of the *Drave*, and taken *Eſſec*; but not being able to ſubdue the caſtle, plundered the town, and abandoned it again. *Schulcius* had equal ſucceſs in *Lower Hungary*; and on the 10th of the month *Ramazan* after a long ſiege obliged *Epiries*, a city of *Tekeli*'s party, to ſurrender, and took *Tokai* with ſeveral other caſtles and towns, which were garriſon'd by the rebels. *Merci* and *Heuſler* joining their forces had ſubdued *Zolnok*, *Ibraini*, *Kalo*, little *Waradin*, St *Nicholas's* church, and *Saraiſa*. *Tekeli's* party being every where routed, retire to *Caſſovia*, and ſtrongly fortifying that city, determine to wait there for the troops promiſed by the *Turks*; and to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, rather than ſubmit to the Emperor of *Germany*. *Caprara*, who commanded the troops of *Schult*, ſoon after, on the 3d of the month *Zylcade*, begins to aſſault the city, and having dug a trench round it, cannonades the walls.

Tekeli is taken by ſtratagem, and put in chains to be ſent to *Conſtantinople*.

CXV. *Tekeli* ſeeing the danger of his troops, ſends frequent meſſengers to the Paſha of *Waradin* for his aſſiſtance; which the Paſha promiſes, and deſires *Tekeli* to come to him, and adviſe him, how the city might be beſt relieved. *Tekeli*, putting too great a confidence in him, comes to *Waradin* with ſeven thouſand of his countrymen. Before he reached the city, he is met by the Paſha, who received him with great honour, and deſires him to enter the city with his principal officers, and quarters his ſoldiers in the neighbourhood, where he provides for them. When *Tekeli* came into the town, he is invited to dinner by the Paſha, which being over, a *Turkiſh* officer, attended by ſeveral Janizaries enters the room, and ſhews the Sultan's mandate by which he was commanded to put *Tekeli* in chains, and ſend him to *Conſtantinople*. *Tekeli*, who was come as a gueſt, not being able, on account of the ſmalneſs of his retinue, to make any reſiſtance, is inſtantly carried away, bound, and kept under a ſtrong guard. His attendants, ſtruck with the novelty and ſuddenneſs of the thing, ſtand motionleſs, and not knowing what may be their own fate, dare not ask the reaſon of it, or even open their mouths.

The command of the *Hungarian* rebels is given to *Petrozzi*.

CXVI. *Petrozzi*, the principal perſon among them, is ſent for by the Paſha, after *Tekeli* was removed, and bid to lay aſide his fears, and take upon him the

command of the *Hungarian* forces, till the Sultan's farther orders, and to ſhew a due fidelity to the *Turkiſh* empire, aſſuring himſelf, that he ſerved a maſter, who cannot only puniſh the diſobedient and treacherous but alſo amply reward the faithful.

He perſuades the *Hungarians* to ſollicit the Emperor of *Germany's* favour.

CXVII. *Petrozzi* artfully conceals his reſentment, and anſwers the Paſha, that tho' he knew not *Tekeli's* crime, and had believed him a faithful ſervant of the Sultan, yet he cannot doubt but the Sultan had a very important, though unknown reaſon, to treat him in that manner. However this affair would not ſhake the fidelity of himſelf or *Hungarians*, for though, ever ſince, they had committed themſelves to the *Othman* protection, *Tekeli* had indeed been their commander, yet they have acknowledged no other ſovereign in the world but the Emperor of the *Othmans*. Theſe aſſurances he gave the Paſha of his fidelity; but, at his return to the camp with the reſt of *Tekeli's* attendants, he perſuaded the *Hungarians* to a very different conduct. He repreſented to the officers what had happened at *Waradin*, and how treacherouſly *Tekeli* was drawn into the ſnare. He adds, " It is in vain to expect the reſtoration of liberty to " *Hungary* from men, who know not what liberty is, and have no other rule " of their actions, but the arbitrary will of their governors. For this reaſon, " God oppoſes their deſigns, and puniſhes, not only them, but their allies. " For ſeveral years paſt, the whole army of the Emperor of *Germany*, though " diverted by no other wars, had in vain uſed their utmoſt efforts in *Hungary*; " but now, even a ſmall body of *Germans*, while the reſt are engaged with the " *Turks* beyond the *Danube*, have, within two years, ſubdued almoſt all the " kingdom except *Caſſovia*. They ſhould therefore conſider what would be " moſt for the intereſt of themſelves and the kingdom, whether to continue in " exile, and not only ſee the devaſtation of their country, but be perpetually " in fear of priſons and chains; or implore the mercy of the Emperor of *Ger-* " *many*, and embrace the amneſty offered them."

Petrozzi goes to *Caprara*, and offers to ſurrender *Caſſovia* to him.

CXVIII. This advice being approved by them all, *Petrozzi* with the whole army, goes to *Caprara*, ſtill engaged in the ſiege of *Caſſovia*, and promiſing fidelity to the Emperor of *Germany* in his own and his countrymen's name, joins his forces to the Emperor's, and orders them to make incurſions upon the enemy's country. The inhabitants of *Caſſovia*, hearing this, the obſtinacy of the garriſon is ſo much abated, that they immediately ſend depuries to the Imperial camp, beg pardon for their crime, and promiſe future obedience to the Emperor. Their offers being accepted, the deputies return to the city, and repreſent to the inhabitants the Emperor's clemency. The garriſon being informed of this on the 26th of the month *Zylcade*, open the gates of the city, take an oath of fidelity, and are placed among the other Imperial troops, and after all their labours, enjoy ſome repoſe.

The King of the *Poles* unſeaſonably endeavours to draw over the Prince of *Moldavia* to his intereſts.

CXIX. But the *Poles* meet with a very different fate in *Moldavia*. For the king, taught by the ill ſucceſs of the laſt expedition, that nothing could be done for the advantage of *Poland* in thoſe countries, unleſs he could engage the inhabitants in his intereſts; during the whole winter, he tries by various arts to gain *Conſtantine Cantemir*, Prince of *Moldavia*, and ſollicits him by frequent letters and meſſengers to revolt from the *Turks*. *Cantemir* anſwers the King, " he is " not only obliged by the religion he profeſſes; but even prompted by the " ſtrongeſt inclination, to venture his all in ſubduing the enemy of the croſs, " if he could but ſee, that by his revolt the leaſt advantage would accrue to " Chriſtendom. But ſince the preſent ſituation of affairs is ſuch, that probably " his revolt will be rather prejudicial than ſerviceable to him, whoſe part he " ſhould take, he is forced to defer the execution of his intentions to a more " favorable opportunity. For ſince, not only his own eldeſt ſon, but likewiſe " the ſons of the principal nobles are kept as hoſtages at *Conſtantinople*, he " thinks, though himſelf ſhould conſent, the ſtates of the province cannot be " perſuaded, to ſuffer the loſs, not only of their eſtates, but, what is generally " more grievous, of their children, to abandon their country, and to live in " exile in a foreign land."

CXX. *Sobieski*

Cantemir gives excellent advice to the *Poles.*

CXX. *Sobieski* finding the Prince inflexible to his perſuaſions, the beginning of the ſummer, ſends his forces under the command of *Potocky* and *Yablonowski* towards *Moldavia*. *Cantemir*, informed of this, again adviſes the generals by letter, "not to enter *Moldavia* but to take *Cameniec*, before they attempted to "paſs the *Tyras*, ſince it would be of no advantage to them, if they were to "lay waſte *Moldavia* for ten years together, unleſs they firſt drew that thorn "out of their ſide. If they ſhould happen to be defeated by the *Turks*, they "would entirely be cut off from any retreat, as they had ſufficiently experienced the laſt year. And if they obtained any victories, they would not gain "one foot of land more, while the *Turks* continued poſſeſſed of that caſtle. "By this irruption into *Moldavia*, they would only expoſe the wretched inhabitants to captivity and torments from the *Tartars* and *Turks*. He himſelf, if "they ſhould paſs the *Tyras*, could not oppoſe them, and was now obliged by "threats of the ſevereſt puniſhment to repair immediately to the *Turkiſh* camp, "and to defend his principality from the enemy to the utmoſt of his power."

It is haughtily rejected by the *Poliſh* generals.

CXXI. The generals deſpiſing the Prince's wholſome advice, anſwer, "they "are commanded by their King to endeavour to ſubdue *Moldavia*, and therefore cannot change the courſe preſcribed them. The ſiege of *Cameniec* is "difficult and needleſs, becauſe the garriſon, after the country about them is reduced, cannot defend the walls without bread, upon the want of which they "will abandon the town of their own accord. They fear no defeat from the "*Turks*, for having ſo great and diſciplin'd an army under their banners, they "ſuppoſe themſelves ſafe againſt the forces of the whole *Turkiſh* Empire. They "therefore adviſe him again to lead his troops to the King's camp, and with united "ſtrength endeavour to drive the enemy of *Chriſt* and *Chriſtians* out of his "country. If he refuſed, they are commanded to turn their arms as againſt the "*Turks*, ſo againſt him, as being their confederate, and to deſtroy the country "with fire and ſword."

The *Poles* paſs over the river *Tyras* into *Moldavia.*

CXXII. Without waiting further anſwer, they run a bridge over the *Tyras*, and with their whole army paſs into *Moldavia*. But they had not marched far, when they are met at a village called *Boyan* by *Aineji Soliman Paſha* with twenty five thouſand *Turks*, and *Selim Gierai Chan* with fifty thouſand *Tartars*, who were followed by the Prince of *Moldavia* with five thouſand men. When both the armies come near each other, they ſtop, and fortify their camps.

Cantemir perſwades the Seraſkier to avoid a battle.

CXXIII. The Seraskier and Chan with the reſt of the officers, ſeeing the *Poles* approach, immediately conſult whether they ſhall attack the enemies, or wait till they either fall upon the *Othman* camp, or retreat. As they differ in their opinion, the Prince of *Moldavia*, deſirous of turning every thing as far as poſſible to the advantage of the *Poles*, perſwades the Seraskier to remain in his poſt, fortify his camp, and prevent the enemy from making any farther progreſs. For a battle is not raſhly to be hazarded, when the enemy may be driven from the borders without danger; neither is it ſafe at preſent to engage with the *Poles*. Their army is numerous, and full of hopes of victory; whilſt he himſelf has but twenty five thouſand men, who can actually fight the enemy, ſince the *Tartars* will ſcarce ſtand the firſt fire. If any misfortune happened, all *Moldavia*, and perhaps *Bujak*, with the provinces about the *Danube*, will become a prey to the *Poles*, ſince the reſt of the *Othman* forces employed in *Hungary*, cannot be recalled without the utmoſt danger to the Empire. Theſe misfortunes may not only be avoided, but alſo the enemies ſubdued without the loſs of a ſingle man, if he would ſurround his camp with ſtrong works, and weaken them by continual skirmiſhes. The Seraskier approves this advice, and ſtrongly fortifies his camp, commanding the *Tartars* and other light-armed ſoldiers to move round about the *Poliſh* army, and prevent their foraging, and every where burn the herbage.

The *Poles* make their firſt attack upon the *Moldavians.*

CXXIV. *Cantemir* by a truſty perſon truly informs the *Poles* of all that paſſed in the council, and what was reſolved, He tells them likewiſe his troops were ſeated on the weſtern bank of the *Tyras*; that they might fear nothing from that quarter, but carefully guard the other parts of their army. The *Poliſh* generals upon

upon this information, reſolve firſt to rout the *Moldavians*, imagining they ſhould afterwards meet with leſs oppoſition from the *Turks*. To this end, they immediately attack the *Moldavian* camp, which lay one hour's diſtance from the *Turks*. The Prince ſeeing them marching full ſpeed towards him, wonders, and thinking them miſtaken, imagines they intended to attack ſome other part of the army. He draws up therefore fifteen hundred of his men, not to engage the *Poles*, but by their enſigns, in which croſſes and other marks of Chriſtianity were embroidered, to ſhow themſelves to be brethren, and not enemies. When the *Poles* ſee the *Moldavians* ſtanding in a peaceable poſture without preparing for defence, regardleſs of their admonitions, they fall upon them as if they had been *Turks* and capital enemies.

They are ſhamefully defeated by the *Turks*.

CXXV. The Prince perceiving the treachery of the *Poles*, commands all his troops to take arms, and with force to repel force, though offered by *Chriſtians*. Immediately the *Moldavians* are armed, and not only bravely oppoſe the firſt body of *Poles*, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, but alſo with ſuch reſolution attack the enemies, who retire after their firſt ardor is ſpent, that they at laſt put them to flight. The noiſe of arms and muskets ſoon alarms the *Turks*, who perceiving the *Moldavians* engaged, ſend ſeveral regiments to their aſſiſtance. The reſt of the army unexpectedly attack the *Poles* in the rear with ſuch fury, that within an hour ſix thouſand of the *Poles* are killed, and five thouſand *Coſſaks* incloſed and obliged to ſurrender. The remaining troops of the *Poles*, ſeeing the victory incline to the enemy, endeavour to retreat to their camp, and ſecure themſelves in their trenches. But before they can execute their deſign, the *Tartars* intercept their paſſage, upon which they take to flight, and leave their camp, and baggage, with all their warlike proviſions, a prey to the conquerors.

The *Venetians* take *Coron* in the *Morea*.

CXXVI. This was the only good ſucceſs, which happened that ſummer to the *Othman* Empire; from all other parts, where the war was carried on, there came nothing but melancholy accounts of the defeat of the *Turkiſh* forces, and the loſs of cities and even whole provinces. *Seromero*, which the laſt year had ſubmitted to the *Venetians*, is attacked early in the ſpring by the *Turks*, who as ſoon as they hear of the approach of the *Venetian* fleet, retire without ſucceſs. Afterwards *Coron*, on the 23d of the month *Rejeb*, (the 15th of *June*) is cloſely beſieged by the *Venetians*. The Seraskier of *Morea*, *Halil Paſha*, with the forces he had ready, inſtantly marches to the relief of the city, and ſuddenly takes one of the works, built by the *Venetians* on a hill for their defence, and from thence annoys the camp of the beſiegers with his cannon. But the *Malteſe*, who were appointed to guard that part, before the Seraskier could ſecure what he had gained, aſſault his camp with great bravery, and at laſt after a long and bloody conflict, being re-inforced by the other troops of the *Venetians*, force him from his poſt, and thereby free the beſiegers from great danger. A few days after the Seraskier advances again with more troops; but finding the *Venetians* ſtrongly fortified, and prepared to repel the aſſaults of the enemy, after ſome skirmiſhes retires. The *Venetians* perceiving there was no danger from the *Turkiſh* army, proſecute the ſiege with greater ardor, and having demoliſhed the walls on the 10th of the month *Ramazan*, ſurround *Coron*, and after an obſtinate defence of the garriſon enter it by ſtorm. The *Turks* ſeeing no poſſibility of ſaving the city, diſplay the white banner, and promiſe to ſurrender, but as this was too late, after all the fortifications of the caſtle were taken, they find no mercy, but are all put to the ſword.

The particular ſucceſſes of the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*.

CXXVII. This caſtle being ſubdued, the *Mainottæ* (75) likewiſe take up arms againſt the *Turks*, and beſiege *Zarnata*, the garriſon of which hearing, the *Ve-*

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(75) *Mainottæ*] The Deſcendants of the ancient *Lacedæmonians*, who are at this day the braveſt People among all the *Greeks*. Though they are not reckoned to have above twelve thouſand ſoldiers, they never were ſubdued, nor made tributary by the *Turks*; neither could the *Venetians* ever give them law at pleaſure. Their modern name is derived from μανία *Madneſs*, becauſe they ruſh in battle upon the enemies, as if they were mad. The country they inhabit, is on all ſides ſurrounded with mountains, which are the chief defence of their province.

netians were ſending aſſiſtance to the beſiegers, before the arrival of thoſe ſupplies, deliver up the city. Shortly after the *Venetians*, under the command of *Degenfield*, near *Calamita* rout the *Turks* with great ſlaughter. Whereupon the terrified *Othmans* abandon *Calamita*, *Paſſava*, and *Chielafa*, which towns are immediately ſeized and diſmantled by the *Venetians*. The *Venetian* army crowned with ſo many conqueſts, in their return take from the *Turks*, *Gommenizum*, a town of *Achaia* oppoſite to *Corcyra*.

The various ſucceſs of the war.

CXXVIII. Mean time *Valier* had cloſely beſieged *Zing* in *Dalmatia*; but the Baſhas of *Boſnia* and *Ercegovina* marching to its relief, he finds himſelf too weak, and after the loſs of a great number of his men, retires from the city. The *Turks* fluſh'd with this ſucceſs, immediately attack *Duare*, but a few days after are repulſed with greater loſs by *Valier*, who had raiſed freſh forces.

The Vizir is more ſollicitous about himſelf, than the *Othman* intereſt.

CXXIX. When the account of theſe things was brought to *Conſtantinople*, it can hardly be told how it diſturbed the minds and counſels of the *Othman* court, and eſpecially the Prime Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Paſha*. He not only feared the common danger, for the principal forts of *Hungary* being ſubdued, and the *Othman* army defeated, there appeared very little to hinder the *Germans* from reducing the whole kingdom with the capital; but he alſo dreaded the fate, which threatned him, and which in publick calamities he well knew to be ſeldom very favorable to the Vizirs. He had retained, and even confirmed his authority by relieving of *Buda*, and the Sultan was not the leaſt uneaſy, that on account of a real or pretended indiſpoſition he continued at home, while the Empire ſuffered no prejudice in other parts. But he ſaw that all theſe ſubterfuges would be unavailable, and he would be obliged to take upon him the command of the army, perhaps alſo on account of the ill ſucceſs of this year be diveſted of his dignity. There remained but one method uſed by other Vizirs before him (76), which was to deſtroy all who were eminent in the Empire for their

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(76) before him] Some of the moſt eminent Vizirs have uſed this artifice, to put to death ſuch perſons as were moſt celebrated for their courage and virtues, namely, that after they were removed, there might be no perſon fit to ſupply their place. The moſt ſkilful in this way, was *Kioprili Mebemed Paſha*, who being raiſed from a mean fortune to the office of Vizir, did, within the ſeven years he poſſeſſed that dignity, put to death, under various pretences, almoſt all the old Paſhas, that had been brought up under Sultan *Murad* IV. The chief of them were, *Seidiogli* the Defender of *Hungary* againſt the *Germans*; and *Deli Huſein Paſha* governor of *Dalmatia*; two of the moſt excellent and invincible heroes that ever were in the *Othman* empire. After *Mebemed Paſha* had obtained of the Sultan a *Chatiſherif* for putting the latter to death, he is reported to have ſent for him, and to ſay with tears in his eyes: "See, my dear brother, what the Sultan "has ordered me to do: I have indeed "ſpared no pains to incline the Sultan to "mercy, but have found him ſo incenſed "againſt you, that he would not hearken "to my prayers and entreaties; where"fore, I think, this death is appointed for "you by divine providence, which it be"comes a Muſulman rather humbly to "adore than reſiſt." But *Huſein Paſha* is ſaid to make this reply, *Bire bei jazu tim ſab gibi ademi bogarſin, anden ſongra aglarſin: O thou old Wizard, like a crocodile, thou firſt killeſt a man, and then weepeſt over his body:* Then pulling a golden box out of his boſom, in which he kept twenty four pieces of bones that had been taken out of his wounds by the Surgeons, he flung them in his face, with theſe words: *Ben bu Vezirate ve Sultaneti deuleti ſenum gibi ſiberbaz lykile jadi lykile nail olmadum illa din deuletde ſadacat ile ve canimun dokiul meſyle peida eiledum, bundan ſangra ſenum gibi bir giauur baſhimi dacha catl idup aia clarimi ananun amine ſok.* i. e. *I was raiſed to the office of Vizir, and the happineſs of dominion, not, like thee, by magick arts, but for my fidelity, and effuſion of my blood. Cut therefore my head off, if thou wilt, like an infidel, but lay my feet in thy mother's pudenda.* *Huſein Paſha* was formerly *Selahdar* to *Murad* IV, and ſo highly in favour with him, that he would neither do nor reſolve any thing without asking his advice. Among his other conſpicuous virtues, he was famous for his invincible reſolution both in proſperity and adverſity, his ready wit, eloquence, and quick repartees. Many excellent actions and ſayings of his are recorded, of which I ſhall mention but a few, that theſe annotations may not be too prolix. Once, he was ordered in jeſt by Sultan *Murad*, to marry out of the

their warlike abilities, that in caſe the Sultan ſhould reſolve to deprive him of the imperial ſeal, there might be none, to whom it could with greater juſtice be committed.

CXXX. Neceſſity urging what cruelty ſuggeſted, he begins with *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha*, who had been Seraskier againſt the *Germans*, and accuſing him of negligence in the battle of *Gran*, and of keeping back the pay due to the ſoldiers, and converting it to his own uſe, puts him to death. The ſame fate befall others, who could juſtly or unjuſtly be charged with any crime. The only perſon, who ſeemed above the danger of an accuſation, was *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, Seraskier againſt *Poland*, who had gained ſo great an authority in the *Othman* Empire by his victory in *Moldavia*, that it was not only dangerous to touch him, but he was likewiſe declared univerſally worthy of the Vizirſhip. The preſent Vizir therefore perceiving, he could not hurt him openly, reſolves to deſtroy him by clandeſtine methods, and expoſe him to the *German* forces, by whoſe valour he hoped he would loſe the glory obtained in the *Poliſh* war. Wherefore upon the death of *Shaitan Ibrahim Paſha*, a conſultation being held concerning the war in *Hungary*, he perſwades the Sultan to appoint *Aineji Soliman Paſha* general of the army againſt the *Germans*, repreſenting, he was beloved by the ſoldiers, and had great authority with them on account of the laſt victory, and there could ſcarce a man be found in the *Othman* Empire equal, much leſs ſuperior to him in prudence and valour.

The Vizir endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf in his poſt by the deſtruction of the other Paſhas.

CXXXI. The Sultan being perſwaded by the Vizir's repreſentation, approves his advice, and orders that *Soliman Paſha* ſhould immediately be recalled out of *Moldavia*, and the command of the army at preſent be committed to *Buickly Muſtapha Paſha* (77). Mean time, *Yuſuf Kizlar aga* (78), coming to know what

The Vizir preparing a ſnare for the Seraſkier, falls into it himſelf.

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the palace an old woman of ſeventy years, with a ſtrict injunction not to keep any concubine. He obeys the order, marries the old woman, and lives as well as he could ſome days without concubines. At the end of one or two weeks, changing his habit, he walks with the Sultan into the ſuburbs *Eyub enſari*, where the ice and ſnow are kept for the ſummer-ſeaſon; and both going into the cellar, they begin to drink wine very plentifully. As they are drinking, the Sultan aſks him, Whether there could poſſibly be a cooler place any where in *July* than that ice-cellar? *Huſein Paſha* anſwers there could. Where, ſays the Sultan? The other replies, in that old woman's—I lately married by your order. Whereupon, the Sultan, laughing heartily, declares him free from that marriage. Another time, the Sultan being angry with him, upon ſome ocaſion, ordered him to be ſent to the priſon of the Seven Towers, and forgot him for three months: during which, he never ſhaved his head, which is contrary to the cuſtom of the courtiers, becauſe they muſt never appear before the Sultan, without having their heads and beards ſhaved. In the fourth month *Murad* remembring him, orders him to be brought to court. When he comes with his long hair and beard, What Devil, ſays the Sultan, has turned thee into a prieſt, that thou appeareſt before me with ſuch a griſly head? To which he replied, I ſhould deſerve to be called the moſt fooliſh of mortals, if I had ſhaved or taken care of a head, of which I was uncertain whether it was mine, or another's? The Sultan anſwers, Perhaps the noyſomneſs of the priſon has ſo turned thy brains, that thou fancieſt another man's head is upon thy ſhoulders. Not at all, ſays he, but finding you, who formerly were my friend and benefactor, ſo angry with me, I meditated on nothing but Paradiſe, and forgot I had a head. But if you will be pleaſed to forgive my offence, and reſtore me to favour, I ſhall be ſure the head which ſtands upon my ſhoulders is my own, and will ſhave and take care of it, according to cuſtom.

(77) *Buickly Muſtapha*] That is, having long whiskers, *Muſtapha Paſha* was ſo called, becauſe his were long. He had been *Silahdar* to Sultan *Mahomet* IV, and from that office was advanced firſt to be *Capudan Paſha*, then Seraskier of *Siliſtria*, and at laſt, for his victory over the *Poles*, was raiſed to the dignity of Vizir; but in that Station did nothing anſwerable to the expectations conceived of him. He was diſmiſſed by Sultan *Ahmed* II for a trifling cauſe, but without loſs of honour, and ſent to the goverment of *Damaſcus*, from whence he was recalled by Sultan *Muſtapha* II, and made *Caimacan*, which office he enjoyed at the battle of *Zenta*. After that defeat, *Muſtapha* offered him again the dignity of Vizir, but he refuſed to take upon him ſo harzardous an office, and

what the Vizir had propoſed to the Sultan, inſtantly ſuſpects, as he was a man of great policy and well-skilled in court-artifices, that ſome ſecret ſnares lay concealed under this plauſible appearance, becauſe he knew the Vizir to be mortal enemy of *Soliman*. He therefore informs *Soliman Paſha* by one of his friends, adviſing him to beware of the Vizir. *Soliman Paſha* having received the Sultan's mandate, immediately comes to *Conſtantinople*, and before he goes to the Sultan waits on the Vizir, as if he deſired to receive his commands, and pretends ſo great a regard and veneration for him, that the Vizir imagining he had caught the fox, as a friend, acquaints him, that the Sultan for his known prudence and courage, had ordered him to be ſent for to declare his opinion concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the Empire, and the election of a Seraskier of *Hungary*. When he comes afterwards to the palace, the Sultan highly commending him for his victory over the *Poles*, and his brave defence of the Empire on that ſide, offers him the poſt of Seraskier of *Hungary*, adding, he hopes, the remembrance of the victory obtained againſt the *Poles* will inſpire the *Othman* ſoldiers with courage, and cauſe them to fight with greater gallantry and ſucceſs under the conduct of a victorious Seraskier, than of any other commander. *Soliman Paſha* anſwers, he owes his life and fortune to the Sultan, and ought not to oppoſe his commands whatever they are: but he cannot help obſerving, that the diſordered ſtate of the publick affairs, and the terror ſtill imprinted on the army by the *Vienna*-defeat, required the preſence, if not of the Sultan himſelf, at leaſt of the Prime Vizir, in the camp, nor is the authority of a Seraskier ſufficient to oblige men to their duty, who ſeemed more inclined to fly or mutiny, than to fight. The Sultan moved with this ſpeech, ſtands muſing ſome time, which being obſerved by the *Kyzlar Aga*, who had long been the Vizir's enemy, and *Soliman*'s friend, " Why (ſays he) O Emperor, do you heſitate? If you think " the Seraskier's counſel juſt and prudent, what hinders you from immediately " applying the remedy to this evil? Diveſt of his dignity *Cara Ibrahim Paſha*, " under whoſe pretended or real indiſpoſition the Empire languiſhes, and appoint " this hero both Seraskier and Vizir." The ſuſpicion which the Sultan had before entertained of the Vizir, is increaſed by theſe remonſtrances of the *Kyzlar Aga*, and ſoon grew ſo great, that he firmly believes *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* had pretended ſickneſs out of fear; and removing him from his poſt, gives it to *Soliman Paſha*.

Soliman being made Vizir baniſhes his predeceſſor, and reſtores *Tekeli*, who was acquitted of all crimes, to his former honours.

CXXXII. When *Soliman* finds he had not only eſcaped the ſnares of his enemy, but obtained the adminiſtration of the whole *Othman* empire, he immediately ſeized his predeceſſor, and finding him accuſed of many crimes, baniſhes him to *Rhodes*. Then he releaſes *Tekeli*, impriſoned by *Cara Ibrahim Paſha*, as I before obſerved. and by the evidence of *Ibrahim Aga*, chamberlain of *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, acquits him of the crime charged upon him. On the other hand, he expoſes to the publick, all the villanies of *Cara Muſtapha*, and his pernicious deſigns againſt the *Othman* empire; ſo that *Tekeli* is not only reſtored to his former honours, but all his furniture, which had been taken from him, and whatever had been plundered by the rapacious ſoldiers, are returned to him.

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and deſired the Sultan not to place him a ſecond time in that danger, from which, he reckoned it one of the greateſt felicities of his life, to have eſcaped.

(78) *Yuſuf Kiſler Aga*] At the taking of *Cameniec*, he was *Haſnardar baſhi*, or chief treaſurer of the women's Seraglio, and that ſame year was advanced to the dignity of *Kyſlar aga*. He was in ſuch eſteem with Sultan *Mahomet*, that the Sultan would do nothing without his privity, and the Vizirs feared him more than he did the Vizirs; Accordingly, he was the chief and only cauſe of the depoſition of *Cara Ibrahim Paſha*. No *Kyſlar aga*, either before or after him, amaſſed ſo great treaſure, or had ſuch influence over the Sultan. When he was turned out, there were found in his ſtables ſeven hundred *Arabian* bred horſes. He had an outer court in the city, and whenever he went there, was ſurrounded with more officers than the Vizir himſelf. After all, he was a man of great prudence, and very ſerviceable to his maſter in many reſpects.

Affairs

Affairs being thus ſettled, the Vizir with great diligence raiſes an army, engaging a great number in the ſervice by his perſuaſions and influence upon the ſoldiers; and compelling others who preferred eaſe to glory, by his *Chauſes** ; and orders all his ſilver and gold veſſels to be turned into money for the expence of the war.

CXXXIII. But before he could bring his forces into the field, the country being ſtill covered with ſnow, part of the Imperial troops, under the command of *Caraffa*, on the 18th of the month *Rebiul evvel* of the year 1097, had taken St. *Nicholas*; and another party, under *Merci*, had routed ſeveral *Turkiſh* regiments, which were convoying proviſion to *Aradum*, taken that town, and burnt the ſtores laid up there by the *Turks*. After ſeveral other conflicts, at laſt, on the 26th of the month *Rejeb* †, the whole Imperial army beſiege *Buda*, which had in vain been attempted two years before, and on the 2d of the month *Shaban*, make themſelves maſters of the lower town, with leſs oppoſition from the garriſon than was expected. This obſtacle being ſurmounted, the walls of the city are aſſaulted, and the ſtrongeſt of the forts being demoliſhed by the cannon, on the 21ſt of the ſame month †, the breach is fiercely attacked with ſuch ſucceſs, that the beſieged are obliged entirely to abandon it. But the workmen, who were to cover the conquerors with a rampart, not coming immediately, not only many of them are killed by the continual fire of the enemy, but the *Turks* have an opportunity of ſpringing the mines before prepared, which force the Imperialiſts to retire with great loſs.

The Imperialiſts beſiege *Buda*; and at firſt ſuffer a conſiderable loſs.

H. 1097.

A. C. 1686.

† 7th of *June*.

† *July* 2d.

CXXXIV. However, this misfortune did not diſcourage the *Chriſtians*, but rather excited them to a revenge, Whereupon the fourth of the month *Ramazan* †, having demoliſhed ſeveral paces of the wall, they renew the aſſault in the ſame place. The conteſt is long doubtful, and ſo fierce, that above three thouſand Imperialiſts are either killed or wounded, before they could mount the breach, and it was with great difficulty, that after a conflict of ſeveral hours, they forced the beſieged to abandon the firſt wall. This progreſs being made, the batteries are directed againſt the ſecond wall.

They bravely aſſault the city.

† *July* 15th.

CXXXV. When the greateſt part of this wall is alſo demoliſhed, the Vizir *Aineji Soliman Paſha* arrives with his troops, and finding it in vain to attack the Imperial camp, reſolves, if poſſible, to ſtrengthen the garriſon, and amuſe the enemy by delays, till he had an opportunity to aſſault them unexpectedly, when fatigued with the length of the ſiege. For this purpoſe, the 22d of the month *Ramazan* †, he ſends four Baſhas with eight thouſand horſe, and two thouſand Janizaries towards the enemy's camp, with orders to try, whether they could paſs between the ſtations of the Imperialiſts and *Bavarians*, and throw in part of the Janizaries at leaſt to the relief of the beſieged. But the Duke of *Lorrain* ſuſpecting the intentions of the *Turks*, ſends a body of horſe againſt them, before they reached the camp, which attack the enemy's horſe with ſuch vigour, that after a ſhort oppoſition, they fly, and leave the Janizaries to the mercy of the Imperialiſts.

The Vizir marching thither, attempts in vain to relieve the city.

† *Auguſt* 3d.

CXXXVI. On the laſt day of the month *Ramazan* †, the Vizir makes another attempt, and ſends again two thouſand Janizaries with ſeveral troops of horſe, to execute his former deſign. Theſe advance with greater caution, and ſurprize the advanced guards of the Imperialiſts, and then fall upon the *Brandenburg* camp with ſuch fury, that like wild beaſts, not like men, they ruſhed through fire and ſword, and at once paſſed the rampart raiſed againſt them. The *Brandenburg* troops being in this dangerous ſtate, are ſeaſonably relieved by *Caprara* and *Heuſler*, who incloſe the *Turks*, juſt ready to enter the city, and make ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that ſcarce three hundred, and thoſe almoſt all wounded, eſcape into the city.

He again tries the fortune of a battle, but with the like ſucceſs.

† *Auguſt* 9th.

CXXXVII. Two days after *, the Imperialiſts, to ſhow the beſieged, how little they dreaded the Vizir, aſſault the ſtrongeſt part of the caſtle, and after a ſharp conflict, having driven out or killed thoſe who defended it, become maſters of it. When they ſeemed by this means to be very near taking the city, the Vizir, on the 19th of the month *Sheval* †, for the third time obliges a thouſand Janizaries, notwithſtanding their reluctance, to attempt the relief of the city

The *Turks* endeavouring to relieve the city, are repulſed.

* *Auguſt* 11th.

† *Auguſt* 18th.

with a thouſand *Spahis*, and fifteen hundred *Tartars*. But though they behave with the ſame bravery as the former, and even penetrated the trenches of the Imperialiſts, they are repulſed by the valour of the *Chriſtians*, and forced to retire with great loſs. The ſame fate is undergone by the garriſon, who, to divide the enemy, and favour the entrance of their friends, had made a ſally with their whole ſtrength, but ſoon after ſeeing the misfortune of the reſt, retire into the city with great ſpeed and ill ſucceſs. By theſe loſſes the *Turkiſh* army is entirely diſheartened, and a report being ſpread, that when the Imperialiſts had taken the city, they would attack them in their camp, the beſt part of the ſoldiers, notwithſtanding the Vizir's intreaties and perſuaſions, diſperſe themſelves, and return home. The Imperialiſts being freed from the danger, which threatened them in their rear, on the 13th of the month *Sheval*†, make the laſt aſſault upon the city.

† *Auguſt* 22.

Buda taken by the Imperialiſts; and the Vizir unwillingly retires.

CXXXVIII. *Abdi Paſha*, governor of the city, a man very famous at that time for his warlike abilities, with the remains of the garriſon, makes his laſt effort in defence of the city, and with fire and ſword for ſeveral hours bravely repels the *German* army. But he being killed by the Imperialiſts, the reſt of the garriſon begin to loſe their courage, and reſiſt the enemy with leſs vigour. At laſt, finding themſelves unequal to the *Germans*, they diſplay the white flag, and in the midſt of the fight, promiſe to ſurrender the city, and deſire quarter. But before the ardor of the *Germans* can be reſtrained, a great number of the beſieged are killed upon the very walls, ſo that ſcarce two thouſand are ſaved by the clemency of the Emperor's generals. *Buda* being ſubdued, the Vizir, who, during the aſſault, had with tears lamented his own and the Empire's fortune, with the reſt of his army, flies, rather than retreats; and moreover the garriſons of *Hatman*, and the other adjacent caſtles, abandon their ſtations, and of their own accord, ſubmit to the Emperor.

The Imperialiſts divided under the command of *Caraffa* and Prince of *Baden*.

CXXXIX. The *Turks* upon this account ſeeming to avoid a battle, the Duke of *Lorrain* divides the imperial forces, and ſends part under the command of the Prince of *Baden* into *Lower Hungary*, and part under the conduct of *Caraffa* and *Heuſler* into *Upper Hungary*. The Prince of *Baden* with his forces, on the 8th of the month *Zylcade*, beſieges *Simonthorn*, and in a few days obliges the *Turkiſh* garriſon to ſurrender themſelves and caſtle to his mercy. Then he attacks *Kapoſwiwar*, and takes the city, which, becauſe the caſtle ſeemed capable of ſuſtaining a longer ſiege than the time would admit, he plunders and abandons. Having ſtaid there ſome days, and receiving freſh ſupplies brought him by *Scherfenberg*, he marches towards *Five Churches*, and on the 28th of the month *Zylcade*†, with his foremoſt troops comes within ſight of the city. Whereupon the garriſon, imagining the whole army to be advanced, ſet fire to the town, and retire into the caſtle. The Prince of *Baden*, as his foot was ſtill at a diſtance, orders three hundred choſen horſe to diſmount, and extinguiſh the fire, which was done with ſuch expedition by the ſoldiers greedy of plunder, that they reſcued the greateſt part of the city from the flames. The garriſon perceiving that only a light-armed party was advanced, and not the body of the *Germans*, out of ſhame and regret for their loſs, endeavour by a ſally to recover the city, but were forced to retire with loſs. However to remove the diſgrace incurred by their flight, they reſolve to make a brave defence, and ſacrifice their lives rather than ſurrender the caſtle, and this they declare to the enemy by diſplaying one black and ſix red banners upon a turret of the caſtle. But after their ſtrongeſt works were demoliſhed by the cannon, the proſpect of immediate death inſpires them with gentler reſolutions, ſo they not only take down their banners, but ſend deputies to the Prince of *Baden*, offering to deliver up the caſtle upon condition of having leave to depart with their lives and arms. But this being refuſed by the *Germans*, they are obliged to ſurrender at mercy, and redeem their lives with their liberty. So, the gates of the caſtle being opened on the 3d of the month *Zylhije*†, the Paſha himſelf with ſeven Begs, and the whole garriſon are made priſoners, and ſent to *Stiria*. The Prince of *Baden* having taken this city, ſends part of his army under the command of *Scherfenberg* againſt *Siclos*, and with the reſt marches towards *Darda*. *Scherfenberg* on

† *Septemb.* 15.

† *October* 5.

† *October* 10.

the

the 7th of the month *Zylhije* † comes to *Sicko*, and taking the city in the first assault, offers honorable conditions to the *Turks* for the surrender of the castle, into which they had retired. But on their refusal, he batters the walls, and in various assaults presses them with such vigour, that on the 12th of that month they display the white flag, and there being no other way to escape death, surrender themselves prisoners. † *October* 14.

CXL. From thence *Scherfenberg* is recalled to *Darda* by the Prince of *Baden*, who hearing some *Turkish* troops were still about the *Drave*, had determined to attack and defeat them. But the *Turks*, upon the bare report of his approach, fly with such precipitation, that they not only leave *Essek* open to the *Germans*, but burn down great part of the bridge to prevent the enemy's pursuing them. The Prince of *Baden* finding they had escaped him, orders the remainder of the bridge, and the other bridges built by the *Turks* over the *Drave*, to be burnt.* In his return he assaults with greater force *Kapofwivar*, which had before been attempted in vain, and so presses the governor, terrified by the fate of the neighboring garrisons, that before the castle was reduced to extremities, on the 22d of *Zylhije* † it was surrendered to the *Germans* upon honorable terms. The *Turks* fly at the report of the *Germans* approach. The Prince of *Baden* prosecutes his victory. † *October* 29.

CXLI. Mean time the other part of the imperial army commanded by *Caraffa* and *Heusler*, had marched to *Segedin*, and closely besieged that city. While *Caraffa* is intent on the siege, he receives an account, that two thousand *Turks*, with a strong band of *Tartars*, had encamped near *Schinta*, a town six hours distant from *Segedin*, and were designed to reinforce the garrison of that city. Against these he sends *Veteran* with several regiments, who attacks and routs the *Tartars*, and takes their camp with above five thousand horses. Soon after the *Tartars* return to the battle, imagining the enemy was employed in plundering the camp, and consequently would afford them an easy victory; but being repulsed by the outmost guards, immediately retire. *Caraffa* hinders the *Tartars* from rescuing *Segedin*.

CXLII. After their defeat, the Vizir himself suddenly appears with his army, having joined to his forces the *Tartars*, he had intercepted in their flight. *Veteran*, though he has no certain information of the enemy's strength, thinks proper to continue in his station, lest he should by a retreat discourage his soldiers, and drawing them up, undauntedly expects the enemies. The *Turks* make the first attack, and fight with such fury, that for two hours it appeared doubtful to which side the victory would incline. But at last they are repulsed by the valour of the *Germans*, and retire to a hill, where they are covered by their cannon. *Veteran* immediately follows, and surmounting all obstacles, drives them also from that post, after they had lost in both battles above two thousand Janizaries, and as many *Tartars*. *Segedin* was the reward of this victory, for the garrison exhausted by continual fatigues, when they see the victorious army return to their camp, with so many heads of their friends, deliver up that fortress to the *Germans* on the 5th of the month *Zylhije* †. *Veteran* defeats the Vizir himself. *Segedin* surrenders to him. † *October* 12.

CXLIII. This was the state of affairs in *Hungary*. But in *Poland* most part of the year is spent in negotiations. For the Emperor of *Germany* had invited the Czars of *Russia*, *John* and *Peter*, into the alliance against the common enemy of Christendom; and while the rest were employed in *Hungary* and the the southern parts of *Europe*, to invade *Crim Tartary*, and prevent the junction of the *Tartars* with the *Turks*. The Czars answered, they were ready to declare war against the enemy of the Cross, if any method could be taken to secure them from the fear of a rupture with *Poland*. For as they had only a truce, and not a firm peace with that Kingdom, they should be universally blamed, if, before they were safe from one enemy, they should create another. The Emperor of *Germany* invites the Czars of *Russia* to engage against the common enemy.

CXLIV. Upon this account, the Emperor was extremely sollicitous to procure a good understanding between these two nations, and engage them to discharge their mutual resentments upon the enemy; and at last after many endeavours, he obtained of the *Poles*, that they should renounce all claim to *Kiovia* and *Smolenfci*, which had been for several ages the ground of sharp contests between A firm peace is concluded between the *Russians* and *Poles*

* This bridge is said by Dr. *Brown* to be five miles long and seventeen paces broad, reaching from the *Drave* to *Darda*. The Emperor *Ælian*'s name is still to be read in a Latin inscription on a gate. So antient is this place.

tween theſe nations, and ſign the articles of peace on the 20th of the month *Jemaziul evvel*† of the year 1097.

† *April* 3. H. 1097.

A. C. 1686. The King of *Poland* ſends an ambaſſador to *Cantemir* Prince of *Moldavia*, to engage him in an alliance.

CXLV. The King of *Poland*, *John Sobieski*, encouraged by this new aſſiſtance, reſolves upon another expedition into *Moldavia*, and to attack that province, as the chief bulwark of the *Turkiſh* Empire againſt *Poland*. But before he took the field, he determines again to try to engage the *Moldavians* in a treaty againſt the *Turks*. For this purpoſe he ſends privately his confeſſor in diſguiſe, as ambaſſador to *Conſtantine Cantemir* Prince of *Moldavia*, to perſwade him to join with the *Poles* againſt the *Turks*, and offer him liberty, and confirmation of his principality, and a perpetual alliance. When the ambaſſador comes to the Prince, he opens what he had in commiſſion, and uſes his utmoſt efforts to engage him in the treaty. "It is now (ſays he) the third year, ſince the King my "maſter, heard with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that *Cantemir* was appointed Prince "of *Moldavia* by the *Turks*, and has conceived the greateſt hopes, that he will "exert againſt the *Turks* the great abilities, of which he has formerly given "proofs in *Poland* under King *Caſimir* againſt the *Swedes*, and will aſſert the "liberty of a people oppreſſed under the *Turkiſh* tyranny. For this reaſon his "majeſty imputes to his generals the misfortune, which happened laſt year to his "army at the *Tyras*, and withal aſcribes it to the Prince's prudence, that he had "under the pretence of fidelity induced the *Turks* to a greater confidence in him, "and not expoſed himſelf and his ſubjects to *Turkiſh* bonds, when after the Im-"perialiſts were repulſed from *Buda*, it appeared uncertain, which ſide was moſt "likely to be ſuperior. But now the face of affairs is changed, and the "*Turks* will be ſo oppreſſed by the number of their enemies, that they will ſcarce "be able to think of *Moldavia*. For the Czars of *Ruſſia* are ready to invade "*Crim-Tartary* with five hundred thouſand men, and keep the *Tartars* em-"ployed, the Imperialiſts alſo will paſs the *Danube*, and joining the *Poliſh* "forces at *Adrianople*, endeavour to ſubdue *Conſtantinople*. But ſince the King "cannot in his paſſage leave *Moldavia* behind him in the hands of the enemy, "he thinks it his duty to admoniſh a *Chriſtian* Prince and his old friend, not to "oppoſe the *Chriſtian* arms any longer, but immediately join his forces to the "*Poliſh* army, and command his ſubjects to receive the *Poles*, not as enemies, but "as deliverers, and bring all ſorts of proviſions into their camp. The King on "his part will promiſe, not to injure the inhabitants any way, but to purchaſe "whatever is brought at a proper price, nor to ſuffer even a grain of barley to "be taken from any man by force; and whoever ſhall be found to do the leaſt "injury to a *Moldavian*, ſhall be put to death without mercy."

The Prince of *Moldavia* juſtly excuſes himſelf from making an alliance.

CXLVI. The Prince, in anſwer, ſays to the ambaſſador; "His inclination "to ſerve the intereſts of *Chriſtendom* has appeared ſufficiently to the king, both "from what has paſſed between him and the King's generals the laſt year, and "from his converſations with him. He has never omitted any thing he thought "advantageous to the *Chriſtians*, nor ever would for the future, whatever the "conſequences might be; but it was neither in his power, nor would be of any "uſe to the *Poles* to join forces, or to make an open alliance with them this "year. His eldeſt ſon, with thoſe of ſome nobles, were kept at *Conſtantinople* "as hoſtages, who would ſuffer the ſevereſt torments, if the *Turks* ſhould en-"tertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of his fidelity. He had in his camp but five thou-"ſand *Moldavians* who, if joined to the *Poliſh* army, would be no great ac-"ceſſion of ſtrength, nor render the *Turks* much weaker. But if he continued "in the *Turkiſh* camp, it would be in his power, not only to prevent any dan-"gerous reſolution againſt the *Poles*, but likewiſe to inform the King every day "or even every hour of the deſigns of the Seraſkier and Sultan of the *Tartars*; "which ſervices would be of much more importance than ſo ſlight an aſſiſtance. "Beſides, though for fear of the *Turks*, he could not by writing, yet by word "of mouth, he would command the inhabitants of *Moldavia* to bring all kinds "of proviſion into the *Poliſh* camp, and do every thing elſe agreeable to the "King's deſire. But if God ſhould grant ſucceſs to that expedition, and the "*Turks* and *Tartars* be defeated, he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to procure his

" ſon's eſcape from *Conſtantinople*, or give a large ranſom for him as a captive;
" and if this could not be done, he would ſacrifice him to the intereſts of Chriſ-
" tendom and the liberty of his country, and with his whole force invade the
" enemy of *Chriſt* and *Chriſtians* in open war.

CXLVII. The King of *Poland* having received this anſwer, in the beginning of the month *Sheval*, paſſes the *Tyras*, and with long marches advances to *Jaſſij*, where meeting with no oppoſition, and finding great ſtore of corn and wine (becauſe the Prince had left *Ramandi Vornicus* at *Jaſſij* to get proviſion for the King's army) he ſpends fourteen days in feaſting and entertainments, mean time the Seraskier *Buikly Muſtapha Paſha* with five and twenty thouſand horſe, and eight thouſand Janizaries had already paſſed the *Danube*, and ſent for *Nurradin Sultan* (79), with thirty thouſand *Tartars* to his camp. Here he is informed, the King was advanced to *Jaſſij*, and that *Cantemir* had not yet appeared in the *Turkiſh* camp, and deeming his abſence a revolt, commands *Nurradin Sultan* with the *Tartars* to enter *Moldavia* as an enemy's country, to lay it waſte with fire and ſword, and make the inhabitants priſoners. *Moldavia* would undoubtedly have been involved in a moſt dreadful calamity, if *Beg Myrza*, one of the *Tartarian Myrzas* of the *Cantemir*-family (80), had not interpoſed, and diverted the Seraskier and Sultan from their purpoſe by promiſing to be ſurety for Prince *Cantemir*, that he ſhould never act contrary to the fidelity due to the *Othman* empire, or revolt to the enemy; adding, he was aſſured, the Prince was departed from *Jaſſij*, and in three days would arrive at the camp. The event juſtified his words, for the Prince, on the third day before the King's arrival, had left *Jaſſij*, and being come to *Falczy*, gives liberty to as many of his followers as thought proper to return to the King, and paſſing the *Hieraſus*, about the end of the month *Sheval* reaches the Seraskier's camp.

The King of *Poland* marches to *Jaſſij*. *Cantemir*, of his own accord joining the *Turkiſh* army, delivers the inhabitants from the danger of captivity.

CXLVIII. During this interval, the King of *Poland*, tired with his feaſtings, advances farther, with intent to drive the *Turks* entirely out of *Moldavia*, but upon his ſecond encampment, obſerves his ſoldiers begin to want proviſions, becauſe all their ſtores had been waſted, during their receſs at *Jaſſij*, through the negligence of the commiſſaries; and nothing left but a great quantity of fruits for the *Poles* to eat. To

The King of *Poland* having paſſed the *Hieraſus* is attacked by the *Turks*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(79) *Nurradin Sultan*] There are two offices among the *Tartars*, that are never given to any but the Chan's ſons, deſcended from the *Alijengizian* race, and not without the conſent of the *Othman* court; namely, *Calga* and *Nurradin*. *Calga* is as it were the Chan's Lieutenant-general, who never moves out of *Crim-Tartary*, but with the whole army of the *Tartars*. *Nurradin* which in the *Tartarian* language ſignifies *Will*, is the next in degree, and is ſent with a certain number of forces, as ten or twenty thouſand *Tartars*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Turks*.

(80) *Cantemir*-family] This family was very eminent among the *Tartarian Mirzas* for nobility and riches. According to tradition, the *Cantemirs* derive their pedigree from *Temur leng* the great conqueror of *Aſia*, which ſeems to be confirmed by the name, for *Can Temur* ſignifies the blood of *Temur*, or perſons deſcended from the blood of *Temur*. One of the *Cantemirs* rebelled both againſt the Chan and the *Turkiſh* Emperor, and fought for many years with qual ſucceſs againſt ſeveral Seraſkiers, end probably would have obtained his wiſh'd for liberty, had he not been deceived by a feigned treaty. For the *Turks* ſeeing, they could not prevail by arms, pretended to make a peace with him; and, complying with his terms, granted him *Bender* with the neighboring territory, under the title of Beg, with the privilege of two horſe-tails: But having thus amuſed him, they ſhortly after put him to death. The brothers of the deceaſed ſubmitted again to the Chan, and were placed in the provinces of *Akkierman* and *Kili*. His ſon *Shahbaz Cantemir* was alſo received into favour, but changed his name, and becauſe his father had been Beg, took the ſirname of *Beg-Mirza*, which paſſed to his ſons and poſterity. Whilſt my father was Prince of *Moldavia*, *Beg-Mirza*,, mentioned in the Hiſtory, uſed often to come with his five ſons into *Moldavia*, and related the Hiſtory of his anceſtors as he had learned from tradition, the only preſerver of the *Tartarian* genealogies. He moreover ſaid, he had been informed by his anceſtors, that at the time they were moſt cloſely preſſed by the Chan, one of their family fled to the Prince of *Moldavia*, and embraced Chriſtianity; and upon this account he affirmed my Father was his relation.

medy this inconvenience, he paſſes the *Hieraſus* near *Czaczora*, imagining that before the *Turks* advanced, he ſhould ſeize the richeſt ſtore-houſes of the *Bujak Tartars*, and refreſh his hungry ſoldiers. The Seraskier being informed, the king had paſſed the *Hieraſus*, immediately marches with his whole army againſt him, and when he was ſcarce two days diſtant from *Czaczora*, diſcovers him in an open plain, and ſurrounds him. The *Tartars* ſet fire to the graſs, already dried up by the heat of the ſun, continually infeſt the *Poliſh* camp in ſmall parties, and either take the *Poles* priſoners as they are foraging, or oblige them to return with empty waggons. The king in deſpair offers battle to the Seraskier; but he either thinking it hazardous to fight with ſixty thouſand *Poles*, or deſiring to draw them farther from the borders of *Poland*, avoids an engagement, and commands his ſoldiers only to annoy the enemy by continual skirmiſhes. But the *Poliſh* army felt a much more formidable enemy within their bowels, namely famine, which preſſed them ſo dreadfully, that they could not ſtir from their camp, without leaving three or four hundred dead bodies behind.

The *Poles* are obliged to retire. The King by ſacrilege and rapine diſgraces the name of Pious.

CXLIX. The King thus diſtreſſed, endeavours to repaſs the *Hieraſus* at a place, called by the inhabitants *Vale Strimba* (81). But ſcarce half the army are over, when the *Tartars* advance, and fall upon the reſt in the rear, kill a great number, take many priſoners, and force ſtill more into the torrent. The river being at laſt paſſed with great difficulty and loſs, the King diſcharges upon the *Moldavians* the reſentment which he could not upon the *Turks*, and gives his ſoldiers licence (82) to plunder the inhabitants of that province. He himſelf burns two monaſteries at *Jaſſij*, ſeizes the ſacred veſſels, carries away the relicks of St. *John* of *Soczava* with many jewels, the monuments of the piety of former princes, and forces away as a priſoner the Metropolitan of *Moldavia*, who refuſed to deliver up the ſacred things. He afterwards comes to the monaſtery of the *Three Hierarchies*, where the relicks of St. *Paraſceua* (83) of *Epibati* are religiouſly pre-

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(81) *Vale Strimba*] A place upon the river *Hieraſus* or *Pruth*, unfortunate to the *Chriſtians*, and very fortunate to the Infidels. *Konicky*, general of the *Coſſaks*, had his trenches forced there by the *Tartars*, and was defeated with great ſlaughter. *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, was forced twice to retire out of the ſame place, and not without a very conſiderable loſs: And in my time *Peter*, Czar of *Muſcovy*, tho' he fought very bravely for three days together, yet concluded there a peace with the infidels upon ſuch conditions as he did not much like. There ſeems to be ſomething unlucky in the very etymology of the word; for *Vale ſtrimba*, in the *Moldavian* language denotes a *perverſe* or *unjuſt Valley*.

(82) licence] The King endeavoured indeed to clear himſelf of this infamy, and to throw the blame on the hungry ſoldiers, who had plundered the *Moldavians*, not only without his knowledge, but contrary to his expreſs orders; and of this he endeavoured to perſwade the Prince by letter: But his other violent proceedings in *Moldavia*, and the impriſonment of the Metropolitan, who refuſed to deliver to him the remains of St. *John* of *Soczava*, plainly ſhow, that if the ſoldiers had not the King's orders or permiſſion, yet they were certainly encouraged by his example, to commit robberies and other crimes.

(83) *Paraſceua*] *Paraſceua*, as we learn from the eccleſiaſtical menologies, was miſtreſs of the village of *Epibati*, which afterwards was poſſeſſed by the great *Apocaucus* general of the Emperor *Andronicus*. In the time of Sultan *Murad* IV. *Baſilius* Prince of *Moldavia*, obtained permiſſion to remove her bones out of the Patriarchal Church at *Conſtantinople*, on account of his great beneficence and ſervices to the Church. For he had paid out of his income above two hundred and ſixty purſes, which ſhe owed to *Turks* and *Chriſtians*. But as it is unlawful among the *Turks*, to carry a dead body above three miles, unleſs it is that of a Sultan, he ſpent above three hundred purſes in the *Othman* Court, to obtain leave to remove them, and to have an order from the Sultan for a *Capuji baſhi* to convey them into *Moldavia*. The whole Hiſtory of this Tranſlation is painted on the South wall of the Church, in which her ſacred remains are depoſited; and among other things, the *Capuji baſhi* and his officers are repreſented in proceſſion before the holy relicks. So much power has money among the *Turks*, that for the ſake of it, they not only permit, but alſo do things themſelves contrary to their ſuperſtition.

ſerved, and requires thoſe relicks, with the treaſure repoſited there, to be delivered to him. But the *Archimandrite* having heard in what manner the Metropolitan had been treated, ſhuts the doors of the church, and anſwers thoſe who were ſent by the King, that he had rather be buried in the ruins of the church, than voluntarily deliver up to any mortal ſo ſacred and valuable a treaſure. The King, to terrify the obſtinate monk, commands the cannon to be brought, and threatens to batter down the doors, and carry away the whole treaſure, ſince he was refuſed part, when demanded in a friendly manner. But finding the *Archimandrite* inflexible, either touched with the ſhame of ſacrilege, or prevented by his officers, he ſoon after departs without gaining his point.

CL. The ſoldiers, induced by hunger as well as the Kings example, plunder the cities and villages, not ſparing any place, religious or prophane, in which they imagined they could find any thing to ſatisfy their appetite or luſt. The whole army follows the King's example.

CLI. But this ſacrilege ſoon met its due puniſhment. For the inhabitants being diſperſed by the cruelty of the *Poles* and *Coſſaki*, when the troops which followed, found the houſes empty, they were obliged to eat raw fleſh without being ſalted; and this occaſioned a flux among them, which encreaſed in a few days to ſuch a degree in the King's camp, that ſcarce a night paſſed, but five hundred *Poles* or more died. The Prince likewiſe being informed of the heinous crimes and ſacrileges committed by the *Poles*, ſends his forces over all the province, ſurprizes them diſperſed, and apprehenſive of no ſuch attempt, and takes above four thouſand priſoners, of whom ſome he burns, others he impales or hangs, deſervedly puniſhing them by different kinds of death. God puniſhes the ſacrilegious *Poles*.

CLII. When the King's army came to *Colmar*, the *Tartars* poiſon with noxious herbs (84) the lake, which waters that city; by which means the men and cattle, who drink of it, are deſtroyed. The thing being diſcovered, the King, not to expoſe himſelf and his forces to greater danger, avoids the open country, and encamps on the *Siretus*, which is ſurrounded with mountains. The *Tartars* obſerving this, conclude, his deſign was to retire into *Poland*; and as the woods and mountains were difficult to paſs by the horſe, they return home, laden with plunder and priſoners. The *Tartars* poyſon the waters with noxious herbs.

CLIII. The King of *Poland*, freed from the *Tartars* (for the *Turks* had not paſſed the *Hieraſus*) that he might not appear to have conſumed the Pope's money to no purpoſe, in his return takes the caſtle of *Nemez* (85), deſerted by its inhabitants, though not without difficulty; for there remained by chance in the caſtle, nineteen *Moldavian* hunters, who ſhutting the gates, and drawing up the bridges, denied the King entrance. The King not knowing how inconſiderable the garriſon was, aſſaults it four days with cannon and bombs. The hunters defend themſelves, and kill about fifty *Poles* with the maſter of the ordnance. At laſt, on the fifth day, when they ſee ten of their companions killed, they ſurrender the city upon condition, that the garriſon ſhould depart where they pleaſed. The king ſeeing only ſix hunters come out, carrying three others wounded upon their ſhoulders, is ſtruck with admiration, reſentment, and ſhame, and firſt orders them to be hanged; but being put in mind by *Yablonowski* of his promiſe of liberty, diſmiſſes them. He afterwards places two hundred choſen horſe in the city, and marches to *Soczava*, the antient ſeat of the Princes of *Moldavia*, and finding it empty of both ſoldiers and inhabitants, takes and garriſons it. The King in his return takes the caſtle of *Nemez*, and afterwards *Sochavia*.

Annotations.

(84) noxious herbs] It is a wonderful thing, and incredible to thoſe that have not been eye-witneſſes of it, but I have ſeen it ſometimes done by them. The *Tartars* have a ſecret among them, which not above three or four in all *Tartary* know by tradition, that is, an herb of ſo ſtrong and poiſonous a nature, that it can poiſon not only ſtanding water, but even the rapid river *Hieraſus*. They throw it into the river, a good way above the enemy's camp, and till it is carried down with the ſtream, all men or beaſts that drink of the water immediately die without remedy.

(85) *Nemez*] A very antient city of *Lower Moldavia*, ſituated upon a high mountain beyond *Siretus* near a river of the ſame name, concerning which ſee more in my deſcription of *Moldavia*.

CLIV. By

The *Tartars* returning, greatly annoy the *Poles.*

CLIV. By theſe ſucceſſes of the *Poles*, the *Tartars*, who had now carried home their former booty, are recalled, and like ravenous wolves run every where, and intercept the *Poles*, who are at any diſtance from the army. In theſe excurſions on the 16th of the month *Zylcade* †, they are met by the high treaſurer, whom the King had ſent before with eight thouſand *Poles*, and defeated with great loſs. But neither this victory was of any advantage to the *Poles*. For when, by reaſon of the famine, the army was obliged to live on the fruits of trees, and for that purpoſe was diſperſed more widely in the woods, than was proper, the *Tartars* frequently attacked them in this diſorder, killing ſome, and taking others priſoners; and whoever ſtrayed any diſtance from his troop, might be ſure of never returning.

† *Sept.* 23.

The King privately abandons the camp, and flies.

CLV. The King perceiving this danger, firſt abandons the camp, and under the guidance of *Turkuleczius*, a *Moldavian* colonel, flies away privately in the night with a few attendants. The reſt of the army, whom a more propitious fortune had preſerved both from the famine and the enemy's ſword, under the conduct of *Yablonowski* return to the King at *Yavarovia* about the end of the month *Zylcade*.

The ſucceſſes of the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks.*

CLVI. The *Venetians* had that year much better ſucceſs. In the beginning of the ſpring, the *Morlachians* beſiege *Ottoch*, a city ſituated between the two channels of the river *Cettin*; and taking it by ſtorm, put the whole garriſon to the ſword. *Capudan Paſha* makes the ſame attempt upon *Chielafa*; but on the approach of the *Venetian* fleet, is obliged to retire. Part of this fleet is ſent to block up *Conſtantinople* on the ſide of the *Archipelago* towards the *Dardanelles*; the reſt of the ſhips attack *Old Navarinum*; which city being ſurrendered by the governor the firſt day of the ſiege, *New Navarinum* is cloſely inveſted: The Seraskier of the *Morea* flies to its relief; but before he reached the *Venetian* works, he is attacked by Count *Koningsmark* and the Marquiſs of *Curbon* with eight thouſand two hundred ſoldiers, and defeated. He ſoon after raiſes three thouſand men more out of the neighbouring garriſons, and aſſembling thoſe who had eſcaped the former battle, re-attempts to relieve the city, but is repulſed with great loſs; upon which the inhabitants of *Navarinum*, deſtitute of all hopes, on the 26th of the month *Rejeb* †, ſurrender the city to the *Venetians*.

† *June* 7.

The *Venetians* take *Methone*, and defeat the *Turks* in a battle at *Corone.*

CLVII. Three days after *Methone* is beſieged, and on the 15th of the month *Shaban** delivered up by the garriſon, terrified by the late defeat of the Seraskier. The *Venetians* crown their *Peloponneſian* expedition with the taking of *Neapolis* of *Romania*. This city is beſieged by *Moroſini* on the 10th of the month *Ramazan* †, and though it was very ſtrong both by nature and art, in a few days he demoliſhes the walls with his cannon. On the ſixth day of the ſiege, the Seraſkier of the *Morea* haſtens with his troops to the relief of the city, but is met by *Koningsmark*, and after a ſhort battle defeated. However not being diſcouraged with this misfortune, and knowing if this city ſhould be ſubdued by the *Venetians*, he muſt anſwer it with his head, he raiſes a more numerous army, and on the 9th of the month *Sheval** at break of day attacks the trenches of the *Venetians*, and before they can recover themſelves, takes poſſeſſion of a hill, from whence he could cannonade the greateſt part of the camp. In this exigence *Koningſmark* with the troops under his command, comes to the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and detained the enemy till *Moroſini* advanced with the reſt of the army. The *Turks*, though they perceive the *Venetians* to be ſuperior, fight for ſeven hours with ſuch bravery, as if the whole *Othman* empire had been at ſtake; but at laſt, by the repeated aſſaults of the *Venetians*, are put to flight. *Muſtapha*, governor of the city, ſeeing the *Chriſtians* returning to their trenches in triumph, and concluding the forces, from which he expected relief, were defeated, the very ſame day diſplays the ſignal of ſurrender, and upon the promiſe of leave to depart, on the 9th of the month *Sheval* †, delivers up the caſtle to the *Venetians*.

* *June* 26.
† *July* 20.
* *Auguſt* 18.
† *Auguſt* 19.

The *Venetian* ſucceſſes in *Dalmatia.*

CLVIII. In *Dalmatia*, the Baſha of *Boſnia* early in the ſpring beſieges *Duare*; but hearing of the approach of the *Venetians*, retreats with great loſs. He makes ſeveral attempts upon the enemy in other places, but is repulſed with ſlaughter. The *Venetians*, elated with theſe ſucceſſes, on the ſeventh of the month *Sheval* †, under the command of *Cornaro* attack *Zing*, which *Vallier* had in vain attempt-

† *Auguſt* 16.

ed

ed the laſt year, and having demoliſhed the walls with their cannon, on the ſecond day of the ſiege take it by ſtorm, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. With like ſucceſs the *Morlachians* make an expedition towards *Conſtantinople*, and by a ſtratagem draw a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe out of the city, where they were garriſon'd, then ſurrounding them, kill a great number at the firſt attack, and purſued the reſt with ſuch vigour, that they entered the city with them promiſcuouſly, and having plundered it, ſet it on fire.

The people of *Conſtantinople* are enraged againſt the Sultan, and cry out that he ought to be depoſed.

CLIX. Theſe misfortunes alarming the *Ulema* and the people of *Conſtantinople*, they at firſt utter privately ſeditious expreſſions againſt Sultan *Mahomet*, but afterwards throw them out publickly. The *Ulema* eſpecially repreſented to the common people, that the treaſury being exhauſted, myriads of Muſulmans ſlain by the *Chriſtians*, *Hungary* and the *Morea* loſt, and the royal city itſelf threatned with immediate danger, it was too late now to adviſe the Sultan to leave hunting, and apply himſelf to the care of the empire, and endeavour to aſſiſt it in this diſtreſs. That this could not be imputed to weakneſs of mind, ſince *Mahomet* had ſome years ſince ſhown, he was not unqualified for the adminiſtration of affairs; but to the divine wrath againſt the Muſulmans for the breach of the peace, made by the moſt wiſe Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, which had ſo infatuated the Sultan, as to imagine, that the bounds of the *Othman* empire, extended by the labours and blood of ſo many Muſulmans, could be defended by dogs and falcons. That the indignation of the moſt high could not be appeaſed by any other method than removing the objects of it, namely, the Sultan, who was the firſt author of the unjuſt war, and all thoſe, who by their advice or *Fetva*, approved of the violation of the peace.

The Sultan endeavours in vain to lay the blame upon others.

CLX. The Sultan informed of what was publickly ſaid in the ſtreets and aſſemblies, inſtantly repairs to *Conſtantinople*, diveſts the *Mufti* of his dignity, employs ſeveral perſons in his intereſts to repreſent to the people, that the Sultan was not the occaſion of beginning the war, but the Vizir *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, and the depoſed Mufti, whoſe counſels he did not think proper to oppoſe, as well becauſe they appeared reaſonable, as out of regard to their authority. But that *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* had been put to death, and the Mufti deprived of his office, on that account.

He lays a new tax upon the people for the payment of the ſoldiers

CLXI. To give the people a farther proof of his zeal for the intereſts of the empire, he ſells the jewels repoſited in the treaſury, and with the money pays the ſoldiers, and this not being ſufficient, he lays a tax upon the *Jami Moſchs* and every houſe (86). By theſe arts, the ſedition juſt ready to break out, is not only appeaſed that year, but the people alſo are excited to contribute more readily what was wanted for the publick ſervice.

The Imperialiſts defeat the *Turks* and take their camp.

CLXII. Mean time the Duke of *Lorrain* marched with the Imperial army towards *Eſſek*, and having paſſed the *Drave*, deſigned to attack the Vizir who had encamped about *Eſſek*. But while the Imperialiſts were retarded by the difficulty of the ways, *Soliman Paſha* poſted his army ſo advantageouſly, that the Duke, inſtead of venturing to attack him, was obliged to fortify his camp for fear of being aſſaulted. The *Turks* and Imperialiſts being thus encamped near

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(86) houſe.] The Chriſtian *European* merchants that live in *Conſtantinople*, tho' they are very curious in other reſpects, could never compute how much this tribute brought into the treaſury. For not any, either *Turkiſh* or *Chriſtian* houſe, was exempted, but all paid according to their largeneſs, or the maſter's abilities, from ten to five hundred *Leonines*. Now there being in the city alone, without the ſuburbs of *Pera*, *Chriſopolis*, *Ejub*, *Bektaſh*, and other adjoining villages, above four hundred thouſand houſes, beſides the markets, inns, ſhops, and baths, any one may gueſs, how much money was raiſed: But when God is pleaſed to divide, man cannot poſſibly put together. For though that money was very carefully raiſed, and depoſited in the treaſury, yet, as if there had been ſome curſe attending it, it came to nothing, and could afford no ſupport to the *Turkiſh* affairs. So that it is a greater wonder, how ſuch an immenſe ſum was conſumed without any advantage, than how it was collected.

each other, at firſt try the fortune of war in skirmiſhes, then contend with their cannon, which doing much greater execution on the part of the *Turks*, by reaſon of their ſituation, the *Germans* are forced to give way. The *Turks* taking it for a flight, immediately follow the enemy, who retreat towards the *Danube*, and reſolve to give them battle. But while the Vizir proceeds more ſlowly by reaſon of his numbers, the *Germans* encamp at *Mohach**, where refreſhing their troops, fatigued with a long march and want of proviſion, they determine to demoliſh the walls of *Zicli* and *Five Churches*, and attempt to ſubdue *Alba Regalis*. With this view they decamp, and on the 30th of the month *Ramazan* † of the year 1098, march towards *Zicli*. But they had ſcarce left their camp, when a great number of the enemy's horſe appear, and attack them on all ſides as they moved ſlowly, in order to detain the *Germans* till the Vizir ſhould advance with his whole army. After three days skirmiſhing, the Vizir comes, and poſting himſelf in a little wood, through which the Imperialiſts muſt paſs, declares publickly to his army, he had received an order from the Sultan to engage the *Germans*, and promiſes great rewards to thoſe, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their valour and heroick actions. The next day, which was the 4th of the month *Sheval* † he draws up his army, and obſerving the front of the *Germans* to be too wide for the wings to aſſiſt each other, commands his troops to annoy the enemy's right wing with continual, but ſlight attacks, and on the other hand to ruſh with their whole ſtrength upon the left wing. The *Turks* vigorouſly execute their general's orders, and fall upon the left wing of the Imperialiſts with ſuch fury, that they would undoubtedly have routed it, if the cannon, placed amongſt the ſoldiers, had not retarded the *Othmans* as they were incautiouſly moving forward, and killed a great number of them, and by that means extorted from them the victory, of which they almoſt ſeemed aſſured. However, not content to have once tryed the fortune of a battle, they again with more fury, and a larger body attack thoſe, by whom they had been repulſed, and though, by the reſiſtances they met with, they ſuſtain as great a loſs as before, they retire to the wood, from whence they were come, in good order, and ſeemed to retreat, rather than fly. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who commanded that wing, ſeeing the *Turks* twice repulſed by him, and imagining their courage abated, reſolves himſelf to attack the enemy in the wood, and leads his troops thither. But before he can execute his deſign, he obſerves the enemy advancing in a body againſt him; to repel whom, he orders the cannon to be placed in the front and loaded with ſmall bullets and pieces of iron, which being diſcharged upon the *Turks*, did ſuch execution, that they durſt not engage the Imperialiſts, but retired faſter than they advanced. The Duke of *Bavaria* immediately follows them; but he had ſcarce continued his purſuit an hour, when he is ſurprized to ſee the *Turkiſh* camp entire, and would have imagined it to be a viſion, ſince it could ſcarce be conceived how an army routed, and more inclined to fly than fight, ſhould in ſo ſhort a time have been perſuaded to fortify themſelves with ſo ſtrong a trench, if the cannon placed there had not been diſcovered by their noiſe, and warned the Imperialiſts not raſhly to proceed any farther. But the *Turkiſh* trenches being demoliſhed by the *German* cannon, the imperial horſe, and afterwards the foot, penetrate into the camp itſelf, and put to the ſword almoſt all the Janizaries, deſerted by their horſe. The Vizir perceiving things to be deſperate, with a few eſcapes by flight, and leaves the whole camp, with a great booty, and all the warlike proviſions, to the conquerors. The Imperialiſts immediately purſue him; but becauſe the horſe had retreated a great way before, while the Janizaries were yet engaged; they take only ſome hundreds of ſtraglers, and put moſt of them to the ſword, in revenge of the *Chriſtians* ſlain in the battle.

† *July* 18. H. 1098. A. C. 1687.

† *Auguſt* 1.

The Vizir eſcaping by flight, retires to *Belgrade*.

CLXIII. The Vizir having eſcaped by flight, his firſt care was to defend *Eſſek* and *Peterwaradin*, which very probably the Imperialiſts would attack after this victory. For this purpoſe he ſoftens the mutual reſentment of the Janizaries and *Spahis*, reinforces the garriſon of *Eſſek* with ſeveral regiments, and having left ſix thouſand men to guard the bridge of *Peterwaradin*, retires to *Belgrade*.

CLXIV. The

CLXIV. The Duke of *Lorrain* ſeeing theſe places too well fortified to be taken in the two months, which ſtill remained of the campain, ſpreads a report, that he deſigned to beſiege *Temiſwar*, upon which the Vizir, ſollicitous for the defence of that city, ſends the greateſt part of his army thither. The Vizir being deceived by this ſtratagem, and the *Turkiſh* army in *Sclavonia* weakened, the Duke of *Lorrain* orders *Dunewald* with a party to paſs the *Drave*, and endeavour to drive the enemies of the Croſs out of *Sclavonia*; and continues himſelf with the main army to obſerve the motions of the *Turks* in *Hungaria*. *Dunewald* having paſſed the *Drave*, lays ſiege to *Burzin* on the 2d of the month *Zylcade* †, and having demoliſhed the walls, prepares to inveſt it; upon which the garriſon on the fifth day of the ſiege ſurrender themſelves and caſtle to the mercy of the conqueror. This city being taken, he aſſaults *Walpo*, which fortreſs was neceſſary to be ſubdued, before the ſiege of *Eſſek* could be undertaken.

The ſucceſs of the Imperialiſts in *Sclavonia*.

† *Auguſt* 29.

CLXV. The governor of the city by a ſignal informs the garriſon of *Eſſek*, that the *Germans* were come, and deſires aſſiſtance againſt them. But the ſoldiers of *Eſſek*, terrified at the unexpected approach of the Imperialiſts, lay gun-powder under the fortifications of the caſtle, and prepare to fly with their baggage. *Dunewald* being informed of this, orders *Lodrone* with two thouſand horſe to obſerve more particularly what is doing at *Eſſek*. The garriſon ſeeing him, imagine, the whole *German* army was advancing, and abandon the city with ſuch precipitation, that they not only left behind them the greateſt part of their baggage, but forgot to ſet fire to the mines they had made under the caſtle, and filled with gun-powder. Upon this the governor of *Walpo* thinks it more prudent to give way to the ill fortune of the *Othman* Empire, and by ſubmiſſion to ſoften the conquerors, than by a fruitleſs obſtinacy to exaſperate them; and therefore ſurrenders the city to the Imperialiſts, before it was aſſaulted.

Eſſek ſurrendered to them.

CLXVI. With equal ſucceſs *Dunewald* ſoon after takes *Poſhega*, the capital of *Sclavonia*, and *Bellaſtin*, *Patrask*, *Shirask*, *Telicham*, *Walkowar*, *Erdedi*, and ſeveral other caſtles of that country, which had been abandoned by the *Turks*, and reſtores all *Sclavonia* to the *Chriſtian* ſubjection. The governor likewiſe of *Leopoldopolis* aſſaults *Areizaga*, *Ciokaku* and *Polota*, which are ſurrendered to him. At the ſame time *Agria* in *Upper Hungary* is inveſted by a ſmall body of Imperialiſts drawn from the neighboring garriſons, and cut off from any ſupplies.

They ſubdue all *Sclavonia* with equal ſucceſs. *Agria* in *Hungaria* is beſieged.

CLXVII. The campain of this year is crowned by the Duke of *Lorrain* with the reduction of *Tranſylvania*. The Prince of that country, *Michael Apaffi*, in the beginning of the ſummer had been ſollicited by the Emperor of *Germany* to abandon his alliance with the *Turks*, and admit the victorious ſtandards of the *Chriſtians* into his province, and he had ſhown himſelf ready to comply, on condition the danger from the *Turks* ſhould be farther removed from the borders of *Tranſylvania*. But when about the end of this year the Duke of *Lorrain*, according to their agreement, was preparing to fix his winter-quarters in that province, *Apaffi* denies him entrance, (being unwilling to ſubmit to that burthen, or with an intention to perſwade the *Turks* it was out of neceſſity, and not of his own accord, that he ſurrendered his principality,) and returns the Duke this anſwer, that his promiſe of granting winter-quarters was not extended to the whole army, but only to ſome regiments. But the Duke conſidering there was no occaſion for words, where arms would prevail, enters *Tranſylvania* without the Prince's conſent, and ſiezing the principal cities of the country, *Cibinium* and *Claudiopolis*, obliges him to ſubmit to the Emperor, and places his ſoldiers in winter quarters.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Apaffi*, takes ſeveral cities in *Tranſylvania*, where he likewiſe fixes his winter-quarters.

CLXVIII. The *Ruſſians* did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs againſt the *Tartars*. For the Czars being incapable, on account of their youth, to command their army in perſon, had ſent *Baſilius* Prince of *Galliczin* with a numerous but confuſed army againſt the *Crim-Tartars*. This general after ſeveral days march without any oppoſition from the enemy through the deſerts, which divide *Ruſſia* from *Crim-Tartary*, is ſurrounded by *Nuradin Sultan*, and cut off from proviſion and water. This misfortune is ſoon followed by another ſtill more ſevere, for a peſtilence, occaſioned either by the intenſe heat, or the want of wa-

The *Ruſſians* march againſt *Crim-Tartary*, but without ſucceſs.

ter, deſtroys above forty thouſand *Ruſſians* in a ſhort ſpace. However *Nurradin Sultan* fearing the *Ruſſian* army, though weakened by this calamity, to oblige them to return immediately, pretends to march with his *Tartars* towards *Kiovia*; upon which *Galliczin*, apprehenſive of greater danger, led his forces to the relief of that province, and abandoned the deſerts of *Crim-Tartary*. But this ſtratagem of the Sultan would not have diverted the Prince from entering *Crim-Tartary*, if he had not been recalled by the letters of *Sophia* (87), ſiſter to the Czars, which informed him that the *Ruſſian* Empire would be expoſed to great hazard, unleſs he returned immediately to the capital.

The *Poles* beſiege *Cameniec*; but at the approach of the *Turks* retire. † *Auguſt* 2.

CLXIX. The *Poles*, under the command of *James Sobieski* the King's eldeſt ſon, about the beginning of the month *Sheval*, take the field, and on the 24th of the ſame month appear before *Cameniec*, and threaten to beſiege the city. But after they had twice or thrice diſcharged their cannon, and demoliſhed ſome houſes in the city by their bombs, on the fourth day being informed, the *Turks* with the *Bujac-Tartars* were advanced to *Czuczora* in order to relieve the city, they raiſe the ſiege. The garriſon of *Cameniec* attack them in the rear, as they retire, killing ſome, and taking others priſoners, with the loſs of about fifty of their own party. Except this battle, the *Poliſh* and *Turkiſh* armies performed nothing remarkable this year.

The *Venetians* take ſeveral cities in the *Morea*.

CLXX. With much greater vigour the *Venetians* carry on the war againſt the enemies of the croſs in the *Morea*. For landing their forces on the 23d of the month *Ramazan* at *Patros*, they march three days after under the command of Count *Koningſmark* againſt the Seraſkier, who encourages his troops to fight by ſpeeches and preſents, and drawing them into the field, with his cavalry makes the firſt charge upon the left wing of the *Venetians*. But being repulſed with loſs, he directs his whole force againſt the right wing with ſuch fury, that the Janizaries endeavoured to remove with their ſwords the barricadoes which ſecured the front of the *Venetians*. But being every where bravely oppoſed, he is forced, after receiving a dangerous wound, and loſing many of his men with the Paſha of *Vallona*, to fly with the remains of his army, about two thouſand of which are partly ſlain and partly taken by the *Chriſtians*, who purſued them, and the reſt driven into the mountains. This victory not only confirmed the acquiſitions of the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, but reduced what till then remained under the *Turkiſh* dominion. The garriſon of *Patras* are the firſt after this victory, who abandon the caſtle with all their warlike ſtores and fly. *Mehemed Paſha*, who with ſix thouſand men was commanded to defend the caſtle of *Rumelia*, having blown up the walls, ſoon follows the example of the garriſon of *Patras*. The ſame is done by *Mehemed* governor of the caſtle of the *Morea*, when he ſaw the *Venetian* gallies approaching; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, the city *Naupactus* ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, ſends deputies to the *Venetian* fleet which was ſailing thither with offers of a ſurrender. After the affairs of the conquered cities were ſettled, *Moroſini*, general of the *Venetian* army, aſſaults *Caſtel-Forneſe* and *Miſitra*, the governors of which, content with the liberty of departing, deliver up the caſtles with all the warlike proviſions, without the leaſt oppoſition.

Moroſini takes *Corinth*.

CLXXI. The only city, which makes any long reſiſtance, was *Epidaurus Limeria* (88), the garriſon of which, confiding in the ſtrength of the place, though extremely annoyed by bombs, defend it with great bravery. But *Moroſini* paſſing by this place, ſails with his fleet through the *Corinthian* bay directly to *Corinth*, hoping, when that city was ſubdued, the *Turks* would not only be cut off from any poſſibility of returning to the *Morea*, but it would alſo be much eaſier to re-

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(87) letters of *Sophia*] Many are of a different opinion, and blame *Galliczin* alone for the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, but I have choſen to relate here, what I know to be true and unqueſtionable.

(88) *Epidaurus Limeria*] The ſame as is called by the modern *Greeks* μονεμβασία, by the *Turks Menewthe**, and by the *Italians Napoli di Malvaſia*. It is the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in all the *Morea*.

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duce the reſt of the caſtles, ſtill held by the *Turks*. The Seraskier hearing of *Moroſini*'s approach, and finding the four thouſand men, he had with him, would not be able to contend with the *Venetians*, ſets fire to the magazines in *Corinth*, and demoliſhing the greateſt part of the walls, retreats with his ſoldiers into the mountains of *Thebes*, and kills very diſhonorably all the *Greeks* he met in his way, alledging, they were the cauſe of his misfortune. But *Moroſini* ſeeing the flames, and ſuſpecting the caſe, ſends ſome troops, and extinguiſhes the fire, before the magazines could be all conſumed.

CLXXII. Then he ſends Count *Koningſmark* with part of the army to *Athens*, who after a ſhort ſiege obliges the city to ſurrender. In this ſiege, the *Venetians* by a bomb ſet fire to the gun-powder repoſited by the *Turks* in the celebrated temple antiently dedicated to *the unknown God*, by which means it was entirely blown up. And thus the *Venetians*, the moſt polite people of *Italy*, deſtroyed theſe monuments of antiquity in *Conſtantinople* and *Athens*, which the *Barbarians* had left untouched; and upon this account, deſerved to be repreſented in the ſame picture with *Heroſtratus*; though there is this difference, that what the latter did with deſign, the *Venetians* did by accident. *Koningſmark* takes *Athens*.

CLXXIII. In *Dalmatia* the *Turks* begin the campain, and under the command of *Atlaglik Paſha* governour of *Boſnia*, on the firſt day of the month *Jemaziel evvel*, beſiege *Zyng*, which *Cornaro* had taken the year before, and aſſault it forty days with great vigour and reſolution; but at laſt, after the loſs of a great number of men, upon the approach of the *Venetian* army, on the 10th of the following month, are obliged to retire. The *Turks* invade *Dalmatia* without ſucceſs.

CLXXIV. *Cornaro*, on the other hand, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet of the *Malteſe* and the Pope, lays cloſe ſiege to the new caſtle of *Dalmatia* on the 25th of the month *Shevval*. The Baſha of *Boſnia* haſtens to the relief of that city, and having penetrated through the narrow paſſes, which were guarded by the *Morlachians*; on the 8th of the month *Zylhije* attacks the *Venetian* trenches with ſuch fury, that he would have beaten the forces, which defended them, if *Cornaro*, with the reſt of his army, and the *Malteſe* auxiliaries had not ſeaſonably ſupported them, when they began to give way. At his approach the ſcene is ſo changed, that the *Turks* juſt before conquerors, after a ſhort and bloody fight having loſt above eight hundred men, are obliged to fly. The garriſon, though they ſaw their friends defeated, defend themſelves with great bravery; but at laſt, after the *Venetians*, on the 21ſt of the month *Zylhije*, had taken the city by ſtorm; on the third day, thoſe, who had eſcaped into the caſtle, ſeeing themſelves irrecoverably loſt, if they made any longer reſiſtance, ſurrender alſo the caſtle. *Cornaro* defeats the *Turks*, and takes the new caſtle.

CLXXV. In the mean time there ariſes in the *Turkiſh* army from a ſlight cauſe, a very great ſedition, which not only deprived the Sultan of the Imperial dignity, but proved an almoſt irreparable detriment to the whole *Othman* empire. While the Vizir continued at *Peterwaradin*, being informed, that *Agria* laboured under an extreme want of proviſion, and unleſs immediately relieved, would be forced to ſurrender, he commands a thouſand Janizaries and ſeveral hundred *Spahis* to march with proviſion for the ſupply of that city. They both refuſe to obey his orders, and alledge the Vizir's intention is to deſtroy the whole army, which had been through his fault defeated by the Imperialiſts. They ſhow their ſcars and wounds, and horſes quite ſpent, and ſcarce able to breathe; and when the Vizir renewed his commands in a more poſitive manner, they reply, they will not move a ſtep from *Peterwaradin* without him. Theſe beginnings of a ſedition are ſoon after inflamed by a new incident, the Vizir having attempted the deſtruction of ſeveral Baſhas, by accuſing them to the Sultan of neglecting their duty in the laſt battle. The Baſhas informed of their danger by their friends at court, exaſperate the whole army againſt the Vizir. At the head of theſe diſturbances appears *Siavus Paſha* (89), who was in the liſt of the accuſed ſent by the Vizir to the Sultan, a man The *Turkiſh* army raiſe a rebellion againſt the Vizir.

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(89) *Siavus Paſha*] A man diſtinguiſhed neither by his birth nor by any ſort of merit, and before this action, the mere ſport of fortune. Three years before this expedition

man of great courage and haughtineſs, and by his perſuaſion the army demands of the Vizir the payment of two *Kyſt* (90), due to them. The Vizir not having the money ready, endeavours to ſatisfy them with words, and tells them, the Sultan had already ſent their pay, which would in a few days be brought to the camp. But they are deaf to theſe flattering ſpeeches, for, being encouraged by *Siavus Paſha*, they demand their due with ſtill greater inſolence, and command him either to pay them, or reſign the Vizirſhip, ſince they had a perſon much more deſerving of that dignity, who not only had promiſed them their pay, but would command the army with greater ſucceſs and prudence, than *Soliman Paſha*.

The Vizir finding affairs deſperate, eſcapes privately by night to *Conſtantinople*.

CLXXVI. When the Vizir ſees the army cannot by any methods be appeaſed, and is in fear of his life, he eſcapes privately out of the camp by night, and flies to *Conſtantinople*, bringing the firſt news of the rebellion to the Sultan. He lays the whole blame upon *Siavus*, and accuſes him, with ſome others, of corrupting the army, after having by treachery deprived him of the victory againſt the *Germans*, of which he was almoſt ſecure.

He is protected by the clemency of the Sultan.

CLXXVII. Sultan *Mahomet*, who from the former actions of *Soliman Paſha* had conceived too high an opinion of his prudence and courage, eaſily credits his repreſentation of affairs; and, lamenting with tears the misfortune, common to himſelf and the Vizir, orders him to conceal himſelf till he could receive a more certain account of the deſigns of the rebels. *Soliman Paſha*, by this inſtance, convinced of the Sultan's good-will towards him, retires to the houſe of a certain *Greek*, named *Manolaki* (91), near the palace, in the ſtreet *Curicheſhme* * (92), where he hides himſelf for ſeven and twenty days from the knowledge of every perſon, but the Sultan and his moſt faithful friend, the *Kiſtar Aga*.

The army under the influence of *Siavus Paſha*, who was at the head of the rebellion, conſpire againſt the Sultan.

CLXXVIII. But *Siavus Paſha*, finding the Vizir fled, two days after calls a council of the chief conſpirators at *Belgrade*, and engages them in a deſign to depoſe the Sultan, and put ſeveral of the great men to death. The reſt of the army imagining the Vizir was fled on purpoſe, that they, being deſtitute of a general, might either be expoſed to the enemy, or obliged humbly to ſue for pardon from the Sultan, deſire *Siavus Paſha* to take upon him the office of Prime Vizier. He, in order to gain the Sultan's favour, refuſes to accept of the honour, alledging, this dignity could not be conferred by any mortal, except the Sultan alone. That he had hitherto been their protector from the injuries of the Vizir, and would continue ſo till they ſhould reach *Conſtantinople*, and have an opportunity of exhibiting their complaints to the Sultan. That he was not ſo impious, as to preſume to attempt any thing againſt an innocent Sultan, whoſe ſingular virtues he had always revered; and therefore he would perſuade the ſoldiers, before they moved a ſtep further, to ſend a petition to the Sultan, and wait his anſwer.

In the name of the whole army he accuſes the Vizir as a deſerter.

CLXXIX. This advice being approved, *Siavus Paſha*, in the name of the whole army, ſends an *Arzmahzar* (93) to the Sultan, and informs him, that the

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dition he had been *Chocadar** to *Cara Kiehaia*; and afterwards being raiſed to the dignity of Baſha, his ambition increaſed with his good-fortune, and he conſpired againſt the Vizir his great benefactor.

(90) *Kyſt*,] Thee months pay, as *Navaka* is one day's, and *Ulufe* is a month's pay. The Janizaries yearly ſtipend is commonly divided into four *Kyſt*, and diſtributed to them four times a year.

(91) *Manolaki*,] a very rich *Greek*, who though of mean extraction, and illiterate, was yet a great patron and encourager of learning. He built in *Phanarium* a very large college, of which I have given an account in the firſt part of my Hiſtory.

(92) *Curicheſhme* *,] that is, *a dry ſpring*. It is the name of a village near the *Thracian Boſphorus*, or *Sea of Marmora*, about ſix miles from *Conſtantinople*. The word is written *Curikieſme*, i. e. *a dry Rock*, becauſe there is a craggy Rock hangs over the ſhore. Here is ſeen a very fine palace, formerly belonging to *Serban Cantacuzenus*, Prince of *Walachia*.

(93) *Arzmahzar*,] It is a petition preſented in the name of a whole province or army to the Sultan or Vizir; for ſuch as is preſented by a ſingle perſon, is called *Arzuhal*, concerning which I have ſpoken in a former note.

forces of the *Aliothman* Empire were determined to come to *Conſtantinople* under his command, not to raiſe a ſedition againſt the Sultan, or attempt any thing againſt his ſacred perſon, but becauſe, after the Vizir's ſhameful treachery and deſertion, they thought it neceſſary to demand Juſtice of the Sultan againſt him, and to reſcue themſelves from the danger in which they were involved by the Vizir. The Sultan therefore need not fear; but if he be deſirous immediately to appeaſe theſe commotions, he ſhould ſend to the camp the head of the Vizir, as a deſerter and traytor, and the pay due to the army, by the *Teſterdar* and *Giumrukchi* *, *Huſein Aga* (94).

CLXXX. When this letter is brought to *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan is ſtrangely perplexed. Several of his moſt intimate counſellors perſuade him to ſatisfy the demands of the ſoldiers, by the death of the Vizir, whether guilty or innocent, in order to ſecure his own authority. They obſerve, there are ſeveral officers in the army ſuperior perhaps in merit to *Soliman Paſha*, ſo there is no reaſon to fear that the death of one man will prove fatal to the whole *Othman* Empire. However, the Sultan's favour to the Vizir, and the opinion which he had conceived of his abilities, prevail with him above all other conſiderations. He determines therefore, at all events, to protect him, and returns no other anſwer to the *Arzmahzar* of the army, but that money was already ſent to pay them, and would very ſoon be diſtributed. He takes no notice of the Vizir's miſconduct, hoping the ſoldiers, ſoftened by the ſight of money, would lay aſide their reſentments, which the want of pay had ſeemed chiefly to have raiſed againſt the Vizir, and return to their duty. But the ſoldiers, not content with the money, exclaim, that the Sultan is equally culpable with the Vizir, who is therefore protected, and the juſt demands of the army refuſed; nor can other remedy be applied to the unfortunate ſtate of the *Othman* affairs, than depoſing the Sultan, and puniſhing his evil counſellors.

The Sultan in protecting the Vizir paves the way for his own ruin.

CLXXXI. When he hears the rebels, for this purpoſe, are marching with great ſpeed to *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan, to turn their leader from this rebellion, ſends to him, by *Silahdar Aga*, the ſeal of the Empire, and *Mahomet*'s ſtandard, flattering himſelf that *Siavus Paſha*, having obtained what he wanted, would not be ſo importunate for *Soliman Paſha*'s death, but would rather, by gentle perſuaſions, compoſe the tumults in the army. But *Siavus*, conſidering the authority conferred upon him would not be laſting, while his enemy, who had ſo great ſhare in the Sultan's affection, was alive, receives indeed the enſigns of the ſupreme power from *Silahdar Aga* with ſtrong declarations of ſubmiſſion; but withal informs the Sultan, it was not in his power to pacify the army, till thoſe perſons were executed, to whoſe negligence the calamities hitherto ſuffer'd, and the ruin of the moſt flouriſhing *Othman* Empire, were unanimouſly imputed by the ſoldiers; namely, the Vizir, *Teſterdar*, and *Giumrukchi* * *Baſhi*.

The Sultan confers the poſt of Vizir, on *Siavus*, who demands the heads of *Soliman* and many others.

CLXXXII. Upon *Silahdar Aga*'s return to *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan at laſt perceiving the deſign of this inſurrection, and making a virtue of neceſſity, ſacrifices *Soliman Paſha* to the reſentment of the incenſed army, and ſends his head to them by a *Chauſh* *, informing them that the others, whoſe deaths they had demanded

The Sultan orders the Vizir to be beheaded, and the reſt impriſoned.

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(94) *Giumrukchi* *, *Huſein Aga*.] What *Giumrukchi* * is, I have before explained. This *Huſein Aga* was one of the richeſt men among the *Turks*, and in great credit and favour with Sultan *Mahomet*. Scarce a week paſſed, but the Sultan dined at his houſe. He had a houſe in the ſuburb *Pera*, called *Fyndykly*, almoſt oppoſite to the Emperor's palace, and ſeveral rooms belonging to it were built over the *Boſphorus*, at a great expence. Out of the windows of theſe chambers the Sultan uſed ſometimes to fiſh, and, in ſign of favour, ſend preſents of what he caught to his courtiers, by his chamberlains: if the preſent was ſent by a chamberlain, then one purſe was given him; but if it was brought by a *Silah*, or *Choadar* *, five purſes was the leaſt that uſed to be given by him who received the preſent. This palace is now poſſeſſed by the heirs of *Huſein Aga*; but becauſe an order was made that it ſhould not be inhabited, the greateſt part of it lies in ruins.

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manded, were kept in priſon by the *Caimacan*, *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha* (95), in order to extort from them a confeſſion of their accomplices, and where their treaſures were concealed.

Siavus urges the Sultan to put the reſt to death, which he obtains.

CLXXXIII. *Siavus Paſha* anſwers the meſſenger, that the army indeed returned the Sultan the higheſt thanks for inflicting a juſt puniſhment upon the Vizir; but required alſo the heads of all thoſe who had been proſcribed, and till then would not lay down their arms. He would therefore adviſe his majeſty not to diſturb the whole *Othman* Empire, and draw ſome fatal conſequence upon himſelf by an unſeaſonable clemency. But if the Sultan would follow this faithful advice, he hoped in a ſhort time to extinguiſh the whole rebellion, and lead back the army in peace to *Conſtantinople*. The Sultan granted this alſo to the ſoldiers; and though he had detained the accuſed perſons in priſon with the ſole view to reſcue them from an unjuſt death, and afterwards, upon a proper occaſion, puniſh the rebels; yet, that he might not be charged with omitting any thing to appeaſe the army, he orders, compelled by neceſſity, the heads of the *Teſterdar*, *Giumrukchi* Baſhi*, and three others, to be ſtruck off, and ſending them to *Siavus Paſha*, commands the forces to ſtop at *Adrianople*.

The rebellious army inveighs warmly againſt *Siavus* himſelf.

CLXXXIV. *Siavus Paſha* finding, every thing, which the army had demanded of the Sultan, was complyed with, ſincerely endeavours on his part to perform his promiſes to the Sultan, and by various arts to detain the ſoldiers at *Adrianople*. But they, whoſe rebellion was more inflamed by the blood of the Vizir and other great men, cannot be diverted either by perſwaſions or threats from their purpoſe, but publickly call *Siavus Paſha* impious, perfidious, and treacherous, one, who had undertaken the protection of the army with no other view, than to ſieze the Vizirſhip by any methods right or wrong; and who now having gratified his ambition, was become of the Sultan's party, and ready to expoſe the ſoldiers to deſtruction. Not content with theſe reproaches, they force him in a manner to lead the troops to *Conſtantinople*, threatning, if he would not take upon him the command of the army, they would cut off his head, and chooſe another general, who would not only compleat their deſigns, but depoſe the Sultan himſelf, and advance in his room *Soliman*, a Prince eminent for piety and ſanctity.

The rebellious Vizir is received with great honour by the Sultan, and excuſes himſelf that he had the command of the army.

CLXXXV. The Sultan therefore receives with great honour the new Vizir, when he came with the army, and admitting him to a conference, ſhows him what great diſturbances the ſedition of the army had raiſed in the whole *Othman* empire, and made not only the citizens, but alſo the *Ulema* partakers of their crime, and admoniſhes him, that mindful of his promiſes, he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to appeaſe the tumults, and reſtore the empire to its former tranquillity. If this were effected, he would not only entirely forget what the Vizir had done againſt him, but confer upon him greater favours, than he could preſume to hope or demand. *Siavus Paſha* firſt excuſes himſelf to the Sultan, for having taken upon him the command of the army without conſulting him. He ſays the ſedition was not raiſed by him; but the army was ſo highly exaſperated by *Soliman*'s miſconduct and obſtinacy, that they ſeemed reſolved upon ſome deſperate deſign againſt the Empire. When he ſaw this, he thought it would be very ſerviceable to the Sultan and the *Othman* Empire, to accept the offered command of the army, leſt the inner provinces of the *Othmans* being deſtitute of defence ſhould lie open to the *Germans*, and that thoſe perſons might be reſtrained, who endeavoured to plunder or injure their countrymen. He had ſince uſed his utmoſt endeavours to appeaſe the

ANNOTATIONS.

(95) *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha.*] Son of the great *Ahmed Paſha*, a man famous above all the reſt of the *Turks*, for holineſs of life, integrity, prudence, and courage. I think it unneceſſary to give a particular account of his great actions, becauſe they occur ſo often in the Hiſtory. He left three ſons, *Abdullah Paſha*, who was *Camaican* of *Conſtantinople* under Sultan *Muſtapha*; *Nuuman Paſha*, who has been Vizir under the preſent Emperor *Ahmed* III. and *Iſaad Effendi*, who is an Eccleſiaſtick, and aſpires to be a *Molah*.

commotions

commotions, and had reaſon to hope, if the Sultan had granted the firſt petition of the army, he ſhould have been able to extinguiſh the flame without much difficulty. But he was diſappointed in this expectation by the Sultan's fault, in delaying to ſatisfy the army's demands, till after the rebellion had taken too deep root in their minds. Indeed, when he had received the Sultan's command, he had tried all poſſible methods to prevent the ſoldiers from advancing to the royal city, but could not reſiſt their unanimous reſolution, which breathed nothing but fire and ſword. However, he would uſe all means to reſtrain the ſedition, and not value his own life, provided the Sultan remained on the throne happy and unſhaken.

Having ſworn fidelity, he is diſmiſſed by the Sultan, and endeavours to oppoſe the ſedition.

CLXXXVI. Having confirmed theſe promiſes by an oath, he is diſmiſſed by the Sultan, and to gain credit to his words, aſſoon as he is returned to his court, he ſends for the chief of the rebels, and repreſents to them, " the Sultan has now " paid half their due, and would ſend the reſt in a few days; he has, according " to the armies deſire, put to death the plunderers and betrayers of the empire, " and omitted nothing to ſatisfy their demands. But now it is to be conſidered, " how the ſoldiers, meditating a ſedition, may be appeaſed, and induced to return " due thanks to the beſt of Emperors. He is informed indeed, that ſome of " the conſpirators are plotting to depoſe the Sultan himſelf, but he cannot con- " ceive how any man of ſenſe could deviſe ſo flagrant an injury to a prince ſo pi- " ous and merciful, ſo illuſtrious for his victories, the father of his country and " armies, in return for his late favours, not only to the ſoldiers, but to the whole *Oth-* " *man* Empire. It is true, affairs for ſeveral years have been managed unſucceſsfully " againſt the *Germans* and *Venetians*, not through the ill conduct of the Sultan, " but of the Vizir and the officers of the army and treaſury; and the deity being " juſtly incenſed by the unreaſonable exactions of theſe plunderers, could not but " thus chaſtiſe both them and us. But ſuppoſing the Sultan himſelf to be the " occaſion of theſe misfortunes, and therefore to be depoſed, there cannot be found " any perſon of the *Aliothman* race worthy to ſucceed him. His ſons are not of " age, and unequal to the burden of the Empire in the preſent difficult times: " Both his brothers, eſpecially *Soliman*, are men accuſtomed to daily and nightly " devotions, but not to the hearing of the complaints of the citizens; are well " ſkilled in the laws, but not in arms; in a word, are ſaints, but not ſoldiers. " Their holy prayers offered from their cloſets may avail more than thouſands of " ſoldiers; but the diſorder'd ſtate of the *Othman* affairs requires not a Monk, " but a vigorous and warlike Emperor, ſuch as the preſent Sultan muſt be allowed " to be by all who reflect on his heroic actions, and his adminiſtration of the Em- " pire forty years with the higheſt applauſe. They ſhould therefore divert the " ſoldiers under their influence from ſuch deſigns, and not ſuffer the burden of " ſo great an Empire to be laid on a perſon unqualified for it." The Vizir probably would have prevailed upon the conſpirators, if they had not begun to ſuſpect his fidelity, when he ſo earneſtly endeavoured to detain the army at *Adrianople*.

The leaders of the rebellion declare the Vizir guilty of a breach of his oath.

CLXXXVII. Being confirmed in this ſuſpicion by what the Vizir had propoſed to them, they feign, whilſt in his preſence, a readineſs to perform what was required of them; but as ſoon as they are out of his palace, they meet in *Orta Jami* (96), which ſtands in the antient lodgings of the Janizaries, acquaint their companions with what they had heard from the Vizir; and publickly declaring he had broken his oath, and was ſecretly in the intereſt of *Mahomet*, adviſe the

ANNOTATIONS.

(96) *Orta Jami*,] a temple in the midſt of the Janizaries *Chambers* in which they meet to ſay their prayers; to conſult about any matter, or when they are obliged to preſent any requeſt to the Sultan: They often make uſe of the ſame place to excite one another to ſedition. And therefore when the Emperors are afraid of a rebellion, they chiefly obſerve what is doing in the *Orta Jami*, and if they perceive any commotions there, they endeavour to quell them in time.

reſt to take care of themſelves, and execute their deſigns, before they are circumvented by the artifices of the perfidious Vizir.

And break out into open rebellion.

CLXXXVIII. By this, like fire by oil, the flame of ſedition is increaſed. The Janizaries and all the reſt of the ſoldiery run armed in great bodies through the Streets, crying out, the Sultan, both unfortunate and indolent, ought to be depoſed, and *Soliman* advanced in his room, who by his prayers would appeaſe the divine indignation. They are ſoon after joined by the *Ulema*, partly of their own accord, and partly out of neceſſity; whom when the common people behold, every one thinking remiſſneſs at ſuch a time to be criminal, ſnatch up what weapons are at hand, and repair to the church of *Sancta Sophia*. There *Nakyb* (97) and *Sheïkh* (98) offer themſelves to the reſt as leaders and directors of the intended conſultation. But before any thing is propoſed, they order, in the name of the whole *Muſulman* Nation, the *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, to be ſent for.

The *Sherif Sheïkh* of *Sophia* publickly perſuades the Sultan's depoſition.

CLXXXIX. When he, more out of fear of the ſeditious, than of his own accord, was come to the aſſembly, the *Sherif* of *Sophia* repreſents to them, in a long ſpeech, how many calamities the *Othman* Empire had ſuffered; how many caſtles and flouriſhing provinces, ſubdued by their anceſtors with ſo much labour and effuſion of blood, were loſt; and how many great misfortunes were ſtill to be expected, if the *Othman* government ſhould be continued in the hands of ſuch an Emperor, who took no care of the army and ſtate, but only of hawks and hounds, and ſuffered the treaſures, *Beytulmalimuſulman*, out of which the ſoldiers, who ſhed their blood for the propagation of the faith, and defence of the honour and bounds of the Empire, ought to be paid, to be devoured and waſted by robbers and eunuchs (99). After many other reproaches of this kind, directing his ſpeech to the *Caimacan*, he puts him in mind of the great ſervices done to the Empire by his anceſtors, the two celebrated Vizirs *Muhammed* and *Ahmed*, and admoniſhes him, as a diligent imitator of their example, to aſſiſt, with his great abilities, the *Othman* Empire in this exigence, and avert the impending danger.

The Sultan attempts to deſtroy his brothers, who are preſerved by *Boſtanji Baſhi*.

CXC. As he is going to urge more to this purpoſe, he is interrupted by a ſudden tumult in the church, and a report that *Shehzade* are in danger. For the Sultan, when he was informed the conſpirators were met in the church of St. *Sophia*, and having ſent for the *Caimacan*, were conſulting to depoſe him, ſeeing that, in this deſperate caſe, no other remedy could be applied but the death of his brothers, had ſent ſome of his chamberlains to diſpatch them. But *Boſtanji Baſhi* being acquainted with this affair by ſome courtiers, bribed by the Sultan's enemies, had ſurrounded the apartments of *Soliman* and *Ahmed* with a regiment of *Boſtanji*'s, and having repulſed the Sultan's chamberlains, informed the aſſembly of the danger the Sultan's brothers were in: the rebels, fired with this news, again apply themſelves to *Nakyb* and the *Sherif* of *Sophia*, and deſire them inſtantly to proclaim the depoſition of *Mahomet*, and declare *Soliman* Emperor; for there is no occaſion for further conſultation, ſince the Sultan's attempt upon the life of his

Annotations.

(97) *Nakyb*,] Properly *Nakyb Eſhref*, the *holy Overſeer*, the *Keeper* of *Sanjaki Sherif*, that is, of the *Holy Standard*, of which I have given an account. This Perſon is choſen by the Sultan from among the *Emirs*, or the deſcendants of *Mahomet*'s ſiſter, and is no way inferior in dignity to the *Mufti* himſelf. He alone hath power over all the *Emirs*, and, without his knowledge, even the Sultan cannot ſtrike an *Emir*, or do him the leaſt hurt. But, becauſe it would be dangerous to entruſt any one man long with ſo much power, the Sultan often changes them; but when they are once appointed, he cannot take their ſalary from them, but is obliged to pay it them as long as they live.

(98) *Sheïkh*] I have before ſaid, that *Sheïkh* is the prelate or head of a temple. Here it is only to be obſerved, that the *Sheïkh* of *Sancta Sophia* takes place of all other *Sheïkhs*.

(99) eunuchs] He means the chief Eunuch *Yuſuf aga*, who had ſo much authority at that time, that he alone ſeemed to govern the whole Empire.

brothers,

brothers, though other reaſons were wanting, affords a ſufficient ground for depoſing him. On the other hand, it is to be feared, if the execution of the deſign be delayed, their guards may be bribed, and the *Muſulman* nation, for want of lawful heirs, be obliged againſt their wills to acknowledge *Mahomet* Emperor.

The excellent advice of *Kioprili Ogli Muſtapha*.

CXCI. The inconſiderate multitude would perhaps by force have depoſed the Sultan, and even attempted his life, if the prudence and authority of the *Caimacan*, *Kioprili Ogli Muſtapha Paſha*, had not prevented it. For, perceiving what deſperate reſolutions the conſpirators had taken, and that they could not by any means be diverted from their purpoſe, he too that he might not, by an unſeaſonable oppoſition, render himſelf ſuſpected, pretends to approve of their opinion. Having thereby gained the favour of the people, he adviſes the aſſembly "not "to proceed in a tumultuous manner, or do any raſh thing, which might fix an "indelible infamy even upon their poſterity. The *Muſulman* nation has great "and juſt reaſons of complaint againſt their Emperor, for which it muſt be own-"ed he deſerves to be depoſed; but this ought to be done in ſuch a manner, "that both the honour of the *Othman* family may be preſerved, and care taken "that greater tumults may not ariſe, and utterly deſtroy the already tottering "Empire. There is no occaſion for haſte, ſince nothing is generally more de-"trimental to publick officers, and there is no fear of the life of *Shehzade*, "ſince they are carefully guarded by *Boſtanji Baſhi*; but it will be more agree-"able to the *Othman* honour and cuſtom, to ſend *Sheïkh Sherif* and *Nakyb* to "the Sultan, to declare him depoſed in the name of the *Ulema*, ſoldiery, and "the whole *Muſulman* nation, and deſire him, of his own accord, to leave the "palace, and reſign the Empire to his brother *Soliman*."

They declare to the Sultan by their deputies that he was depoſed.

CXCII. This advice being approved, the whole aſſembly ſend *Nakyb* and *Sheïkh Sherif* with this fatal meſſage to the Sultan. At firſt they refuſe this office, but afterwards, for fear of the enraged multitude, they undertake it, and, trembling, proceed to execute the commands of the people. When they come to the Sultan, they firſt humbly deliver their commiſſion, then ask pardon for their boldneſs, becauſe the incenſed multitude had forced them, unwilling to take upon them this office, and adviſe him to ſubmit to the demands of the confederated army and people.

The heroic anſwer of the Sultan to the rebels.

CXCIII. Sultan *Mahomet* having heard the meſſengers with great tranquillity, ſays, "You tell me nothing new or unexpected; for I have long ſince found, "that the common people are corrupted by the *Ulema*, deſirous of a change, "and engaged by them in their rebellion. I could indeed at the firſt, if not "have extinguiſhed the flame, at leaſt have taken away the fuel of it, by baniſh-"ing you; but, truſting in the conſciouſneſs of having acted rightly, I choſe ra-"ther to commit the event to God, than to make my ſelf the arbiter of it. "For, from the ſeventh year of my age, through a courſe of fifty years, which "I have governed this Empire, I do not remember I have done any thing un-"juſt, or contrary to the precepts of the *Muſulman* law, or omitted any thing "which ſeemed conducive to the propagation of our law among infidels, or the "enlarging the bounds of the Empire. How many inteſtine commotions from "that time to this laſt war have I appeaſed? how many enemies both at home "and abroad have I defeated? how many noble victories and triumphs over the "infidels have I gained? how many Provinces and Kingdoms have I ſubjected "to the *Othman* yoke by my indefatigable labours and induſtry; and how in-"creaſed the number of Paſhalicks? The moſt warlike inhabitants of *Poland*, "*Tranſylvania*, and *Hungary*, whoſe valour has been often felt by our anceſ-"tors, not without loſs, partly voluntarily, and partly by force, have ſubmitted "to our Empire under my conduct, and promiſed to become tributary. The "*Venetians*, formerly lords of almoſt all the ſeas, under my adminiſtration have "been expelled the *White-Sea*; and *Candia*, the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt "flouriſhing of iſlands, ſubdued. Theſe cities, which ſeemed to reach almoſt to "heaven, *Cameniec*, *Candia*, *Vyvar*, partly by my ſelf, and partly by my ge-"nerals, have I wreſted from the Enemy, and with theſe bulwarks reſolved to "guard,

" guard, from all hoſtile attacks, thoſe very perſons, who ſince elated with their " wealth gained during a long peace, are determined to dethrone me. By all theſe " things, when I ſeem to merit not the curſes of the people, but their applauſe and " prayers for my welfare, I cannot even gueſs at any other pretence for your and " their impious attempt, except the breach of the peace with the Emperor of *Ger-* " *many* before the expiration of the truce, and the four years ill ſucceſs of the " war under my adminiſtration. But if I ſeem to you to deſerve ſo grievous a " puniſhment for that fault, you do not perhaps conſider, that yourſelves firſt per- " ſuaded me to the war, and the Mufti, the head of your confederacy, by his " *Fetvah*, pronounced our arms to be juſt. By what right therefore do you im- " pute to me the ill ſucceſs occaſioned by the indolence of the ſoldiers, and the " negligence of the generals, and, whilſt you are unwilling to acknowledge " your miſconduct to be the cauſe of our misfortunes, accuſe your innocent Em- " peror. It is certain, they are not mine, but the peoples crimes, which have " raiſed God's indignation againſt the *Muſulmans*, deſtroyed ſo many forces, and " delivered up ſo many cities and provinces to the enemy. When the divine " wrath might have been appeaſed by fervent tears, frequent prayers, purity, and " goodneſs, by your inſtigation, who ought to have been the teachers and guardians " of the laws, the people contemning the divine precepts, the prophetic ora- " cles, and the honour of the *Aliothman* name, preſume to diſturb my old age, " to trample upon my reputation, and to bring deſtruction upon the whole Em- " pire. To prevent this, what have I not done? what conceſſions have I not " made to the ſoldiers? did they demand their pay? I ſold all my jewels, and " emptied my treaſury, to pay them to a farthing. Did they require the heads " of my miniſters, who ſerved me and the Empire faithfully? even theſe I ſacri- " ficed to their fury. Did they inſiſt that *Siavus Paſha*, though the partner and " head of their conſpiracy, and the firſt author of the commotions, ſhould be " made Vizir? This alſo I granted, to cut off all pretence of complaint againſt " me. Did they deſire a man neceſſitous, and infamous for rapine, and other " crimes, to be appointed Paſha, I ſubmitted to it, though he was deſtitute of all " virtues. What is the offence therefore by which I have raiſed the reſentments " of the people, the army, the *Ulema*, and all the other orders of the nation, ſo " highly againſt me, that they ſhould entirely forget the former ſervices which " I have done them, and endeavour to remove me, like a worthleſs man, from " my father's throne. But though I know the people, by your authority, are " too deeply engaged and confirmed in their wicked deſign, to be brought to " repent and reform their conduct; yet I know the righteous God will prove " my avenger, and ſeverely puniſh the corrupted people for the injury now " offered me."

The inſolent behaviour of *Nakyb*.

CXCIV. *Nakyb*, unmoved with the Sultan's ſpeech, uſes ſtill greater inſolence towards him, and anſwers, without any ſenſe of modeſty, that he was not ſent by the people to hear his apology, bnt to command him, in the name of the whole *Muſulman* aſſembly, to quit the throne. If therefore he was deſirous to preſerve his honour and life, he ſhould, of his own accord, reſign the government to his brorher *Soliman*; but if he oppoſed the will of the whole city, the aſſembly would notwithſtanding execute their reſolutions. *Mahomet*, hearing this, ſubmits to neceſſity, and ſays to the meſſengers, " ſince I ſee the divine indig- " nation, raiſed by the ſins of the *Muſulmans*, diſcharged on my head, go and " tell my brother, that God's decree is declared by the mouth of the people, " and he is appointed governor of the *Aliothman* Empire.

Sultun *Mahomet* is depoſed. H. 1099. A. C. 1688.

CXCV. Sultan *Mahomet*, having ſaid this on the third of the month *Muharrem*, of the year 1099, reſigns the imperial ſceptre; and after this misfortune, for five years, a thing very uncommon, lives cloſely confined in his apartment, and at laſt, in the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1104, departs out of this world. He lived fifty-two, and reigned forty years, five months, and ſixteen days. He left, by different wives, ſeven ſons, two of whom, *Muſtapha* and *Ahmed*, were advanced to the Empire; the reſt died in their infancy.

CXCVI. He

CXCVI. He was a Prince eminent for juſtice and warlike abilities, of great clemency, and very happy, except the laſt four years. There was but one thing which his enemies could reproach him with, namely, his immoderate love of hunting in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of the care of his Empire. He is reported by ſome to have been poiſoned by his brother, Sultan *Ahmed*, at the inſtigation of the Vizir *Arabaji Ali Paſha*; who deſired that certain great men ſhould be put to death, and meeting, by *Mahomet*'s advice, with a repulſe from Sultan *Ahmed*, ſought revenge, and ſuborned *Munejin Baſhi* (100), to foretell, from the ſtars, that *Mahomet*, having depoſed his brother, would reaſcend the throne; by which means he induced Sultan *Ahmed* to haſten his death by poiſon. But, beſides that it is uſual at *Conſtantinople*, upon the deceaſe of all the Emperors, to ſpread among the vulgar a rumour of their being poiſoned, it is univerſally known that *Mahomet*, before he was depoſed, was continually troubled with the gout in his hands and feet; to which was added the hypochondraick diſtemper, occaſioned by melancholy during his five years confinement, by which all his vital ſpirits were at laſt exhauſted. *Mahomet's* character and death.

ANNOTATIONS.

(100) *Munejin Baſhi*,] the chief Aſtrologer. There are four officers in the inner *Othman* court, that are reckoned to be eccleſiaſtics, and if they leave the palace, are to be a *Cadiulaſker* or *Mollah* of *Conſtantinople*. Namely, 1. *Hoje*, or the Emperor's preceptor. 2. *Hekim Effendi*, the chief phyſician. 3. *Munejin Baſhi*. 4. *Jerrah Baſhi*, the chief ſurgeon.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET IV.

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The REIGN of SOLIMAN II. Twentieth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. II.

Sultan *Soliman* is obliged to aſcend the imperial throne.

I. SULTAN *Mahomet* being depoſed, *Boſtanji Baſhi* (1) firſt goes to *Soliman*, ſtill confined in his chamber, and, proſtrating himſelf to the ground, pays the obeyſance due to the Emperor, and deſires him to come forth and aſcend the *Aliothman* throne, vacant by his brother's depoſition, and offered him by the whole *Muſulman* nation. *Soliman*, contrary to the expectation of all, is extremely grieved at this meſſage, and ſays, "Why, in the name of the immortal God, do you endeavour to diſturb my tranquillity? Suffer me, I entreat you, to paſs in peace, in my cell, the few days I have to live, and let my brother rule the *Othman* Empire; for he was born to rule, but I to the ſtudy of eternal life." *Boſtanji Baſhi* at firſt is amazed at theſe words, but, recovering himſelf, continues to preſs the Prince, alledging, the Vizirs, *Ulema*, Nobles, and the whole People, declare him Emperor; and that their reſolution could not be altered, nor Sultan *Mahomet* be reſtored, without the greateſt detriment to the Empire. *Soliman*, ſtill in ſuſpence, ſays, he owed too great a reverence to his brother, to take poſſeſſion of his throne, which he had undoubtedly left with reluctance.

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(1) *Boſtanji Baſhi*] the chief of the *Boſtanji*, and Keeper of the Emperor's palaces. There are two of this name in the *Othman* Empire; one at *Conſtantinople*, and the other at *Adrianople*, becauſe the *Othman* Emperors have palaces in both thoſe cities. And though ſince the time of Sultan *Mahomet Fatih*, the Emperors have choſen *Conſtantinople* for the royal ſeat of the whole Empire, yet they often honour with their preſence the former metropolis of the growing *Othman* dominion. Theſe two *Boſtanji Baſhi's* are equal in honour and rank, but not in juriſdiction and revenues. He at *Adrianople* has nothing entruſted to his care but the Emperor's palace at *Adrianople*, and the charge of the Sultan's Sons, whenever he reſides in that place: but the other at *Conſtantinople* has moreover full juriſdiction over all the ſea-coaſts, from the mouth of the *Danube* to *Mount Athos*. Whenever the Emperor goes in his barge, his buſineſs is, either to go before the Sultan in his boat, and clear the way, or elſe to ſteer the Sultan's barge. He muſt know all the ſea-coaſt, and the buildings ſtanding thereon, and be able to anſwer any queſtions made him by the Sultan, concerning them or their owners; and as they are almoſt without number, nobody, but what has been a common *Boſtanji*, is qualified to bear that office. When the Sultan comes into his barge, he holds him under the arm, and is for that reaſon ranked among the *Coltuk* Vizirs (of which I ſhall give an account below) and cannot be diſmiſſed from his office but with three *Tugs*.

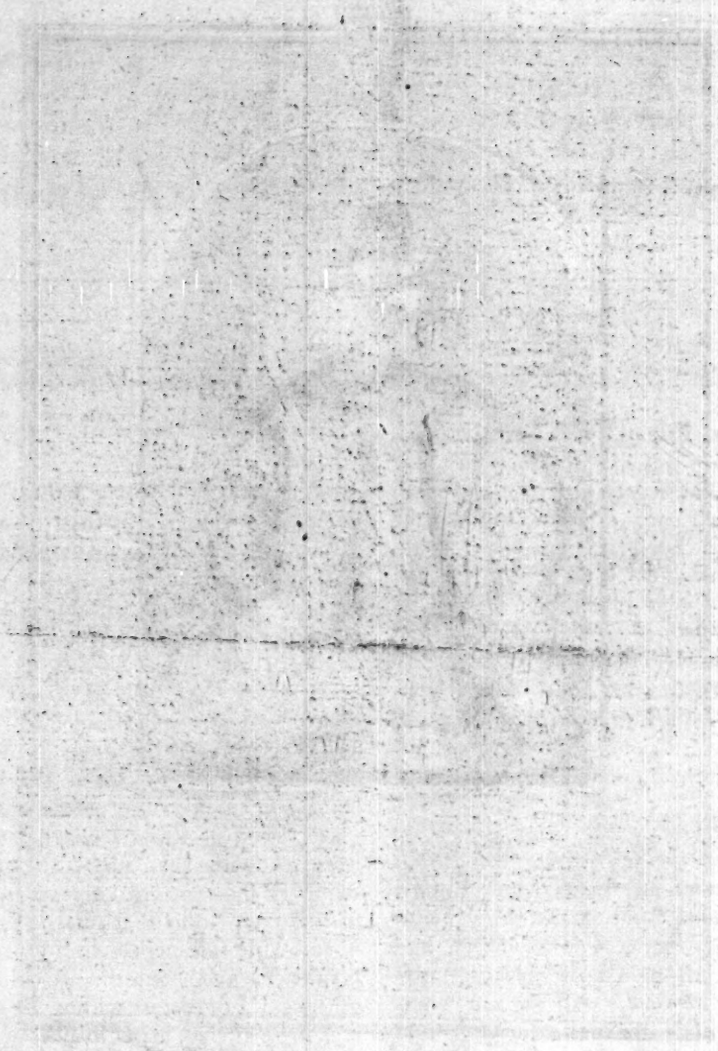
Ch. Du. Bosc sculp.

Soliman, II.

Twentieth EMPEROR of ye TURKS,

in the Year 1687.

From an Original in the Seraglio.



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"II. I would come forth (continues he) but am afraid of my brother." At last *Boſtanji Baſhi*, impatient of delay, says, "You must give way, most resplendent Emperor, to the entreaties and wishes of the *Muſulman* people;" and with these words forces him, as it were, out of the chamber, and leads him to the throne. When he came to the room where the throne used to be placed, he first, not without signs of fear, desires *Boſtanji Baſhi* and the door-keepers to take care, lest his brother should be within, since he dreaded to appear in his presence. Being assured his brother was removed to another apartment, he at last mounts the throne, and is saluted Emperor by all the courtiers. Tho' declared Sultan, he is still apprehensive of his brother.

III. The ceremony being performed, he immediately leaps from the throne, as from an impure place, and demands *Abdeſt*, that is, water to cleanse his hands, head, and feet. This being brought, he defers returning to the throne, and when the courtiers press him to it, he puts his finger to his mouth, and enjoins them silence (2). At last, notwithstanding his reluctance, he is again seated in the throne, and, according to custom, admits the *Ulema* and Nobles to kiss his robe. He abhors the the throne as an impure place; at last, with reluctance, admits the nobles to to kiss his robe.

IV. He confirms the Vizir, *Siavus Paſha*, in his post, and having presented him with an ermin vest, commands him to discharge the duties of his office faithfully, and to the utmost of his power compose the sedition of the army and people. He confirms the Vizir in his post.

V. Upon *Siavus Paſha's* return to his palace, the *Buluk Agalari* (3) first reverence him as Vizir, but afterwards demand their pay, and a new *Bachſhiſh* (4); which The rebellion again breaks out against the Vizir.

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(2) silence] the *Turks* superstitiously observe what their new Sultans, when they first mount the throne, say, ask, or command; and even with what action they begin their reign, and from thence guess at the Sultan's inclination, future actions and government, and very often are right in their conjectures. Certainly, as they inferred from *Soliman's* putting his finger to his mouth, and enjoining silence, that he would perform nothing memorable, so it accordingly happened.

(3) *Buluk Agalari*,] the commanders of the regiments of the Janizaries, and the superior officers that are made from amongst them, as *Baſhbuluk Baſhi*, *Kiehaieri*, *Mahzur Aga*, *Sampſonji Baſhi*, *Zagarji*, *Baſhi*, and *Kulkiehaſi*, are all called by one common name of *Buluk Agalari*. All the regiments also of the *Spahi's* are named *Buluk*, and their officers *Buluk Agalari*.

(4) *Bachſhiſh*.] This word denotes a gift bestowed out of mere kindness, but a customary gift, which cannot be reckoned alms. When, upon the death or deposition of their predecessor, the Sultans first mount the throne, they give a *Bachſhiſh* to all the chosen troops that are at that time at *Conſtantinople*, except those belonging to the *Baſha's*, and this is called *julus akcheſi* *, the money of the new or of the renewed Empire. There are given to each Janizary twenty *Leonines*, and to every *Spahi* twenty-five; and if the payment is refused or deferred, they may demand them as a debt: nay, the soldiers have often given up to the Sultans, when they were in streights, one or two *Kyſt*, or three months pay; but I never heard that they ever remitted the *julus Bachſhiſh*. This was first introduced into the *Othman* Empire by *Soliman Canuni*, the author of all the regulations in that state. It seems indeed, at first sight, to be an injury to the Empire, because the hope of obtaining the *Bachſhiſh* is a perpetual cause of sedition in the greedy soldiers; and it has already been found by experience, that most of the rebellions and depositions of the Sultans, have been raised and carried on by nothing so much as this, that the Janizaries, eager for a change in the government, have been allured by the expectation of this *Bachſhiſh*, to join in conspiracies with the Sultan's enemies. But whoever shall attentively consider the end of this law, and the legislator's design, will not be able sufficiently to admire his divine prudence, and consummate knowledge in politics. For being willing so to settle the Empire, as that it might not be exposed to any injuries from without, nor convulsions from within; and withal fearing lest his successors, blinded with the absolute power they had over their subjects, should, by pride, tyranny, and other vices, disperse what he had been gathering together; he bound them by such a law, as might induce them to preserve the imperial dignity, and at the same time deter them from evil, for fear of disturbances, if the love of virtue was not sufficient to engage them thereto. For he foresaw, that necessity would oblige them to take particular care, that nothing unjust or tyrannical should be committed within their dominions, in order to take off from the malecontents, allured by a reward to rebellion, the least occasion of finding fault with any of the Emperor's actions: and, by that means, the sagacious soldiers

which uſed to be given to the ſoldiers as a *julus*, or the beginning of a new reign. The Vizir ſeeing nothing remaining but catalogues either in the foreign or domeſtic treaſury, amuſes the officers for ſome time with words, and then endeavours to ſeparate the chief authors of the diſturbances from the reſt of the conſpirators, under the pretence of promoting them, and to ſend them to cities at a great diſtance. By this conduct, the hatred conceived by the ſoldiers againſt the Vizir, when he attempted to confirm Sultan *Mahomet* in the throne, is revived. And therefore aſſembling in the *Orta Jami*, they take arms, and in companies run through the ſtreets, crying out, the Vizir ought to be put to death as an enemy of Sultan *Soliman*, a deſerter, and a violator of his promiſes.

The rebels kill the Vizir in his palace.

VI. The Vizir, hearing of their aſſembling, and ſuſpecting the caſe, retired with his officers to his palace, and, ſhutting the gates, reſolved to die fighting. Soon after the ſeditious approach, ſurround the palace, and cry out for the gates to be opened, ſince they had ſomething to impart to the Vizir. *Siavus Paſha*, being aſſured of their deſigns, denies them entrance, and, as they attempt to break open the gates, repels them with the arms he had found by chance in the palace, and kills about twenty Janizaries. The ſoldiers, more enraged by the death of their companions, ruſh with their whole force upon the gates, and, breaking them open, enter the palace. The Vizir ſhoots ſeveral with arrows from his chamber, which was oppoſite to the gate: his officers, about an hundred in number, with their arms prevent the rebels from aſcending, and force them into the *Divanchane* (3); and when they wanted arrows, with drawn ſwords they ſtoutly

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keeping a watchful eye over the publick corruptions, out of a deſire of gain, would give prudent governors to the ſtate, who ſhould be ſenſible, that, upon the leaſt abuſe of their power, they were liable to be deprived of the ſame.

(5) *Divanchane*,] the *Houſe of Judgment*, or the place where the people's complaints are heard. There is upon the ſecond floor of the Vizir's palace a very large ſpace, which has walls on three ſides of it; but the fourth ſide, where ſtands the ſtair-caſe, is ſupported by pillars; and it is ſo contrived, that the pleaders may be the better heard, and more light let in; and thoſe who ſtand upon the ſtairs hear what is done above. In the middle of the wall, facing the entry, is an arch made, in the upper part whereof is written, in golden letters, the confeſſion of the *Mahometan Faith*, which I have ſo often mentioned. Under it is a ſeat placed for the Vizir, in which he ſits after the *European* manner, with his legs hanging down. On the ſouth wall there is a lamp painted, which is a ſign of a *Mibrab*, or altar, towards which the *Turks* are to turn their faces when they ſay their prayers. For the contending parties being often hindered from repairing to a *Jami*, to ſay the *Namaz* at the uſual time, while they are waiting for the iſſue of their cauſe, that ſign was invented for their conveniency, that nothing may hinder them, upon the cryer's notice, from ſaying their prayers, even in the midſt of all the noiſe that is made in the place. Now the form of judicial proceedings among the *Turks*, is in this manner. Four times every week, namely, on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Mondays*, and *Wedneſdays*, the Vizir is obliged to appear in the *Divan*, and adminiſter juſtice to the people, unleſs he be hindered by very important affairs, which ſeldom happens. But if he is hindered, the *Chauſh* Baſhi* ſupplies his place. *Sundays* and *Tueſdays* are ſet apart for the Sultan's *Divan*, or *Galibe Divan*. *Thurſdays* are days of reſt, from whence they are called *datil Giuni*. The Vizir has for aſſiſtants, on *Fridays* both the *Kaziulaſkiers*, the *Anatolian* on his left hand, and the *Rumelian* on his right; the former ſitting only as hearer, and the latter as judge: on *Saturdays*, *Galata Mollaſi*, or the judge of *Pera*: on *Mondays*, *Eiub Mollaſi* and *Iſkiuder Mollaſi*: on *Wedneſdays*, *Iſtambol Effendiſi*. Before they come, both the parties are placed by the *Chauſh* Baſhi* in two rows, with a *Chauſh** as a guard, and are ordered to wait for the Vizir's coming, holding their *Arzuhal* before them. When the Vizir is come, and has commanded the gold cloth, called *Eiſhkir*, on which he writes, to be ſpread, the firſt ſuitor on the left hand gives his petition to his *Chauſh**: The *Chauſh** preſents it to the *Chauſh* Baſhi*, or other of his officers, ſuch as are *Chauſhlar* Katibi*, and *Chauſhlar* emini*, and this gives it to *Buiuk Teſhkiereji*, who ſtands on the Vizir's left ſide. The *Teſhkiereji* reads the *Arzuhal* with a loud voice, after which both parties are publickly heard. The reaſons being examined on both ſides, the aſſeſſors, whoever they are, ſtand up, and briefly ſumming up the whole matter, declare what ſentence ought,

ſtoutly defend their maſter. A warm and bloody conflict enſues, above an hundred and fifty of the conſpirators are killed upon the ſtairs, and as many wounded; but at laſt number overcomes valour, and many of the Vizir's party are ſlain, the reſt fly to the top of the houſe, and from thence throw themſelves into the ſtreet. His people being diſperſed, the Vizir again retires to his chamber, and in the door, with his ſword, kills twelve Janizaries; but at laſt, rather wearied with conquering, than conquered himſelf, he is beat down and killed by the ſoldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and throw them out of the windows into the ſtreet.

VII. After this, excited by a rage unheard of among the *Turks*, they break into the women's apartment, and, cutting the noſes, hands and feet of the Vizir's wife (6) and ſiſter, drag them naked through the ſtreets, and commit other execrable crimes upon the ſlaves and female-ſervants. The Vizir's family being deſtroyed, they rove, like ravenous wolves, through the city, and kill and plunder all they meet, as if partners with the Vizir in his guilt. A dreadful face of things appears, and the whole city would have been ruined, if the *Ulema*, firſt authors of the tumult, had not compoſed it: for they, perceiving the danger, immediately aſſemble at the imperial palace, and there diſplay *Mahomet's Sanjaki Sherif* *, and, by the cryers, proclaim that all *Muſulmans*, who would not be eſteemed infidels, ſhould meet under that ſtandard. The citizens and inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* firſt haſten thither; and then the Janizaries, that they might not appear rebels, and regardleſs of the ſtandard of their propher, lay down their arms, and ſubmit to it, crying out, they had armed, not againſt the Sultan, but his perfidious enemy, the Vizir, whom they had puniſhed; and therefore were now ready to do whatever the Sultan ſhould think proper, ſince they had given him power of life and death over them.

With unheard of cruelty they fall upon his women, and would have plundered the city, if they had not been prevented by the *Ulema*.

* Holy ſtandard.

VIII. The tumult being thus appeaſed, *Coja Iſmail Paſha* (7) is appointed Vizir, and the rebels return to their quarters. But this calm laſted not long; for a few days after the Sultan commands the Vizir to endeavour to ſeize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death. While the Vizir is attempting this with great earneſtneſs, the Janizaries again take arms, and calling an aſſembly in *Orta Jami*, threaten deſtruction to both the Sultan and Vizir.

Coja Iſmail Paſha made Vizir; but a ſedition again breaking out, he is deprived of his poſt.

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ought, according to the divine judgment, to be paſſed; which, if the Vizir approves of, the *Teſhkiereji* ſets his hand in the upper vacant place of the *Arzuhal*, and the Vizir confirms the ſentence, by ſubſcribing the word *Sab* (certain:) But when the Vizir doubts of the juſtice of it, he hears the cauſe a ſecond time, and if he finds that the aſſeſſor has wilfully given a wrong judgment, he orders the parties a *Hujjet*, or copy of the ſentence, according to his own opinion. But in ſuch a caſe, the aſſeſſors very earneſtly maintain the juſtice of their opinion, as they not only may, but alſo are obliged to do; becauſe if a judge among the *Turks* has once been found guilty of injuſtice, he can neither keep his place, nor ever expect to get another. While theſe things are doing on the left, the firſt man on the right-hand-row delivers his *Arzuhal* by the forementioned perſons to the *Kiuchuk* * *Teſhkiereji*, who firſt runs it over, that he may not be at a ſtand when he comes to read it; and as ſoon as the cauſe in hand is diſpatched, then he reads it aloud. And thus they proceed till all the cauſes are heard: nor can the *Divan* riſe till night comes, or there are no more cauſes to hear. In the ſame place the *Spahi* alſo receive their pay in the Vizir's preſence: but the Janizaries have their ſalary paid them in the *Galibe Divan*, or the Emperor's court, in purſes; and theſe they carry to the *Kulkiebaia*, who divides it among the troops, according to every one's allowance.

(6) Vizir's wife,] ſhe was the daughter of the great and famous Vizir, *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, and ſiſter of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, who ſhortly after retook *Belgrade* from the *Germans*. The cruelty exerciſed on theſe by the enraged ſoldiers, turned more to their infamy than the rebellion it ſelf, and the death of the innocent Vizir.

(7) *Coja Iſmail Paſha*,] *Old Iſmail Paſha*. He was at that time Aga of the Janizaries, and that the commotions might be the more eaſily appeaſed, and the Janizaries pacified with leſs trouble, he was made Vizir; but upon their ſecond rebellion, he was, at the perſuaſion of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, delivered up as a ſacrifice to them, and baniſhed to *Rhodes*.

The former, perceiving the ſtorm would fall upon his head, by the advice of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, throws the whole blame upon the Vizir (8) ſpreading a report that the Vizir, by his own authority, without the Sultan's knowledge or command, had made that attempt.

Tekkiurdaghy Muſtapha Paſha made Vizir in his room.

IX. And to gain credit to his words, he deprives him of his poſt, and baniſhes him to *Rhodes*, appointing *Tekkiurdaghy Muſtapha Paſha* Vizir in his room. Theſe flames in the capital ſpread their fatal effects alſo into the reſt of the provinces.

Egen Paſha rebels in *Rumelia*; and *Gieduk Paſha* in *Aſia*.

X. In *Rumelia*, *Egen Oſman Paſha* (9), hearing *Mahomet* was depoſed, and ſucceeded by *Soliman*, aſſembles a conſiderable body of *Spahis*, and engages them to ſend, with one conſent, an *Arzuhal* to the Vizir, and demand the *Bachſhiſhi Julus* due to them. The Vizir pretending inability, and anſwering that the payment was to be delayed for ſome time, they raiſe what was due to them upon the inhabitants of *Rumelia*, and under that pretence plunder all *Bulgaria* as far as *Sophia*. In *Aſia*, *Gieduk Paſha* inſpires his troops with ſeditious deſigns, and being aſſiſted with ſeveral thouſand *Freebooters*, threatens to attack *Conſtantinople* it ſelf. Not content with this, having plundered and ſubdued all the provinces of the *Anadol Beglerbeglic*, he marches his army to *Iſmid Giechid** (10), and prepares to beſiege *Chryſopolis*, which he thought would be more eaſy to take, becauſe the Janizaries ſeemed more ſollicitous about their domeſtic than foreign enemies, and ſuch as were equal to themſelves in guilt.

The Janizaries laying aſide their rebellious deſigns, defeat the rebel *Gieduk*.

XI. But the Janizaries laying aſide their rage, in the night before *Chryſopolis* was to be attacked, paſs over, and ſurround the city with trenches,

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(8) blame upon the Vizir] That ſupreme, and ſometimes almoſt unlimited authority over the whole Empire, which the Sultans are wont to grant to the Vizirs, might indeed be attended with very dangerous conſequences in other ſtates; but it is the chief, if not the only ſupport of the *Othman* Empire. For, beſides that it is in the Sultan's power to cut off the Vizir whenever he pleaſes, unleſs his power has got too deep a root by long poſſeſſion: what chiefly hinders the Vizirs from raiſing commotions is, that they are ſenſible they never will eſtabliſh their fortune by the Sultan's depoſition. And they can never place ſo ſacred a diadem upon their own heads, by reaſon of the ſingular veneration the *Turks* have for the *Othman* race; nor promiſe to themſelves the perpetual favor of the Sultan's ſucceſſor, who never will place his confidence in a man that has been treacherous to his predeceſſor. When troubles ariſe, this is the only ſhield whereby the Sultans can defend themſelves againſt the complaints and murmurs of the people, namely, by throwing the whole blame of the ill management of affairs upon the Vizir, and ſacrificing him to the enraged multitude. That remedy has been ſeldom known to fail, nay, would never fail, did not the Sultans ſometimes, out of too great a love for the Vizirs, neglect to puniſh them, and ſoften the diſcontented people by other proper lenitives. For many conſiderate perſons think, the *Turks* would never have proceeded ſo far as to depoſe Sultan *Mahomet* IV. a Prince famous for his long reign and many victories, had he not been too much bent to protect *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, (who had, according to the *Turkiſh* cuſtoms, forfeited his head, becauſe the Imperialiſts had in 1686 taken *Buda*, whilſt he was looking on, and defeated him near *Siclos*) and not put him to death till affairs were in a deſperate condition: neither would *Muſtapha* have been turned out, had he but delivered *Rami Mahemed Paſha* and the *Mufti*, with their ſons, into the rebels hands.

(9) *Egen Oſman Paſha*,] a man noted for his robberies in *Aſia*. He was at firſt appointed Baſha in the neighbourhood of *Cazdaghy*, with two horſe-tails; and when the *Othman* Empire was miſerably diſtreſſed both within and without, he plundered all the adjacent provinces with the troops under his command, which were reckoned the ſtouteſt in all *Aſia*; nay, he threatned to deſtroy *Iſkinder*, and even the royal city: but at laſt being reconciled to Sultan *Soliman*, and having obtained his pardon, he brought with him above a thouſand *Freebooters* againſt the *Germans*; and yet he was put to death as ſoon as he came to *Conſtantinople*.

(10) *Izmid Giechid**,] ſo is the gulph of *Nicomedia* called, that reaches from the *Propontis* to the *Euxine Sea*. The name of *Giechid**, that is, *Paſſage*, was given to it, becauſe the way leading from *Aſia* to *Conſtantinople* lies near that gulph.

upon

upon which *Gieduk Paſha* retires with his party, and is ſoon after defeated by the bravery of the *Othman* army.

XII. While the whole *Aliothman* Empire is thus ſhaken by inteſtine commotions, the imperial army ſubdues the moſt formidable bulwarks of *Hungary*. *Agria*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of *Upper-Hungary*, after four months cloſe ſiege, is obliged by famine, to ſurrender to the Imperialiſts on the 20th of the month *Muharrem* of the year 1099. The ſame fate befalls *Mongat*, a caſtle almoſt impregnable in *Upper Hungary*, which had been ſome years before not only fortified by *Tekeli* with a ſtrong garriſon and new works, but alſo made by him the repoſitory of his wife, treaſures, and records. He being ſeized as I have related, and *Caſſovia* loſt, his wife, the heroine of our age, had aſſembled there what forces ſhe could, and ſtored the place with plenty of proviſion, in hopes to defend it till the war ſhould be finiſhed, or the *Turkiſh* army march to her relief.

Agria and other cities of *Hungary* ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. H. 1099. A. C. 1688.

XIII. After the *Turkiſh* forces were driven out of the neighbourhood, Count *Terci* in the year 1098, had attempted likewiſe to ſubdue their caſtle, and for ſeveral months aſſaulted it with cannon and bombs. But finding it ineffectual, on account of the heroic valour and ſingular firmneſs of that Lady, (who deſerved commendation, if ſhe had exerted her great qualities in defence of her country) he had blocked up the caſtle at a diſtance, and cut off all proviſion to ſuch a degree, that *Tekeli*'s Princeſs, conquered rather by famine than the enemy's ſword, on the 14th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, of the year 1699 *, ſurrendred herſelf and the caſtle to the mercy of the Emperor.

The Imperialiſts having taken *Mingat*, carry away *Tekeli*'s wife priſoner.

* *Jan.* 6. 1688.

XIV. When the accounts of theſe misfortunes are brought to *Conſtantinople*, they again inſpire the common people and ſoldiers with ſeditious purpoſes. They had been in hopes, that ſince Sultan *Mahomet*, author of the unjuſt war was depoſed, and the government conferred upon *Soliman*, a Prince, as they imagined, of great ſanctity, that the divine wrath would be appeaſed, and the enemies repelled, who ſeemed to threaten the inner provinces of the Empire. When they found themſelves deceived in their expectation, they throw libels into the Jami and Divan, containing reproaches againſt the Sultan's negligence, and other devices both in proſe and verſe, by which not only the Vizir and Nobles, but the Sultan himſelf was ſharply ſatyrized. The Vizir very carefully watches theſe things, orders a guard day and night to paſs through the city, prevents nightly aſſemblies, in which he knew ſuch weapons were generally contrived, and ſiezes ſome perſons, who had unwarily uttered, in publick, ſatyrical expreſſions, but not to add oyl to the flames, he diſmiſſed them without puniſhment.

The reſtleſs diſpoſition of the *Turks* attempts a new rebellion.

XV. At laſt, the Sultan's natural timorouſneſs produces what courage could ſcarce have done, the beſt remedy for this evil. For *Soliman*, prompted by his fear, reſolves to leave *Conſtantinople*, and withdraw from the authors of the ſedition, which deſign being approved, under pretence of changing the air, he removes to *Adrianople* with his nobles and whole court. Indeed the people of *Conſtantinople* ſeemed to have cauſe to complain of the ill adminiſtration of affairs, though they did not impute it to the proper perſons. For how much the treaſury was exhauſted, and to how great a neceſſity that opulent Empire was reduced, evidently appeared from what happened in that journey. For when the Sultan was juſt ready to depart, the maſter of the horſe comes to him, and tells him, there are not in the ſtables ſo many horſes, mules, and camels, as were neceſſary for the whole court. The Sultan, as he was of a mild temper, orders what was wanted to be hired, and the money to be paid by the *Teſterdar*. He being ſent for, and declaring, there was not ſo much money in the treaſury, *Soliman* commands the gold and ſilver veſſels and jewels to be ſold in the publick market, and with the money his neceſſities to be ſupplied. Thus with difficulty he departs from *Conſtantinople* upon hired horſes and chariots, and by this means prevents the ſedition juſt ready to break out.

The fearfulneſs of the Sultan appeaſes the ſedition, when even fortitude would ſcarce have had that effect.

He goes to *Adrianople*, from whence he ſends ambaſſadors to the Emperor to deſire peace.

XVI. When he is come to *Adrianople*, he pretends to apply himſelf wholly to the care of the war, but as the law of the *Koran* and ſuperſtitious devotions were much more agreeable to him, than arms and ſoldiers, he ſends *Zuulficar Effendi*

Effendi (11), clerk of the Janizaries, and *Alexander Maurocordatos* (12) interpreter of the *Divan*, ambaſſadors to the Emperor of *Germany*, under pretence of

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(11) *Zuulficar Effendi*] A native of *Conſtantinople*, who was in great reputation at the *Othman* court on account of his learning. Beſides his perſonal virtues, the place of *Yengicheri* * *Effendiſi* or Clerk of the Janizaries, which he held, rendered him conſiderable at court. That officer's buſineſs is, to keep all the liſts of the Janizaries, to give each of them a Teſtimonium ſubſcribed with his own hand, to call them all by name to receive their pay, and in ſhort to confirm whatever is tranſacted between the Janizaries, by ſetting his name thereto, by which means it is incredible what vaſt riches he can acquire by lawful and unlawful ways. For, beſides his Salary, which is pretty large, he receives conſiderable preſents from the Janizary-officers whenever they are promoted, and that oftener happens amongſt them than any where elſe, partly by reaſon of the great number of officers in that body, and alſo from the frequent changes of the Aga of the Janizaries; for it is the cuſtom every where in *Turkey*, not to appear before any Clerk without a preſent. Moreover, when the Janizaries receive their pay, he gives in the *Puſula* (or Note containing each Janizary's name, which all of them are obliged to have,) of many that are dead or abſent, and by that means gets their pay for himſelf: Not to mention other ways of inriching himſelf, in which no people are equal to the *Turks* for invention. He left one ſon, *Oſman aga*, who after the death of *Daltaban*, was, by the intereſt of *Maurocordatus*, promoted to the place of *Kiehaia*.

(12) *Maurocordatus*] A man ſo well known to all *Europe*, that there is no occaſion to give a long hiſtory of his life: however for the ſake of the curious I ſhall add ſomething concerning his pedigree, of which there are only uncertain accounts. In the reign of *Murad* IV. famous for the taking of *Bagdad*, there lived at *Conſtantinople*, a very rich *Greek*, known by his regiſtred name of σκαρλάτος, *(Scarlatos)* who was *Sorguj*, or purveyor to the court for ſheep and oxen. That employment is commonly given to ſome *Greek*, becauſe they can more eaſily buy from the *Chriſtians*, the ſheep and oxen that are to ſupply the Sultan's and the Janizaries kitchins. Having by that buſineſs raiſed a very large fortune, he began to be known, and to have ſome intereſt at court, as is very eaſy for rich people. There was at that time a great enmity between *Baſilius* Prince of *Moldavia* and *Matthew* Prince of *Walachia*, each endeavouring to thruſt the other out of his reſpective Principality; but becauſe they were both rich and powerful at court, they hurt only their own treaſures. *Scarlatos* was of *Baſilius*'s ſide, and making uſe of his credit with the Vizir and courtiers to *Matthew*'s prejudice, raiſed him daily almoſt inſuperable obſtacles. *Matthew* attempted ſeveral ways to draw him into his party; but all in vain. At laſt, upon the death of his wife, he demands his only daughter *Loxandra* in marriage, hoping, that alliance in blood, would eaſily do, what money had not been able to effect. *Scarlatos* giving his conſent, *Matthew* has the Eſpouſals ſolemnized at *Conſtantinople*, by their *Capukiehaia* in a ſplendid manner, and ſends ſome Barons and Baroneſſes to *Conſtantinople* with a grand retinue to fetch the bride. But, a few days after the eſpouſals, *Loxandra* falls ill of the ſmall-pox, which not only ſpoiled her beauty, but alſo deſtroyed one of her eyes. *Scarlatos* carefully conceals that blemiſh, and ſends his daughter to her ſpouſe with a large portion, bidding her keep herſelf veiled after the *Turkiſh* faſhion during her journey, and not ſhow her face to any perſon, till after the marriage-ceremony was over; hoping, that if that was once performed, the Prince would be obliged to keep her for his wife, whether he would or no. She veil'd herſelf in her journey without any ſuſpicion; but arriving at *Targoviſtium*, where ſhe was received into magnificent Lodgings, when ſhe would permit none to come to her, except the maid-ſervants ſhe had brought from home, the Prince ſuſpecting ſomething in that ſecrecy ſo unuſual among *Chriſtians*, asked leave firſt for himſelf alone, and then for ſome of the Baroneſſes to wait upon her; but he was refuſed both, the young Lady pretending, her father had laid a ſtrict injunction upon her, and charged her with horrid imprecations, not to ſhow her face to any perſon as long as ſhe continued a virgin; which injunction included not only men but alſo women. The Prince, either out of good-nature, or for fear of her father's power, did not preſs her any further, but only intimated, that he gueſſed by her being ſo ſhy of ſhowing herſelf, ſhe had ſome imperfection or blemiſh in her body: To which ſhe artfully replied, ſhe had all that was requiſite in a virgin, but if the Prince repented of his engagement, ſhe was ready that very hour to return to her country; for that *Scarlatos*'s daughter would never want a husband. The Prince deceived

of informing him of his election, but in reality to ſettle a peace upon what terms they could procure.

XVII. The

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deceived by the young Lady's ſmart anſwer, immediately made very great preparations for his wedding. She is brought veiled from her lodgings to the palace, and from thence to the Church. When the Prince, after the marriage-ceremony, comes into his bed-chamber, and ſees that his bride was very ugly, and had loſt her right eye, he ſends her immediately untouched, or as others ſay, two days after, from the palace to her old lodgings, and has her conveyed honorably to her father, with her whole dower, and the wedding preſents, which were ſaid to amount to an hundred and fifty purſes. *Scarlatos* took this very heinouſly, and ſought many ways to be revenged for the contempt of his daughter, but his death prevented his deſigns, for a few days after his daughter's return, he is ſtabbed by a Janizary, ſaid to be bribed by *Baſilius* Prince of *Moldavia*. After his death, *Loxandra*, who was both a virgin and a widow, remained many years unmarried, though ſhe was very rich. For the *Greek* nobles then at *Conſtantinople*, did not ſeek for riches, but beauty, and cared not to purchaſe money at the price of ſo diſagreeable a marriage; and thoſe that were of mean extraction ſhe ſlighted, as being the daughter of one of the moſt conſiderable men of his time, and a Prince's ſpouſe. There came at that time to *Conſtantinople*, one *Pantelis Maurocordatus*, a *Chian*, commonly called *Panteli*, who was indeed noble by birth, but reduced to that poverty, that he was forced to ſell in *Conſtantinople Chian* ſilks, called by the *Turks*, *Hetay*: He was otherwiſe a tall, handſome, and well-made young man, and born of no inconſiderable family in *Chio*. And he had a paternal inheritance in that iſland, but not large; for it is ſufficient there to make a man noble, if he has a vineyard and a turret deſcended to him from his anceſtors, becauſe by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of the iſland, no one can enjoy large poſſeſſions. This man coming ſometimes to *Loxandra's* houſe to ſell goods, ſhe fell in love with him, and without conſulting any one, reſolved to marry him; ſo ſending for a pariſh-prieſt, ſhe was married to him privately in her own houſe, according to the ceremonies of the Church. From this marriage were born two ſons to *Panteli*, *Alexander* and *John*. *John* was hardly known to any *Europæan*, both becauſe he was naturally of a weak underſtanding, and therefore made no progreſs in the ſciences; and becauſe he had no employment at court, nor was engaged in any affairs, he led a private life; and died in the ſame, leaving two ſons *Scarlatos* and *Conſtantine*, not more famous than himſelf. As for *Alexander*, he was ſent at twelve years of age to *Padua*, where he applied himſelf ſo cloſely to his ſtudies for fourteen years, that he was not only created Doctor of Phyſick and Philoſophy, but alſo was thought worthy, at his return to his own country, to fill the chair of profeſſor of phyſick and philoſophy in the patriarchal ſchool. But this bringing him but a ſmall income, he alſo began to practiſe phyſick among the *Turks*, and acquired ſo much fame, that he came in a ſhort time to have moſt of the Great men for his patients. And to get to himſelf a greater name, the *Turks* not knowing his father, he called himſelf, not the grandſon, but the ſon of the famous *Saruji Scarlatos*, which the *Conſtantinopolitans*, who are little inquiſitive in ſuch matters, eaſily believed, and gave him the name of *Skierlet ogli*, that is, *Scarlatos*'s ſon; from thence he took occaſion to bear that name in *Europe*, as I have obſerved he does, in the Diploma of the Emperor *Leopold*, where he is called *Alexander* of the noble family of *Scarlatos*. In the mean time *Panagiotes Nicuſius*, chief interpreter of the *Othman* court, dying, that office was beſtowed by *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha* upon *Alexander*, on account of his great skill in the oriental languages, and he enjoyed it thirty years with ſome variety of fortune. For when his great patron *Cara Muſtapha Paſha* was ſtrangled, his ſucceſſor *Cara Ibrahim Paſha* threatned him with death, becauſe he was thought to have diſſwaded *Cara Muſtapha* from taking *Vienna* by force of arms; and ſo being turned out of his place, deprived of his goods, and thrown into priſon, he was ſucceeded by one *Sefferaga*, a renegado *Chriſtian*, who had embraced *Mahometiſm*. But *Cara Ibrahim* finding in a few months, that *Sefferaga* was unfit for the place, reſtored *Alexander* to his former honour, and gave him an opportunity of amaſſing more riches, and of growing more in favour at court than before. Under *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, he expoſed himſelf to very great danger by his embaſſy to *Vienna*, and that would entirely have been the cauſe of his ruin, had he not by his many promiſes induced the court of *Vienna* to retain him, under divers pretences, till the death of *Kioprili*. When *Kioprili* was dead, he returned to *Conſtantinople* with *Zuulficar Effendi*, and his good ſucceſs at the treaty of *Carlowitz* procured him ſo much eſteem at the *Othman* court, that he was honoured with the new name and title of *Mubarremi Eſrar*, that is,

The Vizir appoints a Seraskier against the enemy.

XVII. The Vizir also, *Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha Pasha* (13), either out of fear of the *Germans*, or apprehension lest the Sultan, during his absence, should be persuaded by his courtiers to put him to death, declines the command of the army, and appoints *Rejeb Pasha* (14) Seraskier of *Hungary*.

The Imperialists besiege *Alba Regulis*, and take it, with many other cities. † *May* 8. H. 1099. A. C. 1688.

XVIII. But before the *Turkish* forces took the field, the Imperialists had blocked up *Alba Regalis* the whole winter, so that on the nineteenth of the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1099, the garrison, compelled by famine, offered the keys to the conqueror. *Caraffa* had by stratagem assaulted *Lippa*, and taken the city by storm, and obliged the castle in a few days to surrender; and soon after wrested *Solmoz* and *Logosh* from the *Turks*. *Caraffa*, to whom the command of the whole army was committed during the Elector of *Bavaria*'s absence, after having taken *Illok* and *Peterwaradin* from the *Turks*, had sent *Wallis* and *Heusler* with several regiments towards the *Tibiscus*, to seize *Tiral*, a castle upon that river, because, till that was taken, it would be difficult to besiege *Belgrade*. When they approach the castle, the garrison, prepared indeed for defence, but being vigorously pressed, on the twenty-eighth of the month *Ramazan*, surrender upon condition of having leave to depart.

The Elector of *Bavaria* subdues *Semendri* and *Belgrade*.

XIX. The neighbouring country being thus settled, the Imperial army, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, turn their whole force against *Belgrade*; but in their way are opposed by the *Turks* at the isle of *Sabats*, who endeavour to prevent their passage over the *Save*, but are repulsed by the foremost troops with great loss. These obstacles being surmounted, the whole army march to *Belgrade*, in order to attack the *Turks*, who had pitched their camp round the city, and fortified it with a trench. But the Seraskier, without waiting the approach of the *Germans*, sets fire to his camp and the lower part of the city, and, reinforcing the garrison, retires with the rest of his army to *Semandria*. The *Germans* seizing what the *Turks* had left, on the thirteenth of the month *Sheval* †, lay siege to the city on all sides, and opening their trenches, prosecute it with the utmost vigour. Mean time, being informed that the *Turks* had abandoned *Semandria*, the capital of *Servia*, they send thither a thousand *Hungarians*, who with ease take the city, destitute of defence. At length the *Ger-*

† *July* 30.

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Keeper of Secrets, which he interpreted by the *Greek* word ἱερογλύφων, and required to be styled after ἀλλαμπορτάλος by the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, and other *Christians* subject to the *Othman* Empire. He received some disturbance in his old age from *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*, who endeavoured to obstruct the peace of *Carlowitz*, and kill the authors of it, as if, contrary to their orders, they had made some concessions to the *Germans*, and especially to the *Poles*. *Daltaban* being slain by the Mufti's contrivance, his favourers and adherents were so exasperated at it, that they rais'd a rebellion, and insisted upon having *Maurocordatus* delivered up to them: which Sultan *Mustapha* would have been forced to do, had not *Maurocordatus* retired to *Sozopolis* to his relations. But the conspirators being dispersed by the prudent management of Sultan *Ahmed*, and the rebellion appeased, he returned with his son to *Constantinople* in a monk's habit; and being restored by the Sultan to all his honours and riches, lived till the year 1709, towards the end of which he departed this life. He left as heirs to his immense riches two sons, and two daughters, *Nicolas*, *John*, *Alexandra*, and *Helena*. He had a third son, named *Scarlatos*, who was chief cup-bearer of *Walachia*, and son-in-law to *Constantine Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*; but he died before his father, and without issue, being a very hopeful young man. *Nicolas*, upon his father's being sent to *Carlowitz* with the title of *Mubarremi esrar*, was appointed *Bashterjiman*, or chief interpreter to the court, and after his father's death was created Prince of *Moldavia*, and is now Despot of *Walachia*, being highly in favour at court. *John* was promoted after his brother to the place of chief interpreter, which he at present enjoys, and is the handsomest person of his time.

(13) *Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha*,] a native of *Rodostus*, called by the *Turks*, *Tekkiurdaghy*, raised from a Janizary to the dignity of Vizir; but he distinguished himself by no remarkable action.

(14) *Rejeb Pasha*,] he belonged formerly to *Aineji Soliman*, and by him, whilst Vizir, was constituted *Chaush Bashi*; and at last being sent to the *Hungarian* army with three *Tugs*, and the title of Seraskier, he lost both his army and his life by his excessive Superstition.

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mans, having demoliſhed the walls of *Belgrade*, on the eleventh of the month † *Ziulcade* ſurround the city, and after a ſharp battle of ſix hours, force the *Turkiſh* ſoldiers from the walls, and penetrate into the city. The garriſon, in deſpair, endeavour to retreat into the caſtle; but ſo uncautiouſly, that the *Germans* briskly purſuing and mixing with them, ſeize the gate. A fierce battle enſues than the former, and at laſt the garriſon, as 'tis ſaid, conſiſting of nine thouſand men, are all put to the ſword by the *Germans*. † *Aug.* 26.

XX. When the city was taken, the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſadors come and declare they are ſent both to acquaint the *Germans* with the election of Sultan *Soliman*, and to ſettle a peace, deſiring ſome perſons might be named by the Imperialiſts, to whom they might communicate what they had in commiſſion. The Elector of *Bavaria* anſwers, he is general of the Emperor's army, and not his counſellor, and ſent by him to ſubdue *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and not to make peace: if they had any thing to propoſe to his Imperial Majeſty, they muſt go to *Vienna*, and open their commiſſion. The *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors come to the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Belgrade*.

XXI. The Prince of *Baden* had no leſs ſucceſs with another part of the Imperial army in *Boſnia*. As he attempted to paſs the river *Unna*, he was oppoſed by a conſiderable body of *Turks*, which having vigorouſly attacked, he not only defeated, but purſued them ſo briskly, that they abandoned *Gradiſca* and *Coſtaniza*. Proceeding further, he was met at the little city of *Brod*, on the tenth of the month *Ziulcade* *, by the Paſha of *Boſnia* with the whole army, who, the ſame day, was routed with ſuch loſs, that five thouſand *Turks*, with their general, were ſlain. The Duke of *Baden*'s ſucceſs in *Boſnia*. * *Aug.* 25.

XXII. Mean while, the *Venetians* carry on the war in other parts with doubtful ſucceſs. In the *Morea*, the Seraskier is before them in the campain, and obliges the garriſon of *Athens* to abandon the city with great loſs. The *Venetian* army ſoon after march to *Egriboz*, and, paſſing the narrow ſea which divides the iſland from the Continent, lay cloſe ſiege to the city; but, by the diſagreement of the officers, and the bravery of the beſieged, are obliged to retreat with loſs. Upon which Count *Coningſmark*, the general, eminent for his valour, who had been the inſtrument of almoſt all the victories gained by the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, fell ſick and died. The various ſucceſs of the *Venetians*.

XXIII. On the other hand, in *Dalmatia*, *Kain*, of which *Steaglik*, the depoſed Sopha of *Boſnia*, was governor, with ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers, is taken, and the caſtles of *Verlicca*, *Quonigrad*, and *Graſſach* *, are ſubdued by the *Venetians*. The *Venetians* more ſucceſsful in *Dalmatia*.

XXIV. In the mean time, the *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors *Zuulficar Effendi* and *Maurocordatus* were come to *Vienna*, and being introduced to the Emperor in the name of the Sultan, without any mention of peace, preſented the letters *Julus Name* (15), informing him of the election of *Soliman* to the *Othman* throne, hoping the Imperial court would firſt propoſe a peace, and ſo render the negotiation more eaſy to them. But when they find nothing mentioned on the Emperor's part with reſpect to that point, they offer to *Leopold* two ſetts of articles for peace, namely, if a ſhort truce only were deſired, all *Hungary* ſhould continue in the hands of the *Germans*, *Tranſylvania* be tributary to both Empires, *Caminiec*, with its walls demoliſhed, be reſtored to the *Poles*, and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*: but if a peace were more agreeable, ſome part of *Hungary*, beſides *Belgrade*, ſhould be reſtored to the *Othman* Empire. The *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors coming to *Vienna*, propoſe two ſetts of articles for peace.

XXV. The Emperor having conſulted with the ambaſſadors of the reſt of the confederated princes, returns this anſwer, that though from the preſent ſituation of affairs he had great hopes not only of recovering *Hungary*, but alſo of ſubduing the whole *Othman* Empire, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided The hard terms propoſed by the Emperor.

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(15) *Julus Name*,] ſo are the Sultan's letters commonly called which he ſends to the Paſhas, and Begs dignified with the title of Paſhas, and to the neighbouring Princes with whom he is at peace, to notify his acceſſion to the throne: they are properly called *Namei juluſi humayun*, i. e. the letters of the moſt ſublime new dominion.

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the Kingdom of *Hungary*, with the provinces belonging thereto, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Transylvania*, be resigned to him, *Moldavia* and *Walachia* remain free, the exercise of the *Roman-Catholick* religion be permitted in all parts of the *Turkish* Empire, and the *Franciscan* fryars put in possession of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, and *Tekeli* be delivered up to him. The *Poles* demand, that the antient boundaries of their kingdom be restored, and all *Crim-Tartary*, *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and the whole country extending on both sides of the *Boryſthenes* as far as the *Danube* resigned to them; and to show themselves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they insist, that all the *Christians*, who lived under the *Turkish* government, be exempt from tribute. The *Venetians* besides the *Morea*, and the cities and isles in their possession demand the sea-coast of *Negropont* from *Corcyra* to *Corinth*, and part of *Dalmatia*, with the demolition of the havens of *Dulcigno* and *Antivari*.

The King of *France* dissuades the Sultan from this peace.

XXVI. The ambassadors immediately inform *Soliman* by a courier of the answer of the *Christian* Princes, and desire to be directed in what manner to reply. And undoubtedly the peace would have been settled, if the most *Christian* Sun had not animated the waining Moon with his light, and prevented her from being totally darkened by the *German* arms. For the King of *France*, who had beheld with a jealous eye the delivery of *Germany*, and the victories of the *Christians* in *Hungary*, when he sees the imperial army had broken down all the fences with which *Constantinople* was defended, and was very near overturning the *Othman* Empire, is seized with envy, and though he has no just cause, proclaims war against the Emperor, and draws the *German* forces from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*. But that he might not turn the whole burthen of the war from the *Turks* upon himself, he advises the Sultan by *Chateau-Nouveau* his ambassador at *Constantinople*, not to make peace with the *Germans*, since the next year he would with a strong army penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and endeavour, that both the Padishahi's might in conjunction act against the *Germans*; and he had now four hundred thousand men ready for that expedition.

He promises to divide the Empire of *Germany* between himself and the Sultan.

XXVII. He adds, if the event should answer his wishes, he would reserve to himself *Vienna* with all *Germany*, but restore *Hungary* to the Sultan. These promises revive the drooping *Turks*, and fill them with such hopes of success, that the Sultan neglecting the ambassadors, whom he had sent to desire peace, thought of nothing but war.

All pretences of peace being laid aside, the war is renewed, and the rebels defeated in *Asia*.

XXVIII. Wherefore he first applies himself to settle affairs at home, and as soon as he heard, the *Germans* were retired to winter-quarters, sends the greatest part of his army against the two rebels, *Egen Osman Pasha* and *Gieduk Pasha*, who had almost the whole year disturbed the *Othman* Empire. They bravely attack, defeat, and take the ravagers prisoners, and bringing them to *Constantinople*, deliver the *Othman* state from this intestine disorder.

The *Turks* constitute *Liberius*, Prince of the *Mainots*.

XXIX. Moreover to avert the danger, which threatned *Greece* from the *Venetian* arms, and in some measure secure the southern provinces, he sets *Liberius Geralchari* (16) at liberty, who had been confined in the gallies, and appoints

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(16) *Liberius Geralchari*] He is better known to the *Europæans* by the name of of *Liberaki*, which is a corruption of the word *Liberius*, according to the manner of the *Greeks*, he was a native of *Mania*, the *Laconia* of the antients, from whence he went in his youth, and served in the *Venetian* fleet. Afterwards he fitted out a Pirate ship, and, under various colours, committed several robberies at sea for some years. Being at last taken by the *Turks*, he was sent to the gallies, where he lived miserably for seven years. At the end of which he perswaded the *Turks*, that if they set a *Christian* Prince over the *Moreans*, they would all in a short time revolt from the *Venetians*, and return to the obedience of their former masters. For this advice he not only obtained his freedom, (the *Turks*, distressed and harassed on all sides, being willing to try every thing for their preservation,) but, with the title of *Maniabegi*, was honoured with a *Sanjak* but no *Tug*, and sent into the *Morea*. But before he departed from *Constantinople*, he married *Anastatia* of the noble *Moldavian* family of *Bubuseſtij*, and widow of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia* (who died in his captivity in *Poland*)

points him Prince of *Mania* or the *Mainottæ*, in imitation of the deſpots of *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, though with a lower degree of authority. He was induced to this as well by the ſucceſs of his arms in *Moldavia*, which convinced him, that a *Chriſtian* governor could much more eaſily keep the ſubjects of his own religion in obedience, as by the aſſurances of *Liberius*, who perſwaded him, that all the people of the *Morea* were alienated from the *Venetians*, on account of their endeavouring to impoſe upon them the *Roman* Catholick religion. If therefore a Prince of the eaſtern church was made governor of the *Morea*, they would ſoon be engaged to abandon the *Venetians*, and ſubmit again to the *Othman* dominion.

The Saltan promiſes to command the army himſelf.

XXX. Theſe affairs being thus ſettled, *Soliman*, to terrify the enemy, and animate his own men, declares, he will command the army in perſon againſt the *Germans*, and having raiſed as many troops as poſſible, marches towards *Servia*, as if he meant to beſiege *Belgrade*.

Hearing of the approach of the *Germans*, he ſtops at *Sophia*.

XXXI. But he was ſcarce come to *Sophia*, when he is informed, that *Segedwar*, a city famous for the martyrdom of *Soliman* I, had been obliged by famine to ſurrender to the Imperialiſts; and that the *German* army, which he had imagined was wholly employed againſt the *French*, was marching from *Belgrade* againſt him with great expedition. Whereupon in a fright, he remains at *Sophia*, and leaves the army to the conduct of the Seraskier *Rejeb Paſha*, with orders not raſhly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progreſs of the enemy.

The Seraſkier being deluded by his aſtrologer, is twice defeated by the *Germans*.

XXXII. The Seraskier, when he is come to the river *Morava* within ſight of the enemy, being deceived by his aſtrologer (17), who from his obſervation of the

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land) to the great diſhonour of *Ducas*'s poſterity, by the following ſtratagem. *Liberius* having privately betrothed her, publickly demands *Anaſtaſia* in marriage; but ſhe refuſing, and declaring that it was unbecoming a Prince's widow to marry a *Paizan* (for that is the name given to perſons condemned to the gallies.) *Liberius* preſents an *Arzubal* to the Vizir, deſiring that the Patriarch ſhould be obliged by a *ferman* to celebrate the marriage. She ſtill pretending to be unwilling, begs of the Patriarch, with tears in her eyes, that he, and the chief of the *Greek* nobility, would intercede with the Vizir, to put a ſtop to the marriage. The Patriarch complies with her requeſt, but when he comes, attended with almoſt all the *Greek* nobility, to her houſe; ſhe plainly diſcovers her deſigns, ſaying, that having duly conſidered the matter, her modeſty would not allow her to come before the Vizir, and therefore ſhe choſe rather to marry any husband, than expoſe her ſelf to ſo much infamy; whereupon the company going away, ſhe was immediately married by a Prieſt whom ſhe had got ready in her houſe for that purpoſe. But ſhe, ſoon after, expiated the diſgrace ſhe had brought upon her family; for when her new husband was gone to the *Venetians*, ſhe put on the veil, and died in the ſame ſome years after.

(17) his aſtrologer] Though the *Turks* are forbid all ſorcery, and other kinds of divination, by the Law of the *Koran*, which expreſsly declares, *Kiulli munejimun Kiezzabun*, i. e. *all aſtrologers are liars*; yet they very eaſily give credit to their predictions. And to have ſome ſpecious pretence for this ſuperſtition, they fancy, that the heavenly bodies are the inſtruments of divine providence, by which it not only performs every thing, but hath alſo expreſſed by their figures what ought to be done: and moreover, that in the forehead of all perſons, the firſt moment of their conception in their mother's womb, are written, according to the harmony of the heavenly bodies, whatever is to befall them, in characters unknown to mankind. For the reading and explaining of theſe, they boaſt of wonderful and ridiculous arts, eſpecially the calculation *Reml* (invented, ſay they, by *Pythagoras*, whom they call *Feiſagures*) by which from the even or odd number of letters contained in the mother's and child's name, by *ebjed*, that is, the value of the number, they pretend to foretell things. The Vizir's courts are full of ſuch prophets, who never dare to foretell any unhappy events, but in order to preſerve the fame they have acquired by their lies, promiſe nothing but victories, greater honours, long life, and a laſting enjoyment of the Vizirſhip. *Chorluly* Ali Paſha* alone held thoſe people in the utmoſt contempt, and one of them, who was provoked at it, having foretold, that he would be deprived of his dignity of Vizir at the end of three months, he confined him in priſon the three months and eleven days, and then ſent him to the gallies. But under *Huſein Paſha*, the promo-

the ſtars promiſed him certain victory, bravely attacks the *Germans*, but is obliged with great loſs to retire with the remains of his army to *Niſſa*. But even this misfortune could not open the Seraskier's eyes, nor convince him how abſurd it is to truſt to the fallacious conjunctions of the ſtars, and the pretended interpreters of them. For he had no ſooner re-aſſembled his troops after their flight, and ſtrengthned them with new ſupplies, but, induced again by the promiſes of the ſame aſtrologer, he takes the field, and engages the *Germans*; but being quickly defeated, and his whole army almoſt deſtroyed, he eſcapes with a few followers, perceiving too late the vanity of his ſuperſtition.

The Imperialiſts ſubdue almoſt all *Servia*.

XXXIII. After this victory, the *Germans* over-run at once all *Servia*, take *Widdin*, *Niſſa*, *Shebirkioi*, and deſtroy *Siopia*, a city of *Bulgaria*, by fire.

The Sultan returns an anſwer to his ambaſſadors.

XXXIV. Upon the news of theſe misfortunes, *Soliman* immediately haſtens from *Sophia* to *Adrianople*, and returns an anſwer, till then deferred, to his ambaſſadors at the *German* court. But he orders them to make no new offer, beſides what they had before in commiſſion; and admoniſhes them to ſettle the peace agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, which were more favorable to thoſe who receive, than thoſe who give. He directs them therefore to perſuade the Emperor, without mentioning the reſt of the provinces of *Hungary* which he had demanded, to reſtore *Belgrade* to the *Othman* Empire, after which they might treat of peace. *Maurocordatus*, having received the Sultan's anſwer, finding that ſuch things could not poſſibly be propoſed or demanded, conceals his orders, pretending the Sultan would not give up any thing, except what he had before mentioned; but being afterwards put in mind by his collegue, *Zuulficar Effendi*, that both their lives would be in danger, if they ſhould be found to neglect the Sultan's commands, he communicates the real ſtate of the affair to the Emperor, and receives ſuch an anſwer as he expected. For though the Emperor, perceiving that while he was engaged with two enemies, he could not carry on the war againſt either with ſucceſs, would gladly have made a truce upon any terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair to another time, becauſe the *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors had not full power of making peace, and he thought it diſhonourable, after ſo many victories, to ſend ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, as it were, to ſue for peace, and withal expoſe himſelf to the artifices of the *Turks*, whom he knew to be very ſubtle in protracting negotiations.

The *Poles* are quiet. The *Ruſſians* attack *Crim Tartary*.

XXXV. Mean time, the two armies in *Poland* are quiet, and only ſhew themſelves to each other, being divided by the river *Tyras*. But the Czars of *Ruſſia* raiſe numerous forces, and ſend them againſt the *Tartars*, under the conduct

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ter of the peace of *Carlowitz*, there was a famous prophet at *Conſtantinople*, in the court of *Mehemmed*, *Reis Effendi*, who was commonly called *Nefi Ogly*, or *the Exile's ſon*, becauſe his father had been baniſhed by *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha* (for *Nefi* ſignifies an exile, or a baniſhed perſon.) I was intimately acquainted with him before and after the death of *Rami Paſha*, and he certainly was the moſt learned man among the *Turks*, ſkilled not only in *Arabic*, and other parts of learning in uſe among the *Mahometans*; but he alſo underſtood *Latin*, which he had learned by means of *Meninſkius*'s *Turkiſh Grammar* and *Lexicon*, without the aſſiſtance of a maſter. And it was only by following his counſel, that *Rami Mehemmed Paſha* acquired ſo great fame in the *Othman* court. For when any difficult matter occurred, it was cuſtomary for *Rami* to conſult *Nefiogly*, and carry his opinion to the Vizir as his own. I know that moſt perſons aſcribe this to *Alexander Maurocordatus*, by reaſon of the cloſe friendſhip between him and the *Reis Effendi*; but that *Nefiogly* alone was his adviſer, hath been acknowledged by all who had an opportunity of being intimately acquainted with *Rami*'s court. It was he alſo who perſuaded *Rami reis Effendi* to undertake an embaſſy, which he intended to decline, telling him, he would thence reap great honour and advantages, and put a happy concluſion to a very dangerous war. Adding, *Huſeim Paſha* would not long enjoy the Vizirſhip after that peace, and, after one ſucceſſor, *Rami* himſelf would be advanced to that dignity: but he adviſed him not to accept of it, if he wiſhed well to the Sultan, for the Sultan would be in very great peril under his adminiſtration. All which was afterwards obſerved to be as exactly fulfilled, as if it had been read out of the *Leuh* (the book in which, according to the *Mahometan* fictions, are written by angels all the actions of mortals.)

of

of *Baſilius Galliczin*. It is ſaid, that three or four hundred thouſand men, and fourteen hundred cannon, were deſigned for this expedition.

XXXVI. But all theſe preparations are rendered uſeleſs by the treachery of the *Ruſſians*; for while the army was employed in beſieging the city *Or*, commonly called *Precop*, the Czar's own regiment revolted, and, by drawing into their party many of the moſt conſiderable officers, occaſion the whole army to return home without ſucceſs. In their retreat they are attacked by the *Tartars*, and by the perfidiouſneſs of their inteſtine enemies, ſuffer a great loſs in their rear. But a ſedition ariſing, they are obliged to return, not without great loſs.

XXXVII. But when the *Ruſſians* are returned, *Peter Alexiowitz*, to whom alone the goverment of that large Empire was committed by the unanimous conſent of the people, makes a ſtrict enquiry after the ſeditious; ſhuts up his ſiſter, who had been the principal occaſion of the rebellion, in the monaſtery of *Novodievicz*; removes *Baſilius Galliczin*, as privy to the attempts againſt the Empire, and, confiſcating his whole eſtate, baniſhes him to *Archangle*; puts to death eight of the Nobles, who are authors of the ſedition; kills, like wild beaſts, twelve thouſand *Streltzi's* publickly in the market-places and ſtreets; and having aboliſhed this military order, forms a regular militia, after the manner of other Chriſtian Princes. *Peter Alexiowitz* puniſhes the ſeditious, and forms a regular militia.

XXXVIII. In the *Morea*, the *Venetians* cloſely beſiege *Monembaſia*, and cut off all proviſion. *Liberaki*, lately appointed Prince of *Mania*, endeavouring to relieve the city, is repulſed with loſs. The *Venetians* beſiege *Monembaſia*.

XXXIX. About the end of this campain Sultan *Soliman*, labouring under a dropſy, by the advice of his phyſicians, returns from *Adrianople* to *Conſtantinople*, where he puts to death the Seraskier of *Hungary*, *Rejeb Paſha*, for fighting with the *Germans* contrary to his orders. The Sultan returns to *Conſtantinople*.

XL. Moreover, he removes the Vizir *Tekkiurdaghy Muſtapha Paſha* from his poſt, as a man unqualified for war and the adminiſtration of the ſtate, and confines him to a private life in *Malgara*, a little town near *Rodoſtus*, advancing in his room *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, who, as I ſaid, was *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople* when Sultan *Mahomet* was depoſed. The Vizir being depoſed, *Kiopriliogly* is advanced in his room.

XLI. The new Vizir, immediately after his advancement, ſends for the *Mufti*, the Cadiuleskers, with the reſt of the *Ulema*, and the generals of the army, and orders the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to deſire peace of the *Germans*, or recover by force what the confederates had unjuſtly ſeized. The *Mufti* firſt declares, it was not contrary to the divine law to deſire peace even of infidels in times of neceſſity. The ſame opinion is eſpouſed by the *Rumeli Cadiulesker*; but the *Aſiatic Cadiulesker*, either by the inſtigation of the Vizir, or becauſe he ſaw his provinces out of danger, oppoſes this, and maintains it to be more eligible, that all the Muſulmans ſhould periſh by the enemy's ſword, than to make *Eiuallak* with the *Giaurs*; ſince no ſin could be imagined more heinous than this, by which the honour of the prophet and the *Koran* would be wounded. The Vizir approves of the ſpeech of *Anadol Cadiulesker*. The Vizir calls a general council.

" And as often (ſays he) as I attentively conſider our conduct for ſeven years " againſt the Emperor of *Germany*, I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the impru- " dence of our generals, the blindneſs of our counſellors, and the fearful or per- " verſe minds of the interpreters of the law. The Vizirs and Seraskiers, who " have been highly applauded for their wiſdom, though they knew the war was " to be carried on with the *Giaurs*, never thought of any thing, but raiſing as " large armies as poſſible; the counſellors were only ſollicitous about filling the " treaſury by any means, and providing the ſoldiers with money and warlike ſtores, " as if the *Muſulmans* had no other hopes of victory but in their arms and trea- " ſure. The *Ulema*, whoſe office it was to adviſe them, and correct their miſ- " taken conduct, content with their ſtipends, preferred eaſe to labour, without " any concern whether the *Othman* ſtate was well adminiſtered, or not. On " theſe accounts, as the Empire could not but be involved in the moſt dread- " ful calamities, they never thought of removing the ſource of them, by re- " forming the vices of the people, but immediately gave the ſanction of their " approbation to the propoſal of peace, and almoſt forced it upon the true *Mu-*

" *ſulmans*.

" *ſulmans.* But when God was more provoked by this infidelity, and debarred " them of peace upon honourable terms, they immediately return to their old " cuſtoms, and caſt the blame due to the ſubjects upon the Emperors. Having " obtained their ends, at their departure they foretold the ſoldiers out of the law, " that the *Giaurs* would be driven from our borders; not conſidering that the " promiſe of our prophet, of undoubted ſucceſs to the *Muſulmans*, depends up- " on certain conditions. There are required, for inſtance, a ſure confidence in " God, the exerciſe of good works, purity of mind in the ſoldiers, who are to " fight againſt the *Giaurs*, and juſtice in the rulers towards their ſubjects. Theſe " virtues being hitherto wanting, what wonder is it that God himſelf ſhould re- " fuſe to aſſiſt the *Muſulman* forces, and that their valour ſhould be defeated by " the art of the *Giaurs*. For my part, to demonſtrate the truth of what I have " ſaid, I deſire only twelve thouſand true followers of the *Koran*, men pure in " heart and mind. With theſe I truſt not only to fight valiantly againſt the " numberleſs forces of the *Giaurs*, but likewiſe, by God's aſſiſtance, humble them " in ſuch a manner, that they ſhall be obliged to reſtore all they have hitherto " taken from us." To this ſpeech the *Mufti* replies, that the Vizir had indeed with great ſagacity traced out the cauſes of the corruptions, and of the ſubſequent misfortunes to the *Othman* Empire; but that they could hardly be corrected by the method he propoſed, ſince the army wanted ſpirit, and the treaſury money, the ſinews of war. Beſides, all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raiſed by the letters lately ſent from the ambaſſadors at *Vienna*. Upon this, the Vizir asks who were the ambaſſadors, and what peace they were ſent to make? And being informed by the *Mufti* of the whole ſtate of the affair, he is fired with indignation, and in a long ſpeech ſhows how much the authors of that embaſſy, of whom he deemed his predeceſſor to be the principal, had acted againſt the good of the Empire. At laſt, with a loud voice, he cries out, " I count the ambaſſadors, and thoſe that ſent them, *Giaurs*, and as ſuch do I " think they will be treated in the divine judgment. For no true *Muſulman*, " skilled in the precepts of the *Koran*, could have thrown the Sultan, a prince of " great mildneſs and ſimplicity, into ſo heinous and execrable a crime.

It is concluded to continue the war; and the Vizir denies that the Sultan had ſent ambaſſadors to the Emperor.

XLII. The Vizir, thus diſpoſed to war, is urged ſtill more to purſue his deſigns by the *French* ambaſſador, Monſieur *Château-Nouveau*, who poſſeſſes him and the whole court with ſuch a confidence in the arms of *France*, that a *Galibe Divan* (18) being called, they unanimouſly determined to proſecute the war with the

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(18) *Galibe Divan*,] ſo is the Emperor's *Divan* called, which is held every *Sunday* and *Tueſday*, under a *Cubbe* in the large hall of the outer court, named *babi humayun*, the *ſublime Port*. The Prime Vizir preſides in it, and has on his right hand *Rumeli*, on his left *Anadol*, *Kadulasker*, and the Mufti, if he is ſummoned by a particular order; as alſo the reſt of the *Cubbe* Vizirs, and lower the *Teſterdar*. The *Reis effendi*, and the other chiefs of the *Calemii*, ſtand by: but the military officers, as the *Aga* of the Janizaries, *Spahilar agaſi*, *Siludar agaſi*, and the reſt, ſit without the Divan, at the gate *Babi humayun*. The Sultan hears, out of a window over the Prime Vizir's head, all that is done. When they firſt meet, they cauſe all the ſuits preſented by the plaintiffs to be read aloud by the *Teskiereji*, and decide their cauſes: after which the Vizir declares to the great men, the *Ulema*, and the ſoldiery, what the Sultan pleaſes ſhould be conſulted, and requires their opinion about it. Each having declared his opinion aloud, the Vizir waits upon the Sultan in *Arz odaſi*, which is the firſt and the laſt room in court where ſtrangers have admittance, and examines with him alone, (other perſons being ordered to walk out) affairs that are of a private nature. After the Vizir, the reſt of the aſſeſſors, the *Mufti*, *Cadiulaskers*, and the Vizirs, are admitted to the Sultan; and ſo may alſo the Aga of the Janizaries, and the other *Ojak Agalari*. It is the cuſtom for thoſe that enter the *Galibe Divan*, to wear at that time a particular dreſs. The Prime Vizir, and the reſt of the *Cubbe* Vizirs, wear a triangular turban, named *Calevi*, above half a cubit high, folded all round with a very fine linnen cloth, which they call *Diulbend*, and adorned on the forehead with a gold border three fingers in breadth, and woven in the cloth in a circular form: the Vizir's robe is of white ſilk, not flowered, named *Uſt Caftan*, lined with ermins, and having long ſleeves hanging behind; that

the utmoſt vigour. And that they might not ſeem to break off the treaty begun at *Vienna*, without ſome reaſon, the Vizir informs the Emperor of *Germany*'s council by letters, that he had heard ſome perſons were come to *Vienna* under the title of ambaſſadors from the *Port*, and had propoſed terms of peace in the Sultan's name: but that theſe were impoſtors, and had either forged the letters which they pretended to have from the Sultan, or procured them from the former Vizir, without the Sultan's knowledge. That they ſhould beware therefore of truſting them, ſince ſuch perſons neither were nor could be ſent by the *Othman* Emperor.

The Vizir, with great dexterity, raiſes a vaſt army.

XLIII. Theſe affairs being thus ſettled, he prepares for an early campain, and applies his whole care to the raiſing an army, and providing warlike ſtores. But finding what the *Mufti* had ſaid to be true, that the *Muſulmans* were ſeized with ſuch terror, that there was little hope of raiſing an army capable of oppoſing the *Germans*; that moreover the treaſury was exhauſted, and the people every-where unwilling to perform their duty, he takes another method of levying forces, which he executes with wonderful art and ſucceſs. For as the former Vizirs, in their mandates, had required all perſons, whoſe duty it was, to attend the wars, he publiſhes a *Ferman*, in a very different ſtrain. He ſays in it, that after he was made Vizir by the Sultan, upon mature conſideration, he found it neceſſary to truſt the command of the *Othman* army againſt the haughty *Germans* to none but himſelf; that he would not employ in this expedition any ſoldiers forced into the ſervice, as well knowing the will is of more value with God than the deed; but that he would only put the followers of the *Mahometan* worſhip in mind of the precepts of God and his prophet, by which every Muſulman is commanded, neither to avoid martyrdom, nor deſpair of ſucceſs in the defence of the law, and the extirpation of infidels. That every Muſulman therefore, who thought himſelf obliged by that law, and had reſolution to ſuffer every thing for the faith, ſhould come, and liſt himſelf in his army, but that he, who was doubtful or fearful of Martyrdom, or detained by affairs, which he believed would excuſe him before God from the ſervice, ſhould have the liberty of ſtaying at home, and after purging himſelf from all criminal actions, intercede daily with God for the ſucceſs of the army: Nay, though he ſhould be of the military order, he ſhould not only be exempt from puniſhment, but enjoy his pay during his abſence. By this mandate, both the ſoldiers and the people of *Aſia* are rouzed as it were from a profound ſleep. For till then whenever they were called to the wars, the greateſt part for fear of the puniſhment threatned to the unwilling, hid themſelves, and evaded the enquiry of the Baſhas, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice and falſe pretences. But when they find

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that of the reſt of the Vizirs is the ſame, only muſt be made of coloured ſilk. The Cadiulaskiers wear large Turbans, as big again as the common ones, called *Calavet*; and a brown garment made of *Sof*. The *Teſterdar*, *Reis effendi*, and officers of the *Calemij*, have likewiſe on their heads large round Turbans, which they call *Mujeveze*, and wear alſo brown garments, lined with Ermines, and made of the ſame ſtuff as thoſe of the other *Caftans*. The military officers and *Capuji baſhi* uſe a *Mujeveji* Turban, and an *Uſt Caftan* made of cloth of gold, and lined with Ermines. *Capijilar Kiehajaſi* wears a *Caftan*, and holding in his hand a ſilver-rod adorned with a ball of the ſame metal, carries the Sultan's orders to the Vizir. The *Chauſh baſhi*'s dreſs is the ſame, and his buſineſs is to bring the Plaintiffs into the *Divan*. The Vizir's officers have on their heads, a *Mujeveze*, and and wear an *erkian Kiurku* or a Coat of Ermines, with wide Sleeves. The *Kulkiehaja* an *Uſt Caftan* lined with Lynx-ſkins, and on his head a *Cucca* adorned on the left ſide with a *Sorguj* of black feathers: which alſo the reſt of the *Ojak Agalari* wear, only they have the *Sorguj* on the right ſide. But when the Sultan orders a general council to be held, to which are admitted all the great men, the officers of every degree, and the eldeſt ſoldiers, then it is called *Ajak Divani*, the *Divan of Feet*: becauſe all the aſſembly ſtand, or becauſe every one may fix his foot, or remain firm, in his opinion. The ſeveral opinions are taken and laid, by the Vizir and the reſt of the counſellors before the Sultan, to be diſcuſſed.

themſelves excited by the motive of religion to war againſt the infidels, and that the unwilling had liberty to remain at home, not only thoſe who received the pay, but others, who had been diſmiſſed the ſervice, partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice, and partly for fear of being counted *Giaurs*, prepare for the campain. Thus what the former Vizirs could not effect by the ſevereſt threats, by the Baſhas, Capuji-baſhis, and Chauſſes*, *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha* accompliſhes without any difficulty by one word of the *Koran*, and raiſes more numerous forces than any Vizir had done ſince *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*.

He clears the treaſury of money unjuſtly raiſed.

XLIV. Having by this method aſſembled an army, he turns his thoughts to the purging of the treaſury of money unjuſtly raiſed, and filling it by more honorable means. When he carefully examines the accounts, he finds the ſtate of it no leſs confuſed than of other affairs. For the Vizirs and other great men in the time of peace had conſumed a great part of it under various pretences, and for bribes had granted to ſome an exemption from tribute, and laid a greater burthen upon others than they could bear. And afterwards upon the breaking out of the war, the Teſterdars had invented various ſchemes to fill their empty coffers, by which they had reduced the citizens to ſuch neceſſity, that nothing was heard but the cries of the people calling for the vengeance of God upon their unjuſt oppreſſors. The Vizir with great application removes all thoſe abuſes reſtores to the treaſury all the mony, which his predeceſſors, the Baſhas, and Secretaries had taken away, eſtabliſhes new laws for raiſing tribute, and orders that no perſon of a different religion ſhould be exempt from tribute, and ſubjects to the *Haraj* (19) the *Greek* monks, (who ever ſince the taking of *Conſtantinople*

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(19) *Haraj*] A ſet tribute, which all perſons that are not *Mahometans* are obliged to pay to the *Turkiſh* Emperors. This impoſition is grounded on the *Koran*, which injoins, that every perſon of a different perſuaſion ſhall pay yearly, when come to a ripe age, thirteen drams of pure ſilver, if he has a mind to be a ſubject to the empire, and not be obliged to embrace the *Mahometan* religion. But, in proceſs of time, this ſum ſeeming too ſmall to thoſe blood-ſuckers, three Rixdollars were ſet upon each perſon's head, as a tribute, under the firſt Emperors of *Conſtantinople*, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, *Selim* I, and *Soliman* I: which ſum was afterwards leſſened, or increaſed at pleaſure, by the following Sultans; till *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha* divided it into three ſtanding payments, *Ala*, *Evſat*, and *Edna*; ordering, that the rich ſhould pay ten *Leonines*, perſons of a middling fortune, ſix, and the poorer ſort, three; and this appointment is obſerved to this day. And that they may not ſeem to their ſuperſtitious people to act, in thoſe grievous exactions, contrary to the forementioned law of the *Koran*, the crafty Muſulmans make uſe of a double pretence to reconcile the injunctions of the court with the precepts of their prophet. Firſt, they have perſuaded the people, that the price of all neceſſaries were much lower then, and the value of gold and ſilver much greater, than at preſent: and therefore the law of their prophet muſt be ſo interpreted, ſince it was ordained for the advantage of the *Othman* empire, that every perſon which does not profeſs the *Mahometan* religion, ſhould pay every year as much money, as is ſufficient to buy what might have been purchaſed at that time for thirteen drams of pure ſilver. Moreover, to cut off all occaſion of refuſal, they have invented a diſtinction between *Sheran* and *Urfen*, that is, thoſe things which the *Koran* has enjoyned to be done according to the divine will, and preſcribed as a rule to the judges; and ſuch things as are left to the diſpoſal of the ſovereign power, to enact and command for the good of the ſtate; and have taught, that the ſame obedience is due to both, and that they ought to be performed with the ſame readineſs. For which reaſon, if a *Chriſtian* or a *Jew* aſks the Mufti by a *Fetuah*, how much tribute he is to pay yearly? he will be told, that, according to the law of the *Koran*, he is to pay but thirteen drams of pure ſilver. But, if relying upon this, he refuſes to comply with the other impoſitions laid upon him, he will immediately be ſeized, and the ſame Mufti will condemn him to die by a *Fetuah*, for his diſobedience to the Sultan's commands. As to the *Haraj*, it is not as formerly, brought directly into the Sultan's treaſury, but is let every year to certain perſons in the provinces, who for a diſcount buy up ſuch a number of ſchedules called *Haraj Kiebadi*; and, whether they circulate them or no, muſt pay it into the treaſury. But at *Conſtantinople*, and in the neighbouring places, as *Adrianople* &c. it is collected by a *Jiziedar* or *Haraj baſhi*, who, inſtead of a ſalary, has an allowance

ple by a writing given by the falſe prophet *Mahomet* to the *Sinaite* monks, had enjoyed that exemption †) alledging this privilege of *Mahomet* to be ſpurious, or if genuine, it declares the *Sinaites* only, and not all the monks in general, free from tribute. Beſides leſt the ſubjects might ſuffer by an unequal exaction of the tribute, he divides the *Haraj* into three parts; enjoining the richer ſort to pay ten Leonines a year, thoſe of a middle rank ſix, and the poor only three dolars. All the mony which the ſuperſtitious devotion of their anceſtors had choſe to leave for poſterity to the treaſuries of the *Jami*, he brings into the publick treaſury, and anſwers the *Muteveli*, who call it ſacrilege, that wealth deſigned for religious uſes, ought to be employed in religious wars, and it is more conducive to the Muſulman intereſt, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He reſtores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almoſt entirely venal, puniſhes the judges convicted of corruption with great ſeverity, reſcues thoſe who are oppreſſed by falſe accuſations without reſpect of perſons, and prevents every one from being injured. He orders, that corn and other proviſions ſhould not violently be demanded from the ſubjects (20), but purchaſed with ready mony at ſuch a price, as they ſhould think proper.

† See Part I. p.

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lowance of ſo many Aſpers, out of every ſchedule he circulates. In theſe ſchedules is ſet down, not only the name of the perſon to which each is given, but alſo his religion, ſtature, ſhape, hair, eyes, marks of his body, age *&c.* that no more than one perſon may make uſe of the ſame ſchedule, and ſo by impoſing upon the *Haraj* gatherers, cheat the treaſury. Here it will be proper to mention the remarkable way they have to find out when perſons are of ripe age. For if any one pretends to be under age, and upon that account exempt from paying tribute, they immediately meaſure his neck with a thread, and apply that meaſure to his face; and if it does not reach from the chin to the top of the head, the perſon is diſmiſſed as under age; but if it anſwers exactly, or exceeds, they oblige him to pay.

(20) from the ſubjects] Such was the juſtice of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, which recommended him both to the *Turks*, and to all the *Chriſtians* ſubject to the *Othman* Empire. And indeed, almoſt all his actions, as well as his judicial ſentences, are evident teſtimonies of his equity to all perſons without any regard to their religion, and of his political wiſdom; one or two inſtances of which it will not be improper to relate. In his firſt expedition, when he took *Belgrade*, being encamped near *Yagodin*, a large village of *Bulgaria*, and obſerving it to be almoſt all deſolate, and without inhabitants, he ſends for two of the oldeſt of the countrymen, and aſks them the reaſon why their village was thus deſtroyed. They aſſign two cauſes of it; firſt, that their temple being burnt, and liberty denied them of building another, moſt of the inhabitants had withdrawn to other places; ſecondly, that the *Othman* troops had ſo often paſſed through the village ſeveral years together, that they had hindered them from reaping their corn, which had brought a famine, and forced the reſt to retire. Upon this the Vizir turning to the *Reis effendi*: "As, ſays he, a Muſulman can "not live where he has not a *Jami*, ſo nei- "ther can a *Chriſtian* be obliged to dwell "any where without a temple." And immediately gives permiſſion to the inhabitants to build as large a Church as they pleaſed: and by another *Ferman* denounces all thoſe guilty of death, who ſhould, either go out of the road, even a hand's breadth, into the countrymen's fields; or take from them an egg, or a hen. And to try, how much profit that regulation would bring to the ſtate, he orders each inhabitant to give him a hen, for the licence of building a temple; and by that means collects fifty three. In his return from his expedition, he orders them to bring him the ſame preſent, and finds one hundred and twenty five: from whence he takes occaſion to repreſent to the reſt of the Vizirs, what an increaſe to the Muſulmans treaſury might be expected from good regulations. At his return to *Conſtantinople*, application is made to him for leave to repair the old temple there, or to build a new one; he readily grants the petitioners their requeſt; from whence ſome country people took an opportunity of humbly deſiring him to grant them permiſſion to repair the temple of their village, which was in a ruinous condition. He ſetting his hand to the uſual form, orders the *Buyurildi Teſkiereji* to confirm this grant to them by a particular mandate. And when the officer expreſſed the *Ferman* in the old form uſed in that caſe; namely, that they ſhould repair their temple with the ſame wood, ſtones, and lime;

The Vizir marches his army towards *Belgrade*.

H. 1101.

A. C. 1689.

XLV. By these measures having raised himself a great reputation for prudence, justice, and sanctity, he prepares with great application for the campain, and lest during his absence a sedition might be occasioned against the Sultan by so many alterations in affairs, he perswades him to go to *Adrianople* in the spring. From thence about the beginning of the month *Sheval*, of the year 1101, he marches towards *Belgrade* with his whole army, full of the hopes of victory. As he passes over mount *Hæmus*, called by the *Turks Kyz derbent* (21), he is informed by the scouts, that several thousand *Germans* were coming from *Belgrade* to strengthen the garrison at *Nissa*.

The *Tartars* defeat several thousand *Germans*.

XLVI. To prevent their entering that city, he sends *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* with part of the *Turkish* army, who falling suddenly upon the *Germans* now within sight of *Nissa*, after a short battle puts them to flight. The news of this victory being carried to the *Turkish* camp gives them almost inexpressible joy, and revives the hopes of the *Othmans*, and shews them that a herd of deer fight more bravely under the conduct of a lion, than a troop of lions under the command of a timorous deer.

The Vizir orders prayers to be made in the cities, and the boys to be removed out of the camp.

XLVII. The Vizir himself to thank God for the prosperous opening of the campain, and to render for the future the supreme arbiter of all events propitious to the *Othman* arms, orders prayers to be made without intermission day and night at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp; and finding there was in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commands publick proclamation to be made, that whoever had any boys attending upon him under any pretence, should send them back, and if any such boy should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without further examination; since that sin above all others deprives those polluted with it of the divine blessing, nor can the most pure God favour with his presence that camp, where such an impurity is practised.

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lime; *Kioprili* severely reproves him for it, and calls him stupid and senseless. The *Teskieteji* surprized, and trembling for fear, appeals to the ancient form, according to which he had drawn up the mandate. The Vizir provoked the more, replies, they were fools that first made use of that form, and they are no wiser who have followed them. For how can wood, after it is rotten, be restored to its former strength, so as to be able to support what is ready to fall; or Lime, after it has been worn out by time, be so tempered as to be sufficient not only to raise a new building, but also to secure the crevices against the injuries of the weather. Therefore if we grant our subjects liberty to repair their temples, we must permit them to do it in the way in which reason shews it is possible to be done. Let them have orders then, to repair their temple as well as they can; and if it is so ruinous as that it cannot be repaired, let them build a new one: Only, let care be taken, that they do not build it with the Musulman's mony, but their own; and that they regularly pay the tribute imposed on them. On this account, it is at this day a common saying among the *Greeks*, that *Kioprili ogly* built more Churches, than *Justinian*.

(21) *Kyz derbent*] that is, the *Passage of the Virgin*. There are two passages over the long ridges of mount *Hæmus* towards *Belgrade*; *Kyz derbent*, the *Virgin's passage*, which, the *Turks* say, was discovered by a certain virgin, a King's daughter, who was wandring by chance in those mountains; and *Capuly derbent*, the *Passage of the Gate*. In the eastern entrance of this passage are still to be seen the ruins of a very ancient and beautiful gate, which many take to have been the work of *Trajan*, being eight hours journey from *Tatar Pazajik*, and twelve from *Philippopolis*. On the west, those narrow passes are bounded by the village *Dragoman Kioi*, the last that was conquered by the Emperor *Leopold*'s victorious arms. But, whilst he was otherwise employed, some of his troops attempting to pass on the other side, the inhabitants, who, upon the approach of the *German* forces, had left their habitations and fled into the mountains, rolled down, from the high rocks, wherewith that road is lined on both sides, huge stones, which killed many, and obliged the rest to retire. And for this service to the infidels, they were declared free from all tribute; which privilege they enjoy to this day.

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XLVIII. These affairs being settled, he marches into *Servia*, and first assaults *Shebirkioi*, a little city better fortified by nature than art. The garrison consisting but of five hundred men, and these *Haiduks*, seeing no succours appear, on the fourth day of the siege erect the flag of peace on their walls, and promise to surrender the castle on condition of being suffered to depart. The Vizir, though displeased that so small a number had detained his army four whole days, to prevent any further delay to the intended progress of his victories, grants their demands, and is admitted into the town by the *Haiduks*. The Janizaries endeavour to plunder the *Haiduks* at their departure, but are restrained by the Vizir, who commands them, under a severe penalty, to suffer the garrison to depart without any injury, alledging it is neither honourable nor advantagious to take away the arms of the *Giaurs*, since they cannot injure the *Musulmans* with them. He then admonishes the *Haiduks* not to go to *Nissa*, but to retire to some other fortress, because he intended to besiege that city, and if any one of them should be found there when the town was taken, he must not expect to escape death. The *Haiduks* however, as soon as they are gone from the *Turks*, enter *Nissa*.

Shebirkioi surrender'd to him.

XLIX. The Vizir immediately following them, lays close siege to *Nissa*, which was defended by Count *Starenberg* with three thousand *German* foot and fourteen hundred horse. Though *Starenberg* made a brave defence, rather with a view to protract the time, and give the Imperialists an opportunity to secure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes of saving the place from the *Turks*, yet they prosecute the siege with such vigour, that on the twenty-fifth day the garrison promise to surrender on condition of having their lives and arms. These terms being obtained, as they are leaving the city, the Janizaries discover some of the *Haiduks* of *Shebirkioi*, though disguised, and by torture force them to confess that all their companions were mixed with the rest of the *German* troops. Upon this the Vizir commands the *German* general to deliver up to him all the *Shebirkioi Haiduks*, and in the sight of the garrison hangs part of them, and condemns the rest to the galleys; and withal, orders *Starenberg* not to go to *Belgrade*, since he was about to besiege that city, and therefore would not have the garrison reinforced; assuring him, if he disobeyed his orders, he and his men should suffer the same fate with the *Haiduks*, when *Belgrade* should be taken. The *German* garrisons at *Semendria* and *Widdin*, astonished at these successes of the *Turks*, without waiting the approach of the Vizir, abandon the cities which they were appointed to guard, and fly to *Belgrade*. These two cities are immediately seized by a party sent by *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, and again subjected to the *Othman* dominion.

Nissa being taken, the garrisons abandon *Widdin* and *Semandria*.

L. Having thus secured all the country in his rear, he marches his hitherto victorious forces to *Belgrade*, and lays close siege to it in the month *Zylcade*. Having pitched his tents on every side, he calls a council of the other Basha's, and orders them to declare their opinion, whether the city should be immediately assaulted with their whole force, or invested by their strong camp, and obliged by want of provisions to surrender. All the Basha's advise the latter, alledging, that the city being well fortified by nature and art, and wonderfully (22) strengthned with new works, besides the old walls, and defended by a garrison of eight thousand *Germans*, and as many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, could not be subdued

The Vizir besieges *Belgrade*, and takes it by an unexpected accident.

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(22) wonderfully strengthned] This was done by *Andreas Cornaro*, a native of *Crete*, and a *Greek* by birth and religion, whom some authors, and among the rest *Pietro Garzoni*, a senator of *Venice*, have charged with betraying *Belgrade*, perhaps because he was afterwards in the service of the *Turks*. But it was not willingly that he engaged in the service of the infidels; for, after the loss of *Belgrade*, being sent by the general of the *German* army to fortify *Peterwaradin*, if I mistake not, he and his wife were taken in the road thither by the *Tartars*, and brought to *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*; by whom being examined, he at first pretended to be a captain in a regiment of foot, but afterwards being discovered by his mathematical instruments, and some plans, to which he had set his name, he was compelled to new-fortify *Belgrade* and *Temiswar*: which he certainly performed with so much art and dexterity, that, had not

ſubdued within the time ſtill remaining for warlike expeditions, nor beſieged without great loſs to the *Othman* army. That if the *Germans* ſhould make a vigorous reſiſtance, and, as it frequently happens in ſuch ſieges, repulſe the beſiegers, the whole army would immediately loſe the courage they had hardly recovered by their preſent ſucceſſes. But if the Vizir, leaving *Belgrade* behind him, would with his army paſs the *Save*, or at leaſt ſtrongly fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from paſſing, the garriſon would that ſummer, or at leaſt the winter following, be obliged by famine to ſurrender. But nothing was to be feared from the Imperial army, ſince the greateſt part of it was employed in the war againſt *France*, and the reſt being abandoned by the *Hungarians*, would, from the ſmallneſs of their number, be more ſollicitous to defend their own camp, than attack the *Othman*. The Vizir, though he was far from being of this mind, yet, that he might not ſeem to oppoſe the opinion of the whole army, and if any misfortune ſhould happen, it might not be imputed to him, gives way to the majority, and determines to follow the advice of the Baſhas. Having therefore ſurrounded the walls of the city for ſeveral days, he is informed that the Imperialiſts were advancing with great expedition to the relief of the city. Alarmed with the news, he diſcovers his error in complying unſeaſonably with his officers, and inſtantly opens the ſiege with half of his army, appointing the reſt to hinder the Imperialiſts from paſſing the *Save*. But he would probably have failed in his deſign, if, upon the eighth day of the ſiege, the tower had not been blown up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and by its ruins demoliſhed a great part of the walls: whereupon the *Turks* crying out, it is an evident demonſtration of God's miraculous aſſiſtance, ruſh into the breaches, before the *Germans* could prevent them. The garriſon oppoſe their whole ſtrength in this extreme danger, and for almoſt an hour bravely reſiſt the fierce aſſault of the *Turks*; but at laſt, overpowered with numbers, they are forced to retreat. Great part of them fall, though not unrevenged, by the *Turkiſh* ſword; a few, with their general *de la Croy*, eſcape in boats to the other ſide of the *Danube*.

He relieves *Temiſwar*, which laboured under extreme want of proviſion.

LI. Having thus reduced a city, the bulwark of all *Hungary*, ſooner than he expected, *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha* ſends to the relief of *Temiſwar* five hundred *Spahis*, to each of whom he had given two horſes, and as many buſhels of meal, to be conveyed thither. For the *Germans* had now inveſted that city three years, and at firſt had endeavoured to take it by aſſault, but afterward, finding it impracticable, on account of the difficulty of its ſituation, cut off all manner of ſupplies. They had hitherto been oppoſed by the valour of *Coja jafer Paſha* (23), whoſe authority was ſo great with the ſoldiers, that tho' many pe-

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not God blaſted the deſigns of the infidels, the taking of thoſe towns by force would have been almoſt impoſſible. How well ſkilled beſides he was in the mathematicks, he plainly ſhowed by turning the river *Becs* through the middle of *Temiſwar*; a work which, as neceſſary as it was in a place that ſuffered extremely every ſummer for want of water, had yet been thought very difficult, and hardly poſſible to any before him. For this important piece of ſervice, he was allowed by the Sultan a yearly penſion of eight purſes, which was continued to him after the concluſion of the war, and even to the day of his death.

(23) *Coja jafer*] He was ſirnamed *Coja*, or old, by way of diſtinction from another *Jafer Paſha*, commonly called *Kiuchik**, of whom I ſhall hereafter give an account. This man was very famous among the *Turks* for his knowledge in the art of war, his prudence and integrity, and for his many battles fought with the *Germans*. Having bravely defended *Temiſwar*, he was rewarded with the government of *Belgrade*, which place he held with great reſolution when beſieged the ſecond time by the *Germans*. And by this he acquired ſo great a reputation, that Sultan *Muſtapha* would hardly do any thing in his laſt expedition without conſulting him: nay, he very often preferred his advice to that of the Vizir *Elmas Mehemmed Paſha*, whom he otherwiſe loved; and he would undoubtedly have ſucceeded him in the Vizirſhip, had they not been both cut off at the battle of *Zenta* by a troop of rebellious Janizaries.

riſhed

riſhed by famine, yet the reſt refuſed to feed upon the cats and dogs, which are eſteemed impure animals by the *Turks*. They were now reduced to ſuch a neceſſity, that when the *Spahis* arrived with the proviſions, the Janizaries ſeized upon the ſacks of meal like ravenous wolves, and could not be reſtrained by the entreaties or threats of the *Spahis* from plundering what was brought. This occaſioned a conteſt between the two parties, and afterwards a ſharp and bloody conflict. A great number of Janizaries, and as many *Spahis* are killed upon the ſacks; and the reſt with their Paſha are forced by the fury of the Janizaries to take to ſpeedy flight.

LII. The Vizir in the mean time having allowed the ſoldiers a few days repoſe, and repaired the ruins of *Belgrade*, paſſes the *Danube*, and taking *Lippa*, drives the *German* garriſon from *Orſova*. He then aſſaults *Eſſek*, a city ſituated at the conflux of the *Drave* and *Danube*, in hopes, that if he ſubdued it, he ſhould not only ſecure his acquiſitions from the enemy's incurſions, but likewiſe reduce again all *Sclavonia* under the *Turkiſh* dominion. But he was forced to abandon this deſign by the approach of winter, and the reſolution of the garriſon, and eſpecially by the alteration of affairs in *Tranſylvania*. The Vizir having paſſed the *Danube*, takes *Lippa*.

LIII. For about the beginning of this year, *Michael Apaffi* (24) Prince of *Tranſylvania* died without iſſue, and left all his dominions to the Emperor of *Germany*. On the other hand the *Turks* had appointed *Tekeli* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, and ſent to his aſſiſtance the Seraskier with ten thouſand *Turks*, the Chan of *Tartary*, and *Conſtantine Brancovan* (25) Prince of *Walachia*. The confederate The *Turks* defeat the Imperialiſts in *Tranſylvania*; and *Tekeli* upon the death of *Apaffi* is appointed Prince

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(24) *Michael Apaffi*] He was of no great family in *Tranſylvania*, ſon of the chief magiſtrate of *Cibinina*; who, in the troubles raiſed by *Ragotzki* in the year 1661, when the Emperor of *Germany* had, after the death of *Ragotzki*, created *Kemeny Janos* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, was ſet up by the *Turks* in oppoſition to him, and promoted to the ſame dignity. He was afterwards confirmed in it, as well by the Emperor as the *Turks*, upon the concluſion of a peace between them, when it was ſtipulated, that *Tranſylvania* ſhould obey and be tributary to both Emperors; which *Apaffi* putting a different conſtruction upon, as he ſaw fortune inclining to either ſide, lent aſſiſtance accordingly ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to the other: and though, in the beginning of this great and memorable war, he joined *Tekeli* by order of the *Othman* court, and ſent him forces; yet afterwards, when all *Hungary* had ſubmitted to the Emperor of *Germany*, he ſided with him, and refuſed obedience to the *Turkiſh* court.

(25) *Brancovan*] He was known in *Europe* by the three names of *Cantacuzenus*, *Brancovan*, and *Baſſaraba*, all which he pretended belonged to his family: but that this may be the better underſtood, it is neceſſary to trace back the order and ſucceſſion of his family. I know indeed that a whole volume, containing his life and genealogy, was, by his command, penned by ſome learned men, whom he kept in pay at a great expence: but as it is uncertain whether that was not ſtolen by the *Barbarians*, among the reſt of his effects, or whether it is preſerved any where, I think it would be doing an injury to the reader to conceal from him what, as being a neighbour, I had an opportunity of knowing concerning *Brancovan*'s pedigree. There is no certain account of his anceſtors beyond his great grandfather *David*. Though he did not inherit any large poſſeſſions from his father, (which is the chief and almoſt the only mark of Nobility among the *Walachians*;) though he was not eminent for any virtues, nor had any conſiderable poſt at court; yet Prince *Matthew* thought fit to make an alliance with him, by giving his ſiſter's granddaughter, with a large portion, in marriage to his ſon *Preda*, whom he raiſed to the office of chief *Vornic*, one of the five firſt places in *Walachia*. But after *Matthew*'s deceaſe, he was unjuſtly put to death, and, as ſome ſay, hanged by Prince *Michna*, becauſe he would not join with him in his revolt againſt the *Turks*. *Preda* left one ſon, *Matthew*, ſirnamed *Papa*, who, though he had no place at court, yet was very much reſpected for his father's ſake, for his riches, and eſpecially becauſe he married *Helena* daughter of *Conſtantine Cantacuzenus*, the chief *Poſtelnic*. By her, whilſt he was at the court of *Baron Serban Cantacuzenus*, he had *Conſtantine*, who took the ſirname of *Brancovan*, from the village of *Brancovenius*, given to his grandfather *Preda* by Prince *Matthew*, as part of his wife's portion; and always joined it to his name in all his ſubſcriptions. I am ſenſible that another reaſon has been aſſigned by ſome paraſites for this appellation, and that they derive

confederate forces under his conduct penetrate through the mountains of *Walachia* into *Tranſylvania*, and at the foot of theſe mountains unexpectedly inclose

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derive his pedigree from the ancient *Bulgarian* family of *Brancoviz*. But not to mention, that though this pedigree were right, yet it cannot be grounded upon any probable foundation, becauſe, till the time of *Serban Cantacuzenus*, *Walachia* had neither hiſtorians, nor genealogical monuments, and, as I have ſaid, had no other marks of Nobility but a paternal inheritance; it is ſufficient, for the confutation of that fiction, to have ſhowed the true origin of the name. *Conſtantine* being raiſed to the Principality by the forementioned arts of *Conſtantine Cantacuzenus Stolnicus*, to ſhow himſelf the more noble, he uſed the name of *Cantacuzenus* in the ſubſcriptions to his letters to foreign Kings and Princes. There lived then at *Vienna*, *George* brother of the late Prince *Serban Cantacuzenus*, who had been ſent by him to the Emperor *Leopold* about ſome buſineſs: to him the courtiers, or the Emperor himſelf, ſhow the letters ſent to them under the name of *Conſtantine Cantacuzenus*, and ask him, who that new Prince of *Walachia* was, that ſtiled himſelf *Cantacuzenus? George*, either vexed that his Nobility ſhould ſerve as a cover to another man's ambition, or being unwilling to diſguiſe the truth, ingenuouſly confeſſes, that he falſely aſſumed the name of *Cantacuzenus*, and was only deſcended from that family by his mother. Not ſatisfied with having expoſed him at *Vienna*, he ſent word to his own brothers, *Conſtantine Stolnicus* and *Michael*, who were in *Walachia*, that the Prince's new name had given occaſion to ſeveral jeſts at the court of *Vienna*, and many of the courtiers had asked him, whether it was the cuſtom in *Walachia* for a man to aſſume the name of what noble family he thought fit, or it could be tranſmitted by the mother? The *Cantacuzeni*, who had raiſed the Prince to that dignity for no other end, but to govern the Principality under his name, and engroſs to themſelves all the riches of the Province, upon the receipt of that letter, ſeverely rebuke the Prince for bringing ſo great a diſhonour upon them and the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and for pretending to perſons who had from hiſtories an account of almoſt all the families in the world, to be, what they knew he really was not. The Prince excuſing himſelf, and endeavouring to ground his new name upon his mother's noble extraction, the *Cantacuzeni* replied with greater vehemence, and threatned, if he did not deſiſt from his attempt, that they would have him depoſed by the *Turkiſh* court, and would warn all foreign Princes by letters, to beware of him as an impoſtor, who falſely aſſumed the name of a royal family: that he might derive his paternal anceſtors from what family he pleaſed, provided he did not meddle with the *Cantacuzan* name. *Conſtantine Stolnicus* put him moreover in mind of the *Turkiſh* fable, namely, that a mule being asked, who was his father? replied, his mother was a mare. The Prince, beaten from this name, and aſhamed to reſume that of *Brançovan*, which he had quitted, called himſelf *Baſſaraba*, which was the name of a very ancient and noble family in *Walachia*, but long ſince extinct in the male-line. And this he alſo did without foundation. For *Barbul*, the firſt known by that appellation, upon the *Turks* invading *Baſſarabia*, fled out of that country into *Servia*, and thence into *Walachia* to Prince *Heglul*, who kindly received him, and raiſed him by degrees to the office of *Bani*, the higheſt in that Province. His ſon, *Laiota*, obtained the Principality after the death of *Heglul*, and was the firſt that adorned his paternal name with the princely dignity. He left one ſon, named *Niagoe*, who alſo governed *Walachia*; but it is uncertain, whether it was immediately after his father, or whether there was another between them. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sherban Baſſaraba*, ſirnamed the Great, but he alſo died without male-iſſue, leaving only two daughters, *Ancuza* and *Ilinca*. *Ancuza* had been given in marriage by *Sherban* himſelf to *Petraſco*, ſon of *Michai*: who, ſeizing the government, and attempting to ſhake off the *Turkiſh* yoke, was defeated, and forced to fly into *Tranſylvania*, where he was treacherouſly murdered in his own tent by *George Baſta*, the *Tranſylvanian* general. *Petraſco*, the ſon of *Michai*, goes to *Vienna* with his wife and his ſiſter *Ilinca*, to revenge the unjuſt death of his father, and, having ſpent almoſt all his fortune, dies there before the affair was brought to a concluſion. After his death, his widow and ſiſter came to ſo great poverty, that they were forced to earn their livelihood by embroidering. While they were in that miſerable condition, *Matthew* is created Prince of *Walachia*; who had formerly been chamberlain to *Sherban Baſſaraba*, and was afterwards raiſed by him to the dignity of a Baron. This Prince, not unmindful of the favours he had received from his maſter, takes his name, ſtyling himſelf *Matthew Baſſaraba*; and as ſoon as he is informed of the poverty of his daughters, he has them brought out of *Germany* into *Walachia*. *Ancuza* not liking to marry a

cloſe *Heuſler* general of the *German* troops appointed for the defence of *Tranſylvania*. *Heuſler* finding himſelf drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brancovan*, endeavours to open a paſſage with his ſword, and bravely ſupports the firſt onſet of the enemy. But in the heat of the battle, the *Hungarians*, who had engaged their faith to the *Germans*, revolt from them, and attack the Imperialiſts in flank, who terrified at this deſertion, endeavour to eſcape by flight, but being incloſed on every ſide by the enemy are almoſt all either ſlain or taken priſoners, and among the latter *Heuſler* himſelf. *Tekeli* after this victory marches further, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations.

Tekeli driven out of *Tranſylvania*.

LIV. But before he could eſtabliſh himſelf in his principality, the Prince of *Baden*, who had intended to relieve *Belgrade*, hearing that city was loſt, marches his forces into *Tranſylvania*, and having taken ſeveral cities, endeavours to ſubdue the rebellious Prince: who upon the news of his approach, diffident of his ſtrength, abandons *Cibinium*, and retires again into *Turky*, whence he never afterwards ventured to return or to recover the dominions he had loſt.

The King of *Poland* entring *Moldavia*, takes *Soroka*.

LV. In the eleventh month of this year, the king of *Poland* at laſt brings alſo his forces into the field, and paſſing the *Tyras*, enters *Moldavia*. But *Cantemir*, Prince of that country, taught by former expeditions how troubleſome gueſts the *Poles* uſed to be, under a ſevere penalty prohibits the inhabitants to ſell or carry any corn to them. Hence famine, that cruel enemy of the negligent, diſtreſſes the army, and obliges the king, who had already paſſed the *Hieraſus* at *Stephanaſti*, to ſend back ſome of his troops, to try to procure proviſions from other parts. Theſe forces ſuddenly aſſaulting *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it deſtitute of defence, but full of ſtores, take it without oppoſition, and leaving a ſtrong garriſon, return with the proviſions to the King's camp.

Prevented by the *Turks* and *Tartars* from proceeding farther, and obliged to return.

LVI. The King relieved by theſe ſupplies, marches with his army to *Yacobeny*, a village five miles from *Jaſſii*, but hearing the Seraskier *Bayukli Muſtapha*

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ſecond time, he allows her a ſufficient maintenance; but *Ilinca*, who was ſtill a virgin, he endows with all her father's lands and villages, and gives her in marriage to *Conſtantine Cantacuzenus*, who was then his chamberlain, and from theſe two is deſcended the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni* now remaining in *Walachia*. Beſides theſe daughters, *Serban* had, by a Prieſt's wife, a natural ſon named *Conſtantine*, and, after the Prieſt's death, who paſſed for his father, he had him brought up and educated at court. This ſon, *Matthew* kept as his own, during the twenty years he remained poſſeſſed of the principality, and appointed him his ſucceſſor by will. Having obtained that dignity, he called himſelf *Conſtantine Baſſaraba* after the example of his predeceſſor; but being ſhortly after expelled by the *Turks*, he fled into *Poland*, where he died without iſſue. Thus ended in *Serban* the true family of *Baſſaraba*, the adſcititious in *Matthew*, and the ſpurious in *Conſtantine*; the only memory thereof being preſerved in the female line of the *Cantacuzeni*, deſcended from *Ilinca* daughter of *Serban*. *Brancovan* therefore choſe to adorn himſelf with the ſpoils of that family above all others; becauſe there was no one left that could call him to an account for uſurping that name; and alſo becauſe he had a good pretence for ſo doing; namely, his grandfather's marrying Prince *Matthew*'s ſiſter's grand-daughter, which Prince had now taken the name of *Baſſaraba*, out of a good, though not ſo prudent a zeal for preſerving his maſter's memory. What he did, and what he ſuffered, under that name, is too long to have a place here, and too well known to the *Europæans* to need being mentioned. He had four ſons; *Conſtanſtantine*, *Stephen*, *Raducanul*, and *Matthew*, who were all deſtroyed with their father by the tyrant's ſword: And ſeven daughters: *Stanca*, who married *Radul*, ſon of *Elias* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Mary*, wife of *Conſtantine* ſon of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Ilinca*, wife of *Scarlatos*, ſon of *Alexander Maurocordatus*; *Safta*, wife of *Creczuleſcul*, a *Walachian* nobleman, *Ancuza*, wife of *Nicolas* ſon of *George Roſſet*, maſter of the wardrobe to my father; *Balaſſa*, wife of *Manuel* ſon of *Andronicus* a *Grecian* nobleman; and *Zmaragda*, married to the ſon of *Balan* a nobleman of *Walachia*. I have heard, there is one of his male-line alive, namely his grandſon *Matthew*, ſon of *Conſtantine*, whom that Prince left h eir to the great riches, he had diſperſed in the banks of *Vienna*, *Venice*, *Holland*, and *England*.

Paſha with *Nuradin Sultan* were advancing againſt him, he reſolves to return to *Poland*. But the proviſions brought from *Soroka* being ſpent, he is again obliged to paſs through the mountainous part of the country. In their retreat they are cloſely followed by the *Tartars*, who kill a great number of them, as they are gathering fruit in the woods, and take many priſoners. At laſt the King of *Poland*, after loſing many of his men both by famine and ſickneſs, returns with the reſt of the army into *Poland*. His return would have been very difficult, if the Prince of *Moldavia*, who was deſirous indeed to drive the *Poles* out of his country, but not entirely to deſtroy them, had not diverted the Seraskier from a purſuit, by telling him, that the *Poles* were now returning, and were not far from their borders; and ſince it was a maxim of military prudence to build a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, he would adviſe him not to fatigue the *Othman* troops to no purpoſe, eſpecially when the *Poles* could do no damage to the inhabitants, who were all fled to the mountains. It is certain, if the Seraskier had advanced with his army, ſcarce a *Pole* could have eſcaped. For their camp was ſo greatly diſtreſſed by famine, that the horſe voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Tartars* (26), declaring they had rather be captives, than expire with hunger. The prince after the departure of the *Tartars* found ſeveral *Poliſh* noblemen diſperſed in the woods in ſearch of food, and having ſupplied them, diſmiſſed them to their own country.

The *Venetians* take *Monembaſia*.

LVII. Amidſt all theſe misfortunes of the *Chriſtians*, the *Venetians* alone meet with ſucceſs. *Monembaſia*, which for ſo many years had ſolely oppoſed the *Venetians*, who were maſters of the *Morea*, having been blocked up for two ſummers, and cut off from all ſupplies, in the beginning of the campain is beſieged, and ſoon after obliged by famine to ſurrender to them.

The various ſucceſſes of the *Venetians*.

LVIII. At ſea the *Venetian* Admiral *Daniel Delphinus* attacks *Capudan Paſha* near *Mitylene*, defeats him, and having ſunk and taken ſeveral of his ſhips, obliges him to fly. After this victory *Cornaro* takes *Canina* and *Vallona* from the *Turks*, and ſubjects them to the *Venetians*. In *Dalmatia*, *Jin Ali Paſha* (27) Governor

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(26) ſubmitted to the *Tartars*] There is hardly an example in hiſtory, of an army that was ever ſo diſperſed without fighting, and reduced to ſo much miſery, as the *Poliſh* army then was; though the hiſtorians of that nation conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs. I my ſelf ſaw ſome *Tartars*, who went out to pillage, bringing back each of them ſeven *Poles* fettered: and being asked, how they could maſter and bind ſuch fierce enemies? they anſwered me ſmiling: That it was no greater wonder, than to ſee in *Bujak* one *Ainus* leading and guiding ſeven camels: For the *Poles* quite enervated with hunger, were now no fiercer than camels, and choſe rather to live among the *Tartars* upon gruel, than to be deſtroyed either with hunger or the ſword. The *Tartars* not having wherewith to feed all that were brought, ſold them almoſt all for three *Yoachimics* a-piece; among theſe was a *Moldavian* ſeventy years old, named *Tamaſhauſki*, who fifty years before, went with my father to *Caſimir* King of *Poland*, and had ſpent almoſt all his life in the wars. This man being put in mind by my father of his former bravery, when he accompanied him into *Poland*; and asked, Why he ſo ſhamefully laid down his arms, and ſuffered himſelf to be bound by the *Tartars*? anſwered, "You know, moſt "gracious Prince, how I behaved under "*Thorunius*, and was not afraid then to "meet five *Swedes* at once. From that "time I have lived always in a camp, and "have often fought with an enemy, but "never with hunger. This misfortune "having happened to me now for the firſt "time in this expedition, and eaſily con-"quered me as one not uſed to it, I left "the camp, and communicating my deſign "to ſome others, we retired into the woods, "where we expected to find fruit enough "to appeaſe our hunger, and to be ſafe "from the *Tartars*: but we were diſap-"pointed. For as we were fitting each on "a ſeparate tree, and appeaſing our hunger "with apples and plumbs, we unexpect-"edly ſaw ſome *Tartars* brandiſhing their "darts, and aiming at us with their bows; "whereupon being defenceleſs, and deſ-"pairing to eſcape, we came down, and "ſuffered our ſelves to be bound by them." This man was afterwards redeemed from the *Tartars* by my father, and ſent into *Poland*, becauſe he was naturalized, and had a village given him in that kingdom, where he had left alſo a wife and ſeveral children.

(27) *Jin Ali Paſha*] *Jin* among the *Turks* is the name of certain Devils, formed of a groſſer

Governor of *Herzegovina*, and assaults *Nisichos* and *Cuzzos*, but is defeated by the *Venetian* army, himself taken prisoner, and his forces dispersed.

LIX. In the mean time the Vizir returns with his victorious army to *Adrianople*, and is received with great applause not only by the Sultan, but also the whole people, who publickly extolled him as their deliverer; but the Sultan labouring under a dropsy, and the physicians declaring, the air of *Adrianople* did not agree with him, the Vizir departs with him to *Constantinople*, and enters that city with great solemnity and in a triumphant manner. For three days, there were feasts and games, which were given with no less expence, than the rest by the *French* Embassador, by which he showed the *Turks* how acceptable the news of the defeat of the *Christians* was to the most *Christian* King. The Vizir applies himself to the raising of a new and more powerful army, which he promised to command himself, and to prosecute the *Hungarian* war. The Vizir returns to *Constantinople* in triumph.

LX. He appoints *Mustapha Pasha* Seraskier against the *Poles*, and *Caplan Ali Pasha* against the *Venetians*, who encamping at the river *Celidnus* restrains the *Albanians* just ready to revolt, and recovers *Canina* and *Vallona*, taken by the *Venetians* the last year, and now deserted by them. The Seraskiers appointed against the enemy.

LXI. In the mean time, he is detained from the *Hungarian* expedition by *Soliman*'s indisposition, because he was unwilling the Sultan should die in his absence, fearing lest one of *Mahomet*'s sons might succeed, and deprive him of the Vizirship, or his command of the army. At last, *Soliman*, exhausted by an inveterate dropsy, dies at *Constantinople* the twenty sixth of the month *Ramazan* †, of the year 1102, having lived fifty two, and reigned three years and nine months. Sultan *Soliman* dies of a dropsy.

† *June* 11. H. 1102. A. C. 1691.

LXII. *Soliman* was all along from his childhood a Valetudinarian, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and bloated face, with eyes like those of an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs, of a heavy understanding, and easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains and of the *Coltuk Vizirleri* (28). But His character.

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grosser substance than *Shaitan* (*Satan*,) which they believe to be male and female, and to beget children like men. Hence, by a metaphor, very subtle and sharp persons are called *Jin*, and when they would denote a man that makes an ill use of his parts to the prejudice of another, they are wont to call him *Jin â kylli dur*, one that has the mind and wit of Devils.

(28) *Coltuk Vizirleri*] So are the chief courtiers of the Sultan called, (who have a prospect of being raised on the next vacancy to the post of Vizir or Bashia) because they alone have the privilege of touching the Sultan, when he walks, or gets on horse-back, or of supporting him under the arm. For *Coltuk* among the *Turks* signifies the arm-pit. Among those, are the six chief officers of the court. The *Silahdaraga*, or *Sword-bearer*, who bears the Sultan's sword on publick occasions, and carves for him at table. He has the management of the Sultan's whole court, and has so much authority not only there, but also throughout the whole *Othman* Empire, that even the greatest persons never speak to him without the utmost reverence, and in their letters to him give him the title of *Musahib*, or *Privy Counsellor*, though he is not so called in publick instruments. Sometimes, if the *Silahdar* is a man of parts, he gets such an ascendant over the Sultan, that he neither does nor undertakes any thing without his knowledge or advice; and the Vizirs and other chief officers, receive the *Silahdar*'s letters (though by way of request) just as they do the Sultan's orders, and can hardly refuse them any thing they are pleased to ask. The next in order, is the *Chohadar*[a], who keeps the Sultan's cloak, and pulls off his boots in the Seraglio. Though he is inferior in degree to the *Silahdar*, yet he sometimes surpasses him in power, and governs the Sultan at pleasure. The third great officer, is the *Rekiabdaraga*, who holds the Sultan's stirrup when he mounts his horse. The fourth, is the chief *Diulbendaga*, (for there are three others under him) who puts the Sultan's Turban on. The fifth, is the *Imbrikdaraga*, whose business it is to bring the Sultan water, when, according to the custom of the *Mahometans*, he has a mind to wash his hands and head before the usual *Namaz*. The sixth and last, is the *Berber bashi* or the Sultan's chief Barber, of whom I have already given an account in (Part I.) Besides these six chief courtiers, the Aga of the Janizaries is also ranked among the *Koltuk Vesirleri*, because on *Fridays*, when the Sultan goes into the *Jami*, he helps him off his horse, and helps him on again: and also

But none among the *Turkiſh* Sultans was more eminent for ſanctity, devotion, and obſervance of the law (29).

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alſo the *Boſtanji Baſhi*, who has the honour of holding the Sultan under the arm, when he thinks fit to go into his barge: and the *Buyuk Emirahor*, and *Chuk* Emirahor*, the firſt and ſecond grooms of the ſtables, who are allowed to help the Sultan on horſe-back when he has a mind to ride; and the *Capujilar Kiebaia*, or commander of the *Capuji Baſhi's*. Whenever any of theſe leave the court, unleſs they happen to be baniſhed or put to death, they muſt be ſent as Baſhas into the provinces with three *Tugs*; and upon that account they are called Vezirleri by way of anticipation. The *Kyſlar Aga* formerly enjoyed that privilege, but it was afterwards taken from him, becauſe it ſeemed unbecoming, that one who wanted the marks of manhood ſhould command men. When theſe great officers quit the court, though they have as much power in their reſpective Baſhalics as others, and are often raiſed to the dignity of chief Vizir, yet they are generally deſpiſed by the *Agavat* (thoſe who have raiſed themſelves by other means, namely, by their courage and virtues to the like dignity,) and are by them called *Cheleb**, which properly ſignifies, in the *Turkiſh* language, a herdſman, or a driver of cattle; but when applied to the courtiers, it ſeems to denote, that thoſe men being deſtitute of experience in civil and military affairs, are fit for nothing but to drive their ſoldiers before them like cattle, as they are perſuaded and directed by others. And ſo common is that figurative expreſſion grown, that the word ſeems to have loſt its proper ſignification; nor can even a Prime Vizir, who has from a courtier been raiſed to that dignity, take it as an affront, or puniſh any one for aſking, in his hearing, whether he is a *Cheleb**, or one of the *Agavat?* For, it being almoſt impoſſible to root out an old cuſtom among that people, the great men in *Turky* bear the affronts and reproaches of their fellow-citizens with much patience; ſo that it is a common thing to hear people in boats, juſt come out of the Vizir's *Divan*, railing at and abuſing the Vizir, and ſometimes the Sultan himſelf, in the moſt opprobrious manner, without being called to an account.

(29) obſervance of the law.] Theſe were the qualifications that raiſed this Sultan to his brother's throne: for he had nothing elſe to recommend him to the *Turks*. He had acquired this habit of ſuperſtitious zeal for his law, and fame for holineſs, by applying himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies, which he had entirely minded during his brother's reign; *Mahomet* being well pleaſed with it, as hoping that it would take from him all deſire of reigning, and that a mind intent upon learning, would contrive no devices to raiſe himſelf to the throne. And indeed the *Turks* have had no Sultan, whoſe holineſs they ſo much extol as this man's. They alſo aſcribe ſome miracles to him. Among the reſt, that as ſoon as he was placed on the throne, he immediately leaped from thence as from an impure place, and wanted to take the *Abdeſt*. For that purpoſe, he went to a ciſtern prepared to receive water, but which then had none, (for, by the ill contrivance of the firſt builders of aqueducts at *Conſtantinople*, though all the palaces in the city are well furniſhed with water brought thither from the mountains, yet the Seraglio being a high place, they have not been able to convey any thither to this day;) whereupon the *Silahdar* perceiving the Sultan's deſign, ordered water immediately to be brought, and withal, told *Soliman* there was no water in the ciſtern: but the Sultan not regarding what he ſaid, pronounced the word *Biſmillahi*, *In the name of the merciful God*, and by that brought water out of the dry marble, which, as ſoon as he had taken the *Abdeſt*, he commanded to diſappear, and return again into the marble. But in all other affairs *Soliman* was ſo ignorant and ſtupid, that he knew not even the moſt common occurrences of life. One day there were brought to his table, among other diſhes, ſome round fiſhes roaſted, called by the *Turks*, *Pſiſi*, which he eat, taking them for cakes. The next day, not finding the like at his table, he asked, why they had not brought him the ſame cakes he had the day before? which queſtion he ſtill repeated till the cooks brought him again, by chance, the ſame meſs of fiſh, and then they knew the way to ſatisfy the unexperienced Prince.

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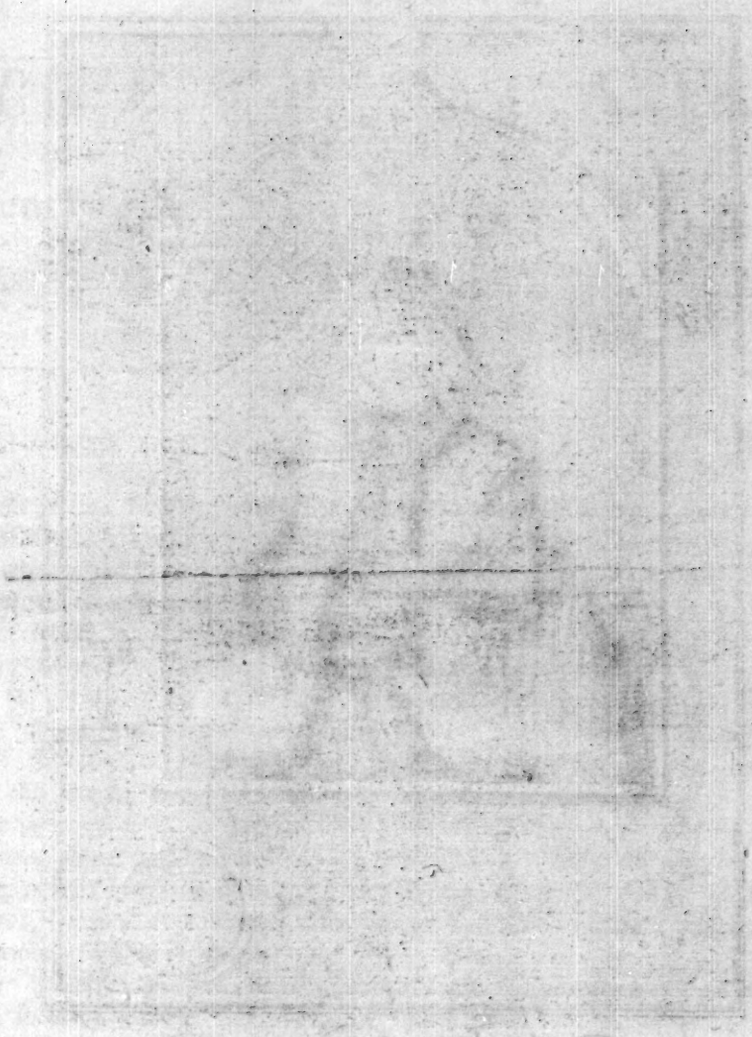
The End of the Reign of SOLIMAN II.



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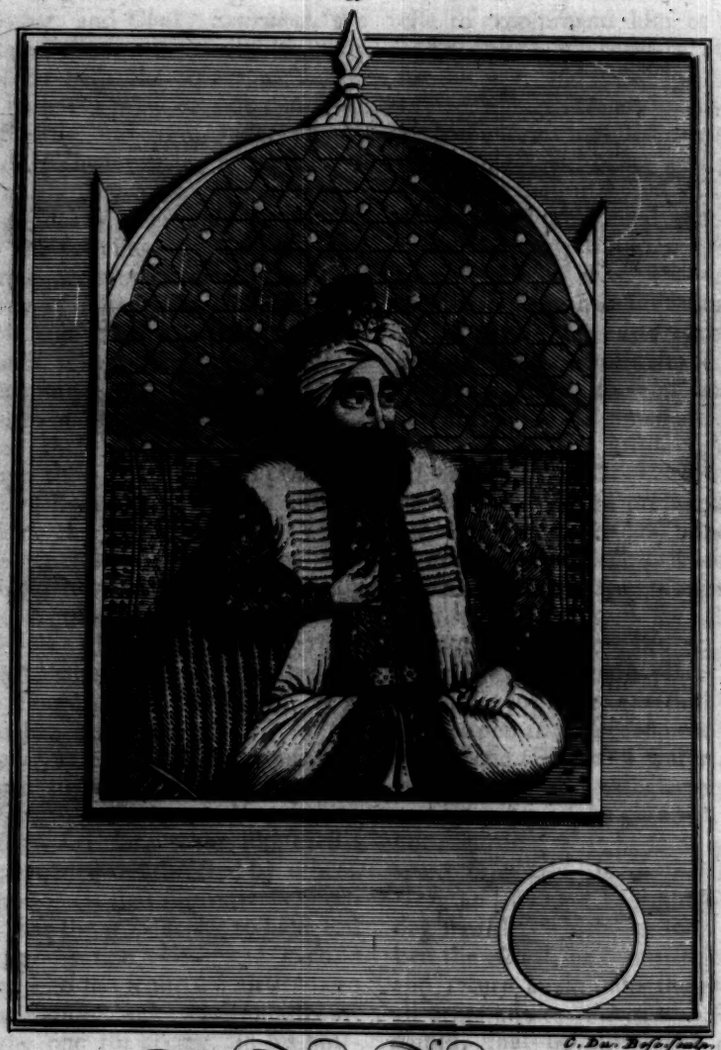

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AHMET. II.

Twenty First EMPEROR *of y* TURKS

in the Year 1691.

From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

AHMED II, Son of IBRAHIM

Twenty-first EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. III.

I. THE death of *Soliman*, though long expected and wiſhed for, yet filled the *Othman* court with new and ſecret commotions. The Nobles, with almoſt all the People, were for placing on the throne *Muſtapha* or *Ahmed*, ſons of *Mahomet*, the depoſed Sultan; and ſome few were even for *Mahomet* himſelf, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of theſe was dangerous to the Vizir. For if *Mahomet* was reſtored, he was apprehenſive of his life, ſince he was thought to be no inconſiderable manager of the ſedition which had depoſed him; if either of his ſons were choſen, he was afraid leſt theſe youths, having been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the cuſtom of the reſt of the *Shehzade*, and being already inſtructed in the adminiſtration of the government, might diveſt him of the Viziriſhip and abſolute command of the army. The conteſts of the people concerning the choice of a Sultan.

II. In order therefore to exclude them both from the throne, he reſolves to advance *Ahmed*, younger brother of *Soliman*, and not ſuperior to him in abilities. Accordingly, by the authority he had gained among all the people by his ſucceſſes the laſt year, he procured *Ahmed* to be univerſally ſaluted Sultan the ſecond day after his brother *Soliman*'s death. *Ahmed*, the ſon of *Ibrahim*, and brother of *Soliman*, choſen Sultan.

III. But leſt the malecontents ſhould take occaſion from the Sultan's ſtupidity to raiſe a ſedition, in the beginning of the month *Shevel* he departs with him to *Adrianople*, appointing *Amukje Ogli Huſeim Paſha* (1) *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*; The new Sultan goes to *Adrianople*.

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(1) *Amukje Ogli Huſeim*] A man very famous both among the *Turks* and *Chriſtians* for the peace of *Carlowitz*, that happened in his time. *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha* had given him the name of *Amukje Ogly*, becauſe his father was his uncle. Being firſt raiſed by *Kioprili*, he paſſed through the ſeveral offices of *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, of High-Admiral, or *Capudan Paſha*, and of governor of *Belgrade*, to the dignity of chief Vizir; which he obtained upon its becoming vacant by the death of *Elmas Mehemmed Paſha*, who was ſlain at *Zenta*, with the reſt of the officers of the *Turkiſh* army. He was a juſt, and honeſt man, but not of a very quick underſtanding; however, not ſo ſtupid or obſtinate, as not to ſuffer himſelf to be directed and adviſed by others, particularly by *Rami*, *Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*; which was the reaſon why his dullneſs brought no conſiderable detriment to the ſtate. During his whole adminiſtration, he earneſtly applied himſelf to put an end, ſome way or other, to the long and unhappy war which the *Othman* Empire was afflicted with, and moſt religiouſly to obſerve the peace he made, in order to gain a breathing-time for himſelf and the provinces ſubject to the *Turks*: and his endeavors herein proved the cauſe of

ſtantinople; and afterwards advancing him to the poſt of *Capudan Paſha*, prefers *Arabaji Ali* (2) *Paſha* to his place. At *Adrianople* he applies himſelf entirely to preparations for war, which he had been prevented from doing before by the indiſpoſition of the Sultan.

The wonderful dexterity of the Vizir in raiſing an army.

IV. But the methods uſed by former Vizirs to increaſe the army, he, by a rare example among the *Turks*, is forced to employ for the leſſening of it. For the *Muſulmans*, encouraged with the ſucceſs of the *Belgrade*-expedition, voluntarily come from all parts in ſuch numbers, that there never was before ſeen ſo numerous an army in the *Othman* camp. The Vizir perceiving this, orders the Baſhas not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed, ſince the *Muſulmans* being to fight againſt the *Giaurs*, had no occaſion for a great army; and on the other hand, it was juſtly to be feared, leſt before they reached *Buda*, as they were to paſs through a long tract of the enemy's country, they might ſuffer ſome inconvenience for want of proviſion, if their troops ſhould be too much increaſed.

The ſoldiers inliſt themſelves of their own accord. The Vizir expoſed to the envy of the court.

V. But the ſoldiers, regardleſs of this order, flock together in ſtill greater numbers, declaring they would not eat of the Sultan's bread, nor were engaged by the hope of pay, but out of zeal for the *Mahometan* law to enter into the ſervice, and therefore would be content with their wallet, and place their whole happineſs in either becoming *Gazi* (3) under ſo ſucceſsful a *Muſulman* general, or being crowned with *Shehadet*. The Vizir's fame thus greatly increaſing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but caſt her darts at him from the court, her favourite reſidence. *Kyſlar Agaſi*, and other officers of the inner palace, were uneaſy that the favour and intereſt they uſed to enjoy with the Sultan and people, were transferred from them to *Kioprili Ogli*, and that they were deſpiſed by the populace, who had before highly revered them, and conſidered as perſons entirely uſeleſs and inſignificant. They all conſpire therefore the Vizir's deſtruction, and abuſing the ſtupidity of their maſter, fill his mind with ſuſpicions againſt *Kioprili*.

The Vizir accuſed falſely to the Sultan.

VI. *Kyſlar Agaſi* particularly pretending the utmoſt fidelity, informs the Sultan that the Vizir was contriving to depoſe him, and had drawn the Janizaries ſo far into his intereſts, that they had promiſed, as ſoon as he ſhould decamp from

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of his diſgrace, of which having given a large account in the hiſtory, it would be needleſs to repeat it here. He was ſo great a lover of a ſpiritous liquor *(Crematum)* that he could not live without it; and where he got that habit, I know not. It was extracted from wine by a Chriſtian of *Aleppo*, whom he kept in his houſe as a phyſician; and was ſo ſtrong, that one drop would burn a man's throat. That he might be the more at liberty to drink it, he had made the Sultan believe he was lame in his feet, and therefore was obliged to take phyſick every night; for which reaſon he had obtained leave, whatever buſineſs happened, not to be ſent for to court after the ninth hour of the day, and by that means was at liberty to indulge himſelf till midnight, if he pleaſed. After he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, being ſtung with the remorſe of a *Muſulman*'s conſcience, he reſolved to undergo that kind of penance which is called *Teube*, and to abſtain from that liquor; but, a few days after he had begun to do ſo, he felt a very ſharp pain about his lungs, and his whole body ſwelled as if he had a tympany. The phyſicians promiſed to cure him, if he would but make uſe again of his old liquor, but he choſe rather to die, than, after penance, to return to his former courſe; and ſo he died at his country-houſe near *Chorlo**, thirty five days after he was depoſed from his office of Vizir, and was buried in a *Turbe* at *Conſtantinople*, which he had made in his life-time for his burial.

(2) *Arabaji Ali*] He was ſhortly after honoured with the dignity of Prime Vizir, but neither before nor after did any thing memorable, and within a few months was turned out. The *Turks* ſirnamed him *Arabaji*, either becauſe he or his father had been a waggon-maker, or driver of the merchants waggons (thoſe ſort of people being called *Arabaji* by the *Conſtantinopolitans*) or becauſe of his ſtupidity, and underſtanding, fitter for an *Arabaji*, than a prime miniſter.

(3) *Gazi*] The *Turks* have this notion, that every *Muſulman*, killed in battle by an enemy, has all his ſins forgiven him: but this I have already explained in (Part I.)

Adrianople,

Adrianople, to ſalute *Muſtapha*, ſon of *Mahomet*, Sultan. That he had diſcovered this by means of his Secretary (4), who had an intimate friendſhip with ſome of the officers of the Janizaries; and that he thought himſelf obliged to give this information to the Sultan, ſince the danger, though concealed, appeared to be very great and imminent. The Sultan, perſwaded by this ſpeech, asks him, what he thought was to be done? The accuſer taking this opportunity, ſays, " If you would eſtabliſh your ſelf in the throne, and remove the " cauſe of the ſeditious, ſend *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi* (5) to the Vizir, and com- " mand him to come to you, as if you wanted to ask him ſome queſtion. When " he is in your palace, you may treat him as you think proper."

VII. While *Kyſlar agaſi* is ſpeciouſly ſuggeſting theſe things to the Sultan, *Dilſiz Mahomet aga* a mute (6), holds the curtain of the door, and diſcovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they are concerting to depoſe the Vizir, haſtens immediately from the Sultan's chamber to the Vizir, and gives him by ſigns an exact account of the whole affair. Before he had concluded his ſtory, *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi* comes to the Vizir in haſte, and tells him the Sultan would have him come inſtantly to the palace.

The Vizir informed of this by a mute.

VIII. The Vizir finding the mute's account true, immediately orders a horſe to be ready for him, and *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi* to go before, telling him, he would preſently follow. When he is gone, the Vizir privately ſends for the *Janizar-Aga*, and ſome other *Ojak Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends, and addreſſes himſelf to them in this manner. " Be not ſurprized, Brethren, that " I have ſent for you at an unuſual time and in ſuch haſte. The importance of " the affair required this expedition, ſince it threatens deſtruction not only to you

The Vizir defers going to the Sultan, and makes a ſpeech to the officers of the Janizaries.

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(4) Secretary] Namely *Sari yaziji* Secretary to *Kyſlar aga*, *Karakullak aga*, a very ingenious man, and privy to all his maſter's affairs, mortal enemy to *Kioprili*, though he was a perſon of no great dignity, was yet highly honoured by all the great men in the *Othman* Empire, on account of *Kyſlar agaſi*'s credit at court, through which he could do many things. This officer's buſineſs is, to keep an account of the revenues of the *Jami* built by the Sultans; to pay the *Baltaji*, the maid-ſervants in the Seraglio, and the other officers under *Kyſlar agaſi*, their wages; and to tranſmit to the Sultan, by the *Kyſlar aga*, liſts of them, written with his own hand; out of all which things he gets as great an income as the *Janizar Effendi*. Whenever he comes into the preſence of the Sultan or Vizir, he muſt always have his ink-pot hanging at his girdle, and cannot appear without it; which the *Janizar Effendi* is obliged alſo to wear.

(5) *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi*] The chief officer of the Regiment of the *Baltaji*. He is ſubject in other reſpects to *Kyſlar agaſi*, and, in the abſence of *Kapijilar Kiehaiaſi*, whenever the Vizir is to be ſent for to court, he is diſpatched by *Kyſlar agaſi* to that purpoſe. But if he is otherwiſe employed, the Vizir muſt be ſent for by the *Haſſeki aga* the ſecond officer of the *Baltaji*, or by the *Koſhbekchi** the third officer in the ſame Regiment.

(6) a mute] There are many dumb and deaf perſons kept in the Sultan's palace, whoſe only buſineſs is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the Sultan is talking in private with the Vizir, *Kyſlar aga*, or any other of his great men, and to take care that no body comes nigh. I find, that moſt of the *Europeans*, who give an account of the *Othman* court, affirm, that theſe perſons are often employed to put thoſe privately to death, whom the Sultan has a mind to diſpatch; but I cannot ſo much as gueſs what has occaſioned this miſtake. For it never was heard in *Conſtantinople*, that *Mutes*, *Dwarfs*, and *Buffoons*, who are all upon the ſame foot in the palace, were ever employed about any ſerious buſineſs, or ſent any where, but out of a jeſt. Nature having denied theſe perſons the uſe of ſpeech and of hearing, has, to ſupply that defect, endowed them with ſo quick an apprehenſion, that they can, by the motion of the lips and geſtures of perſons ſpeaking, underſtand what they are ſaying. Beſides, they have invented a way of talking by ſigns, which agreeing with that more than *Pythagorean* ſilence in the Sultan's court, there is, for that reaſon, hardly any courtier but what underſtands it: The Sultan himſelf muſt know it too, becauſe he can uſe no other when he has any orders to give to his mutes, or has a mind to talk with them for diverſion.

" and

" and me, but even to the whole Empire. You know, Brethen, yourſelves, what " labours I have hitherto ſuſtained, not for the preſervation only, but the reeſta- " bliſhment of the *Othman* Empire, and how faithful my ſervices have been. " The commendation of them belongs to others, and not to my ſelf. You " have been eye-witneſſes of the great danger we were expoſed to at that time, " when I, though unwilling, took upon me the poſt of Vizir. The *European* " provinces, which for two ages had not ſeen any enemy, were ſubdued by the " *Germans*; and the *Giaurs* fluſhed with their ſucceſſes in their ſecond campain " reſolved to attack *Adrianople*, and even *Conſtantinople* itſelf. The ſtreights of " the *Hæmus*, the bulwark of thoſe cities, were poſſeſſed by them as far as " *Dragoman Kioi*, *Sophia* the capital of *Bulgaria* was burnt, and all parts as far as " *Tatarbazarjik* through the negligence of my predeceſſor laid open to the ra- " vage and devaſtation of the *Germans*. We ſuffered ſtill greater calamities " within our own walls. The treaſury was filled with paper, not mony; the " ſubjects reduced to extreme poverty by the exactions of the *Teſterdars*; all " the people ſtruck with dread of the enemy; the magazines and ſtore-houſes " every where empty; in ſhort, all was full of confuſion and madneſs. But un- " der my conduct, and through the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, in one cam- " pain the *Othman* forces have driven the haughty *Germans*, who imprudently " rejected the terms of peace offered more imprudently by my predeceſſors, be- " yond the *Danube*; recovered *Belgrade*, *Niſſa*, *Semendria*, *Widdin*, and many " other places ſanctified by the prayers of the *Mahometans*; reſtored them to " their former ſplendor; ſubjected all *Ardal* to its former prince; defeated *Heuſ- " ler* a general of known valour, with his whole army, and to compleat the " victory, taken him priſoner; in ſhort, have ſo weakened the enemy, that we may " infallibly promiſe our ſelves this year the conqueſt of *Buda*, the capital of *Hungary*. " For we have God, the author of victory, now appeaſed and propitious to our " arms, who was averſe to our predeceſſors, and whoſe aſſiſtance laſt year we expe- " rienced in a miraculous manner. We have a numerous army, ready to execute " our commands, and what is of the greateſt moment, full of the hopes of con- " queſt. While our foreign enemies are unable to contend with this army, do- " meſtic enemies ariſe within our walls, and actuated either by a ſpirit of envy " common to courtiers, or led by an evil genius to interrupt the progreſs of " the *Othman* victories, endeavour to betray us and the whole ſtrength of the " Empire to the enemy. For this purpoſe they labour above all things to " remove us from the army, perſwading the Sultan, that the Vizir and Janiza- " ries are plotting to depoſe him. By theſe artifices they have induced the Sul- " tan, a Prince of great goodneſs, but unskilled in the adminiſtration of the " Empire, and who knows not how to return any other anſwer to what is pro- " poſed to him, but *Khoſh*, *Khoſh*, to reſolve not only to deprive me of my " poſt, but likewiſe to puniſh you all with the utmoſt ſeverity. To acquaint " you with this, and exhort you to take proper meaſures in this dangerous exi- " gence for the good of the ſtate, I have called the preſent council. I am not " indeed ſo vain as to imagine no perſon beſides my ſelf capable of ſupporting " the *Othman* Empire in its diſtreſs; nor do I regret diminution of my honour, " as being ready to expoſe my life it ſelf for the advantage of the publick. But " as I foreſee, that upon my removal, one of our haughty courtiers will ſucceed " me, and am apprehenſive he will diſturb the ſucceſsful progreſs of the *Othman* " affairs, and reduce them to a worſe ſituation than ever, I was willing to re- " mind you, that after my removal or death, which I wiſh for, that I may not " ſee the approaching ruin of the Empire, you will take upon you the care of " the ſtate, which the Emperor is incapable of, and ſecure it from injury. For " I ſcruple to make any reſiſtance to my Sultan's commands; and therefore have " determined to morrow with your conſent to reſign to him the ſeal of the Em- " pire, and deſire leave to go to *Mecca*. May God direct you by his ſpirit to " the right way, and protect you in your battles againſt the *Giaurs* with his all- " powerful right hand."

IX. The *Janizar-aga* and the reſt of the officers, upon hearing the Vizir's ſpeech, ſhew the utmoſt reſentment, call the Sultan ſtupid, imprudent, ſimple, and cry out, he is ſwayed by his courtiers like boughs ſhaken by the wind; adding, if the Sultan ſhould perſiſt in his deſign, they had rather depoſe him than *Kioprili ogli*, the defender of the law, the reſtorer of the *Othman* Empire, and the invincible general; they promiſe to ſhed their blood in defence even of a ſingle Hair of his head, binding themſelves by oath, never to ſuffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmoſt alacrity. The officers of the Janizaries promiſe with an oath fidelity to the Vizir.

X. The Vizir, who had ſent for the officers with no other view, than to diſcover how they were affected towards him, finding he might truſt to their fidelity, ſends an anſwer the ſame day by a *Talchyſh* (7), that he had intended to come to the palace according to his Majeſty's command, but while he was mounting his horſe, he was informed that the ſoldiers having received ſome injury from the courtiers were raiſing a ſedition, upon which he thought that danger of ſuch importance, that he imagined he might ſafely defer his obedience to the Sultan's command, in order to put a ſtop to it. To this end he had ſent for the officers of the army, and what courſe ſhould be taken for appeaſing the commotion, he would acquaint his Majeſty with on the morrow. The Vizir politely excuſes his not appearing when ſent for.

XI. Next day he informs the Sultan by another *Talchyſh*, that he had uſed his utmoſt efforts to extinguiſh the latent flame among the ſoldiers; but found them ſo inflexible and preſumptuous as to refuſe to return to their duty, till *Kyſlar agaſi* is diſmiſſed, and his Secretary delivered up to a tryal. He intreats therefore his Majeſty, that now when the army was ready for the expedition, and himſelf full of hopes of ſucceſs, he would not by an unſeaſonable indulgence to his officers ſtop the progreſs of victory, and expoſe himſelf to great danger. This letter being brought to the Sultan, *Kyſlar agaſi*, who now perceived his deſigns were betrayed to the Vizir, deſires the Sultan to ſacrifice him, though a faithful ſervant, to the good of the Empire. But the Sultan refuſing, as being too fond of the cunning deceiver, the Vizir ſends a third *Talchyſh*, and obliges the Sultan, for fear of worſe conſequences, to do as he had deſired, and baniſh *Kyſlar agaſi* into *Egypt*; the Vizir orders the Secretary, when brought to him, to be immediately hanged in his habit, with a ſilver ink-pot at his girdle. By two letters he prevails upon the Sultan to baniſh the *Kyſlar agaſi*, who had falſely accuſed him, and to order his Secretary to be hanged.

XII. Being thus confirmed in his poſt, to cut off all opportunity from the other officers of making the like attempts againſt him, on the third day he removes the army out of *Adrianople*, and encamping near the city, prepares every thing neceſſary for the campain. *Kioprili* being confirmed in his poſt of Vizir, leads the troops out of the city.

XIII. Here an ambaſſador from King *William* III. of *England* comes to him, and offers his maſter as a mediator for ſettling a peace. The Vizir receives him He receives with great civility the *Engliſh* ambaſſador, who propoſes peace; but marches with his forces immediately to *Belgrade*.

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(7) *Talchyſh*] A word properly ſignifying a relation or account. This is the name given in the *Othman* court to the letters, ſent by the Vizir to the Sultan about any publick affairs. The Sultan ſeldom rejects them; and if he doth not comply with the Vizir's deſires therein contained, the honour and dignity of the Vizir are reckoned to be in great danger. The *Talchyſh* muſt be written by the *Reis effendi* or High Chancellor, and then wrapped up in a very thin cloth called *Tulbend*, and tied up with a fine ſilken thread, ſealed with the Sultan's ſeal, which the Vizir carries with him as a badge of his dignity. Being thus prepared, it is delivered to the *Talkhyſhchi**, an officer of very great conſideration at court, anſwering to the ῥεφενδάριος under the *Grecian* Emperors. When the *Talkhyſhchi** has got the letters, he doth not hide them in his boſom or elſewhere, unleſs it is to keep them from the wet, but holds them in his hand, and carries them thus to the palace as faſt as he can; where when he comes, he delivers them to the *Kyſlar aga*, by whom they are carried to the Sultan. The *Talkhyſhchi** waits in the outer court, till the *Chatiſherif* or the Sultan's anſwer to the Vizir's letters is brought him by the *Kyſlar aga*, which he carries to the Vizir, in the ſame manner as the *Talchyſh*. But very often the Sultan ſends the *Chatiſherif* to the Vizir by *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi*, *Haſſeki aga*, or *Roſhbekchi**, whom I have before deſcribed.

with great honour, and declares himſelf ready to agree to a peace upon honorable terms; but in reality intended only to amuſe the *Germans*, and in the mean time make himſelf maſter of *Buda*.

The Vizir calling a general council, determines to paſs the *Save* againſt the enemy.

XIV. To this end having reached *Belgrade* with his army, he is informed that the Imperialiſts, under the command of *Lewis* Prince of *Baden*, had taken the field, and were already advanced to *Peterwaradin*. Upon this he immediately calls a council of his officers, and requiring their ſeveral opinions, with the conſent of the reſt, determines to march againſt the *Germans*, and attack them wherever they ſhould be found, and if they refuſed to fight, to follow them to *Buda*. He inſtantly commands his ſoldiers to decamp, and paſſing the *Save*, advances near *Peterwaradin*. The general of the Imperial army hearing of the Vizir's approach, pitches his camp near *Iſlankamen* on the banks of the *Danube*, and ſtrongly fortifies it.

He comes to *Iſlankamen* within ſight of the enemy, and cuts off ſeveral of the *German* troops.

XV. The Vizir ſoon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the Imperial camp, in order to intercept their return. At the ſame time five thouſand Imperialiſts, which the Prince of *Baden* had ſent for to his aſſiſtance, happen to be marching with full ſpeed towards his camp; but are intercepted by the Vizir, who incloſes them, and by numbers overpowers them, though they fought with great bravery, in the ſight of the Imperial army, killing ſome, and taking the reſt priſoners, ſo that not one of the whole party eſcaped.

The Imperialiſts troubled at this, engage the *Turks* in a battle.

XVI. This loſs exhibits to the reſt of the *German* army a dreadful image of their imminent danger, and takes away their former reſolution of attacking the enemy. The general himſelf likewiſe too late perceives his error in ſuffering himſelf to be ſhut up in ſo narrow a ſpace, where he could not open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon. There being no other way therefore of extricating himſelf out of this dangerous ſituation, he reſolves to force a paſſage with the ſword. While he was meditating this deſign, the *Turks* fluſhed by their late victory, with fury rather than ardour ruſh upon the *German* camp, as if they would deſtroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues ſix hours doubtful, with equal courage, but unequal ſtrength.

The ſucceſs of the battle for a long time doubtful.

XVII. The *Germans* now turning deſpair into reſolution, paſs the *Turkiſh* trenches; and the *Turks* out of ſhame for the loſs of the victory ſnatch'd out of their hands, drive the *Germans* back into their works, which they likewiſe penetrate, both ſides being in their turns conquerors and conquered.

At laſt, upon the death of the Vizir the enemy gains the victory.

XVIII. At laſt, when the victory ſeems to incline to the *Turks*, the Vizir, to confound by his preſence thoſe, who ſtill reſiſted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he ſaw the greateſt oppoſition. But in the heat of the battle being wounded in the temples by a musket-ball, he falls from his horſe, and by his death transfers the victory already obtained to the *Germans*. For his chamberlains confounded at the unexpected fall of their maſter, as ſoon as they ſee him proſtrate on the ground, call their companions and the other officers preſent to take up his corpſe, during which the *Tubulchana* (8) ceaſes to ſound. This occaſions great confuſion among the *Turkiſh* troops now victorious. The horſe ſeized with a panic, and abandoning the foot, fly firſt, and are ſoon followed by the Janizaries.

The Imperialiſts open a paſſage for the enemy, who fly, and take their camp.

XIX. The *Germans*, who were fighting not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, ſeeing the unexpected flight of the enemies, advances though ſlowly, that the Janizaries might have time and opportunity to retreat, and not be forced by being preſſed to return to the battle, which, their

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(8) *Tabulchana*] Warlike muſick, of which an account has already been given in (Part I.) This muſick in a battle is always to be near the Vizir, and to continue playing, in order to inſpire the combatants with courage. And if it happens to ceaſe, the Janizaries will immediately think it an omen of defeat, and be hardly reſtrained from flight.

ſtrength

ſtrength being ſpent (9), they could not have ſuſtained. The reſt of the foot perceiving the Janizaries to fly, leave their cannon and camp, and follow them with the utmoſt precipitation. The *Germans* having made themſelves maſters of their booty, ſeek nothing more, and allow their ſoldiers ſome days to refreſh themſelves. There fell in the battle twenty-eight thouſand *Turks*, and of the *Germans* (beſides the forementioned five regiments, incloſed and cut off by the *Turks*) not above three thouſand.

The ſaying of the Emperor *Leopold*.

XX. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to ſay, that he ſhould be unwilling to conquer often upon ſuch terms, ſince he could ſcarce recover the loſs of eight regiments of *Germans* in three years; whereas the *Turks* could ſupply even the loſs of eighty thouſand men in eighty days.

The Prince of *Baden* takes *Lippa*, and beſieges *Peterwaradin*.

XXI. After this victory, the Prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the laſt year, and cloſely beſieges *Waradin*. The *Turkiſh* army, on the other hand, ſtop their flight at *Belgrade*, and make *Hali Paſha* their Seraskier.

The *Poles* pretend rather than perform an expedition into *Baſſarabia*.

XXII. During theſe tranſactions at the *Save*, the *Poles* in the laſt month of this year paſs the *Tyras*, and pretend an expedition into *Baſſarabia*; but preſſed with want of proviſions, at the rumour of the approach of *Buiukli Muſtapha Paſha*, the Seraskier, they retire, and without any remarkable exploit return home.

A *Spaniſh* officer betrays *Garbuſa* to the *Turks*.

XXIII. The war between the *Venetians* and *Turks* is carried on by artifice rather than arms. The latter became maſters of *Garbuſa*, a caſtle in *Candia*, almoſt impregnable, by the treachery of a *Spaniſh* officer (10), who was in the garriſon.

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(9) being ſpent] I ſaw my ſelf a Janizary at *Conſtantinople* after this battle, whoſe turban, folded round with damask ſilk, falling from his head in the flight, was found by a *German* ſoldier. The *German*, upon his endeavouring to recover it, freely gives it him, ſaying in the *Turkiſh* language, "My life, "here is your turban; as you are a ſoldier, "if I am ſo too, we are brethren." The Janizary was ſo well pleaſed with the *German*'s civility, that, upon receiving his turban, he made him a preſent of a musket, ſaying, "there would be no further occa-"ſion for it among brethren."

(10) *Spaniſh* officer] *Aloyſius* by name. He ſaid that his wife had been raviſhed by the governor of *Grabuſa*, and as he could not be revenged for that injury any other way, he and his enſign *Joſeph* formed the pernicious deſign of delivering up the caſtle to the *Turks*, which they ſoon found an opportunity of putting in execution. In recompenſe, the *Turks* gave him the licenſe of ſelling what he would at *Conſtantinople*, and allowed him and the enſign a daily ſalary; and to twenty-five ſoldiers who were concerned in the treachery, they promiſed two *Leonines* a-day. The *Turks* ſtood indeed to their agreement at firſt, and not only granted them their ſtipulated ſalaries, but alſo many other honours and privileges; perhaps with a view of alluring other garriſons to imitate their example. But when they ſaw the bait did not take, they reduced their ſalary at firſt to ten crowns, then to two, and at laſt quite took it away; ſo that they were forced to keep an eating-houſe for their livelihood. *Aloyſius* had often promiſed the *Othman* court, that if they would truſt him with one ſhip of war, he would burn the whole *Venetian* fleet with an artificial fire. But being deſired to make a trial of his ſkill at *Conſtantinople*, he refuſed to diſcover his ſecret before the time; however, he ſhowed privately ſome irons and other inſtruments, whereby he maintained he could dart the fire at ſuch a diſtance. But the *Turks* not being ſatisfied with it, and thinking ſome treachery lay under it, would never believe him, nor truſt him with the command of a ſhip. At laſt, the year before the peace of *Carlowitz*, he went, through the perſuaſion of the *French* ambaſſador, to *Adrianople*, where the Sultan then reſided, to make there a trial of that fire; but being rejected by the Vizir *Amukje Ogli Huſeim*, as a mad-man, he returned to *Conſtantinople* without ſucceſs. At laſt, being accuſed before the Vizir, by the *Jews* of *Ortakioi*, of many murders daily committed in his houſe, and being convicted of the ſame, he was baniſhed to *Trebiſond*, where he died. His enſign *Joſeph* fell ſoon after into a very grievous diſtemper, ſo that he was given over by all the phyſicians; for his body was covered with horrible running ſores, extremely painful; and which increaſed every day. While he lay in that miſerable condition, there came to him the Abbot of a monaſtery in *Mauromolum*, and promiſes him he ſhould be cured by the miraculous aſſiſtance of the *Virgin Mary*, if he would but forſake the *Popiſh* ſchiſm, and declare himſelf a member of the *Orthodox* Church.

garriſon. They attempt the ſame at *Suda* and *Spinalonga*; but the *Venetians*, alarmed by their late misfortune, watch theſe fortreſſes more narrowly, and puniſh the conſpirators with death.

Ali Paſha ſucceeds in the poſt of Vizir.

XXIV. In the mean time, Sultan *Ahmed* being informed of the death of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, promotes to the Vizirſhip *Arabaji Ali Paſha*, *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedneſs.

Peace mentioned, but diverted by the *French* ambaſſador.

XXV. As ſoon as he is appointed Vizir, he revives the talk of peace at *Conſtantinople*, and lends a favorable ear to the ambaſſadors of the foreign Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially *Paget* (11), the *Engliſh*, and *Colliere* (12), the *Dutch* ambaſſador, who were ſent for that purpoſe to the *Othman* Port. But theſe hopes are ſoon diſturbed by the management of the *French* ambaſſador, who, by large preſents of gold and ſilver, perſuades the Vizir and other great men, that war was more conducive to the *Othman* intereſt than peace. This negotiation receives ſtill more weight from the letters of *Maurocordatus*, in which he informs the Vizir, that *Germany* was ſo diſtreſſed and exhauſted of men and money, that very probably the Emperor could not ſupport the burden of the war above a year or two longer.

The Vizir is deprived of his poſt on account of his avarice and cruelty.

XXVI. The Vizir, moved by theſe conſiderations, immediately cuts off all hopes of peace, and applies himſelf wholly to renew the war, purſuing ſuch meaſures, as that he might at once ſupply the exigencies of the treaſury, and remove men of ſuperior parts to himſelf, who were ſuſpected by him. Accordingly he puts to death many eminent perſons of the firſt rank by the hands of the executioner, under various pretences, and confiſcates their eſtates. Not content with this, he orders the Janizaries and common ſoldiers, diſtinguiſhed for their bravery, to be thrown privately by night into the ſea, that there might be no perſon living who ſhould be eſteemed more worthy of the Vizirſhip than himſelf. This cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and thoſe perſons whoſe lives were ſpared by accident, or the Vizir's ignorance, repreſenting to the Sultan, that by this means all the defenders of the *Othman* Empire would be deſtroyed, *Ahmed* at laſt, after ſix months, removes him from his poſt; and having ſtripped him of his wealth unjuſtly acquired, advances *Tarpoſhchi* Ali Paſha* (13), governor of *Damaſcus*, in his room.

Ali Paſha, the new Vizir, thinks of peace; but his good intentions are diverted by the ambaſſadors, who returned from *Vienna*.

XXVII. The new Vizir having concerted meaſures for ſettling a peace with the Chriſtians, the ambaſſadors who had been ſent four years before to *Vienna*,

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Church. The ſick man accepting of the condition, cauſes himſelf to be carried in his bed to the *Mauromolenſian* monaſtery, and prayers being ſaid over him night and day, he was reſtored to his health in twenty-four hours; whereupon, publickly abjuring, in the great church at *Coaſtantinople*, the errors of *Popery*, he became a member of the *Greek* Church.

(11) *Paget*] of a noble family in *England*, and ambaſſador from that Kingdom to the *Othman* Port. He left a very good name behind him among the *Turks*; for he was not only very learned, and well ſkilled in the *Greek* and *Turkiſh* languages, and other ſciences, but was alſo a very prudent man, and perfectly underſtood the way of obtaining any thing from the *Turks*.

(12) *Colliere*] being born at *Smyrna*, where his father was conſul, he not only learned in his youth the functions of an ambaſſador, but alſo made himſelf perfect maſter of the *Greek* and *Turkiſh* languages: for which reaſon, he is reckoned the wiſeſt and moſt civil of all the ambaſſadors among the *Turks*; and as he freely entertains at his houſe the courtiers, that are extremely greedy of wine, there is nothing ſo ſecret in the Vizir's court, but what he can ſift from them by that means. The *Staurodrome*, where he dwelt at firſt, being burnt down, he bought the palace of the famous Vizir *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, on the *Boſphorus*, in the village *Kurikieſmen*; but he received orders from *Choruly* Ali Paſha*, not to live there, who alledged it was unbecoming that a *Muſulman*'s, nay, a Vizir's palace, ſhould be poſſeſſed by *Giaurs*, and a place ſanctified by ſo many *Namaz* and prayers, be polluted with wine and ſwine's fleſh.

(13) *Tarpoſhchi* Ali.*] *Tarpus* is a ſort of cap worn by the *Turkiſh* women. This Vizir ſeems to have been a maker of ſuch caps in his youth, and from thence to have received his name.

return home; and being bribed, it is ſaid, by the ambaſſador of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, put an end to all his pacifick intentions, and excite the *Turks* to continue the war with the Emperor. For they relate, that *Germany* being diſtreſſed and exhauſted of all its ſtrength, longed for peace; that the Emperor was obliged to ſend the greateſt part of his army againſt the *French*, and could not raiſe new ſupplies, not only for want of money, the ſinews of war, but becauſe he was above an hundred millions in debt. That beſides theſe misfortunes, God had ſent a dearth upon *Hungary* and *Germany*, which had reduced both thoſe Kingdoms to ſuch diſtreſs, that the principal Bulwarks of *Hungary*, through which they had paſſed, namely, *Buda* and *Eſſek*, much more the leſſer caſtles, wanted both men and proviſions. Theſe repreſentations were not ſo falſe, as agreeable to the court.

XXVIII. The Vizir therefore laying aſide all pacifick meaſures, applies himſelf wholly to renew the war; enrolls new Janizaries, whoſe number had been extremely leſſened by the ſword of the *Germans*, and the cruelty of *Arabaji Ali Paſha*; and orders, under a ſevere penalty, the other Paſhas to be ready at a certain time with their troops. The reaſon of making new preparations for the war.

XXIX. But as the ſoldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be aſſembled with ſuch expedition, he ſends the Seraskier with what forces were ready towards the borders of *Hungary*, with orders to avoid a battle with the *Germans*, and only to guard the boundaries of the Empire from the incurſions of the enemy, and relieve the cities of *Hungary* ſtill in the hands of the *Turks*, if they ſhould be attacked. The Seraskier kept indeed the *German* troops at a diſtance from *Belgrade* and the *Save*, the latter, ſenſible of their weakneſs, not being very deſirous of an engagement; but he could not prevent *Heuſler*, who had been lately ſet at liberty, from obliging *Waradin*, blocked up the laſt year, to ſurrender for want of proviſions on the twenty-firſt † of the month *Ramazan*, of the year 1103. He ſends the Seraskier before, and orders him to maintain a defenſive war: But *Waradin* is ſurrendered to *Heuſler*.

† *May* 25. H. 1103.

XXX. About the ſame time the Seraskier of *Babadagy*, *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha*, in conjunction with *Arap Paſha*, governor of *Trebizond*, marches into *Moldavia*, and paſſing the *Danube* about the end of the month *Zylcade*, proceeds directly to *Orheyus*. Having ſent for the Prince of *Moldavia*, and about twenty thouſand *Tartars*, under the command of *Shehbaz Gierai* Sultan, proceeds againſt *Soroka*; but in the march near *Orheyus*, a town of *Moldavia*, being ſeized with a bloody-flux, which held him ſeveral days, he gives the *Poles* time to fortify the city, which was to be beſieged, and to reinforce the garriſon. The enemy alſo, who was before negligent, takes this opportunity to ſtrengthen *Soroka* with a rampart and new works, and ſend four hundred *Coſſacks* to its relief. The Seraskier, though he perceived the ſiege by this delay to be more difficult, as ſoon as he is recovered, that he might not perform ſo long a march to no purpoſe, proſecutes his deſign, and on the fourth day appears before the city. The garriſon are at firſt terrified at his approach; but afterwards, ſeeing their walls could not be demoliſhed by the enemy's cannon, who had brought but ſeven ſmall pieces and two mortars, reſume their courage, and, not content with defending themſelves within their walls, frequently ſally out, attacking the trenches of the *Turks* by night, and deſtroying great numbers of them. The Seraskier, finding this method unſucceſsful, endeavours to undermine the walls; but in vain, they being built upon a rock. At laſt the winter approaches, and having loſt near three thouſand men, after thirty days ſiege, he is obliged to retire. A. C. 1692. The *Turks* beſiege *Soroka* in *Moldavia* without ſucceſs.

XXXI. At the end of the campain the Chan of *Crim Tartary*, *Kior Sefa Gierai* (14), by the advice of the Seraskier, ſends *Derviſh Shaban Aga*, one of his The Chan of *Tartary* attempts to divide the Kingdom of *Poland* from the Confederates, but without ſucceſs.

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(14) *Kior Sefa Gierai*] This was the only one of the family of *Choban* * *Gierai*, (mentioned in Part I. B. 2.) that arrived to the dignity of Chan of *Tartary*, which he did not enjoy above a year. After his being depoſed, the Empire of *Tartary* returned again to the legitimate *Gierai's*, who have poſſeſſed it to this time.

officers to the King of *Poland*, to perſuade him to make peace with the *Othman* court, offering, that if he would abandon his alliance with the Emperor, to reſtore to him *Caminiec*, with all *Podolia* and *Ukrania*. But the *Poles*, who had conceived new hopes from the ill ſucceſs of the *Turks* againſt *Soroka*, of ſubduing all *Moldavia*, pay no regard to the Chan's advice, and diſmiſs his meſſenger.

The *Venetians* beſiege *Canea* in *Candy*, but obliged to retire with loſs.

XXXII. The ſame year the *Venetians* having entirely ſubdued the *Morea*, reſolve to turn their arms againſt *Candia*, and, tranſporting their whole army to that iſland, beſiege *Canea* with great vigour; but the *Turks*, informed of their deſign by a *French* ſhip, had put ſo ſtrong a garriſon into that city, that the *Venetians*, who thought to ſurprize it, are not only repulſed with great ſlaughter, but, after a ſiege of fifty days, obliged to retire with the loſs of many of their men, and to confeſs the *Turks* conquerors, who had been ſaved by the favour of the moſt Chriſtian King.

The different ſucceſs of the *Turks* and *Venetians* upon the Continent.

XXXIII. With equal ſucceſs *Soliman Paſha*, governor of *Arnaud*, attacks and defeats the *Montenegrini* meditating a rebellion, and recovering *Zuffa* and *Panduriza*, reduces them to ſubmiſſion. The Seraskier of the *Morea*, flushed with theſe ſucceſſes, makes ſeveral incurſions upon the *Venetians*; but attempting to ſeize *Naupactum*, is repulſed with great loſs. In *Dalmatia*, the Paſha of *Hercegovina* endeavours, by *Alibeg*, to recover *Graçovium*, but in vain. For the *Turks* engaged in the ſiege, are ſuddenly attacked by the *Venetians*, who defeat and put them to flight, and take the general priſoner.

Twin-ſons born to the Sultan.

H. 1104.

A. C. 1693.

XXXIV. The campain being ended, in the year 1104 the Sultan, at *Conſtantinople*, has twins born to him, namely, *Selim* and *Ibrahim*. As this had never happened to any Sultan before, the *Turks*, conſidering it as a preſage of their future ſucceſs, devote eight whole days throughout the Empire to rejoicings, every where both day and night celebrating the *Donanma*, and other ſports uſual upon ſuch occaſions.

The Vizir *Ali* is removed, and ſucceeded by *Muſtapha Paſha*.

XXXV. Amidſt theſe rejoicings of the people, the Vizir, *Tarpoſhchi* * *Ali Paſha*, endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace, which had been interrupted; but being reprehended by the *Mufti*, the Sultan declaring it done without his command or knowledge, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the Empire.

The new Vizir puts a ſtop to a ſedition juſt ready to break out.

XXXVI. His ſucceſſor, *Buiukli Muſtapha*, endeavouring to put a ſtop to the depredations of ſeveral Nobles, which the negligence of the former Vizirs had ſuffered to paſs with impunity, occaſioned ſome of the offenders to form a ſecret conſpiracy againſt him, and others to murmur openly. But the aſſemblies of the ſeditious being diſturbed by *Junizar Agaſi*, the Vizir's friend, and the leaders being partly put to death, and partly baniſhed, the city is reſtored to its former tranquillity, and the Vizir applies himſelf to make preparations for the campain.

The wonderful conduct of *Miſri Effendi*.

XXXVII. While he is thus employed, and had now encamped without the city, the *Sheik* of *Pruſa*, *Miſri Effendi* (16), erects his ſtandard at *Pruſa*, and liſts

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(15) *Donanma*] So the *Turks* call their public rejoicings for having gained a victory, or taken a fortified place from the enemy. Whenever theſe are enjoined, the merchants are commanded to keep their ſhops open night and day, and to adorn them with their moſt valuable goods. Upon ſuch occaſions, no kind of plays or diverſions are forbidden; nay, people are allowed to drink wine publickly, and thoſe that get drunk, and are at other times puniſhable by the *Janizar-Aga*, can neither be puniſhed now, nor called afterwards to an account. Guards in the mean time keep patrolling about the city, but their buſineſs is only to take care to prevent quarrels, riots, murders, and thefts; for they cannot meddle or interfere with any thing that tends only to mirth and diverſion.

(16) *Miſri Effendi*] A man in great renown among the *Turks* for his ſanctity: though many think he was too great a favourer of the *Chriſtian* Religion. This ſuſpicion is confirmed by ſeveral divine Poems, which he publiſhed, and ordered to be ſung in the *Jami*; ſome parts of which, ſuppoſed by many to relate to the myſtery of the incarnation, I have tranſlated

liſts above three thouſand Muſulman volunteers under the title of *Derviſes* without pay or allowance of proviſion, merely in the name of God, and in confidence

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tranſlated word for word from the *Turkiſh* language, and thought it worth while to inſert them here.

" I am he, that am acquainted with the " ſecrets of human learning,
" I reckon up the treaſures of juſtice, and " am the life of the World.
" Within me is included every hidden " thing, and the myſtery of hidden " things,
" With me is the myſtery intruſted, and I " am the rich poſſeſſor thereof.
" I have ſeen the divine beauty much more " plainly than others,
" Wherefore when I ſee that ſpectacle, I " am raviſhed with joy.
" Whatever is in Earth and in Heaven, is " ſubject to me,
" I am the moſt excellent ſeal of things " viſible and inviſible.
" I have given my only ſubſtance for all " creatures,
" I am always with *Jeſus*, and with him " do always agree.
" I am that *Miſri*," [this word ſignifies *Cairo* the Metropolis of *Egypt*, as alſo the whole province of *Egypt* itſelf, from whence the author took his ſirname,] " who have been King of my body to " *Myſrus* or *Egypt*.
" My oracle, though profound, yet in its " ſecret interpretation contains an eter- " nal myſtery."

He ſeems to have alluded to the ſame in the following Epigram.

" In divine names I have an infinite know- " ledge.
" At every breath I travel to the heavenly " ſciences. [that is, am wholly taken up with heavenly ſciences.]
" In the Heaven of my heart there is no " number of the ſtars. [that is, there is no numbring of them.]
" In each *Zodiac*." [that is, in each ſign of the *Zodiac*, for the *Turkiſh* word *Buri* denotes both,] " I reckon a thou- " ſand Suns, and a thouſand Moons.
" In compariſon of theſe, the knowledge " of the Empyreal [Heaven] and of " the other Orbs, is deſpicable.
" Since I have alſo on earth laſting eſſences, " I am aſhamed to be maſter of the Al- " phabet in the Worlds.
" But yet I highly value that Alphabet, " which is little eſteemed,
" For in it is joined the agreement of *Je-* " *ſus* and *Myſri*.
" Therefore my will neither has nor wants " any thing. [that is, I deſire nothing earneſtly, and yet want nothing that I can deſire.]

Beſides the evident teſtimonies of *Jeſu*, contained in theſe verſes, what I learned concerning the ſame *Myſri Effendi* from the mouth of the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, *Callinicus* of bleſſed memory, is alſo worth mentioning. When he was Metropolitan of *Pruſa*, *Myſri Effendi*, who then poſſeſſed the dignity of *Mollah* in the ſame city, had contracted a cloſe friendſhip with him, and uſed frequently to viſit him. Coming one day to the Metropolitan, he ſaw a *Greek* Book lying upon a Table. And enquiring what book it was, he was told it was the Goſpel. Whereupon he ſaid, " O " Metropolitan, what you have once ob- " tained by the grace of God, That keep " as long as you live. For the Goſpel, " and Chriſt himſelf is the word of God." And though all this was whiſpered about among the *Turks*, yet it could no way hurt his reputation. Nay, when the fore-mentioned verſes were preſented to the Mufti, that he might declare, whether they were orthodox, or contrary to the doctrine of the *Koran*; he ſuſpended his judgment, and pronounced the following *fetvah*, or ſentence, " The interpretation of the mean- " ing of them is known to none but God " and *Myſri*." Which ſentence, though pronounced by an infidel, I acknowledge to be true, thinking it extremely difficult to give a full explanation of that man's profound learning. However, after this declaration of the *Mufti*, *Myſri Effendi*'s Poems were made publick, and came to be received by all the *Turks* as Orthodox. But the reading of them is not allowed without ſome caution, and to the copies that are ſold, the following advertiſement is prefixed.

" Theſe Poems and Maxims are compo- " ſed by *Myſri Effendi* of bleſſed memory, " in which though ſome ſayings and ex- " preſſions are found different from the " Muſulman Faith, and offend Orthodox " ears, yet theſe are to be aſcribed to his " Enthuſiaſm. By theſe errors of his En- " thuſiaſm he has drawn away ſome Mu- " ſulmans from the right Faith: which " coming to the knowledge of the ſublime " Port, it has ordered the Mufti to col- " lect his Sayings and Poems into one Vo- " lume, and to examine them. The Muf- " ti, after having read them, has commit- " ted them to the flames, and hath paſſed " this

dence of the divine aſſiſtance, and tranſports them by ſea to *Rhodoſtus*, and afterwards by land to *Adrianople*. When he is come to the city, he marches with his followers directly to *Selim*'s temple, where finding the people intent upon their *Namaz* at noon, he firſt performs the prayers with great appearance of devotion and zeal, and afterwards makes a ſpeech to the people. He tells them, that hearing a new army was raiſing againſt the *Germans*, he had long conſidered what he could do for the ſervice of the *Othman* intereſt agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, and had tacitly examined with himſelf what were the cauſes of the many and great loſſes ſuſtained by the *Othman* armies from the *Chriſtians*. That amidſt theſe reflections it was revealed to him from Heaven, that the cauſe of it was not the valour of the *Germans*, nor the ſins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of ſeventeen great men and governors of the Empire, who being influenced by a *Giauric* mind, faith, and manners, are ignorant, that there is no occaſion of a numerous army againſt the infidels, but of faith in God, purity in heart and works, and juſtice towards the ſubjects. And that the people might know to whom they ought to impute the ruin of the Empire, there had been named to him by the divine revelation thoſe *Giaurs*, who were proudly veſted with the Muſulman turban and habit; the Vizir, the *Janizar-aga*, the *Caimacan* (17), the *Tefterdar* (18), the *Reis Effendi*, and other great officers of ſtate, whom he particularly mentioned. Unleſs theſe are put to death, no advantage can be hoped againſt the *Germans*, but ſtill greater calamities, and even the deſtruction of the whole Empire are to be expected. He has by the command of God collected a body of Muſulman ſoldiers, few indeed in number, and deſtitute of arms, but animated by a divine power, ſtrengthened by the precepts of the *Koran*, untainted with ſin, white and pure; with whom he would venture not only to ſtop an innumerable hoſt of infidels, but likewiſe to drive them from the borders of the Empire, Upon the report of this affair, not only the common people fond of novelties, but the Janizaries, *Spahis*, and other military officers flock thither in great numbers; and as the *Jami*, though very large, could not contain all the hearers, the outward porches are alſo filled, upon the ſight of which, the orator animated by a ſpirit of zeal, continues his ſpeech four hours. The Vizir, informed of the affair, dreads a ſedition, to obviate which in time, he ſends the *Caimacan* to the *Sheik*, to deſire him to come to him. The *Caimacan*, after a reſpectful compliment, having delivered the meſſage, *Miſri Effendi* anſwers, "I am the ſervant of God, and ſent to the ſervants of God, to acquaint them with what has been revealed to me from heaven. But I know not what *Giaur* thy Vizir is, and ſee no reaſon to abandon my call in obedience to him." The *Caimacan* perceiving on account of the crowd of people, who ſtood round and heard him with great attention, he could uſe no compulſion, returns to the Vizir, aud tells him what he had heard and ſeen, adviſing him to endeavour immediately to prevent the danger, and diſperſe the concourſe of people; ſince the *Sheik*'s whole diſcourſe tended only to ſedition againſt the nobles, and probably the Sultan himſelf. The Vizir ſends for *Janizar aga* and the other officers ſtigmatized by the *Sheik* with the name of infidels, repreſenting to them the common danger, and asking what meaſures they

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"this *fetvah* or ſentence, whoever ſpeaks "and believes as *Myſri Effendi*, ought to "be burnt, except *Myſri Effendi* alone: "for no *fetvah* can be paſſed upon thoſe "that are poſſeſſed of Enthuſiaſm."

And this diſgrace is thought to have moved him to raiſe thoſe commotions, which I have related in the courſe of the hiſtory.

(17) *Caimacan*] Namely, *Othman Paſha*, a *Grecian*, born in *Crete*, who being taken at the ſiege of *Candia* by *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, and perſwaded to embrace *Mahometiſm*, was raiſed by ſeveral degrees to that dignity. He was a very artful man, and knew how to adapt himſelf to the times.

(18) *Tefterdar*] This dignity I have elſewhere deſcribed. He that enjoyed it now, was *Kirli Iſmail Effendi*, whom the *Turks* commend to this day for his great ſkill and experience in affairs.

think are to be taken in this exigence. Having considered the several opinions, they unanimously resolve to attempt nothing without the Sultan's consent, but to use all methods to induce him to oblige the *Sheikh* to leave the city. They immediately inform the Sultan by a *Talebyfh*, that a certain *Sheikh* is come to the city attended with a considerable body of soldiers disguised like *Dervises*, who is haranguing the people in *Selimiè*, and exciting the inconstant multitude to sedition. For this purpose he is casting out many reproaches against the great officers of state, giving odious appellations to the Sultan himself, charging the Vizir and other Nobles as infidels, and publickly declaring, that the *German Othmans* are carrying on war against the *German Imperialists*, and therefore the divine blessing cannot be expected upon the *Othman* court. By these and the like false representations, the Sultan is so enraged, that he commands the rebel to be seized, and since he could not, as wearing the *Tiara*†, be put to death, to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. The Vizir rejoicing to have it in his power under the Sultan's name to execute his desire, sends again the *Caimacan*, but attended with *Janizar-agasi* and a good band of soldiers to *Misri Effendi* in the *Jami*. The *Caimacan* and *Janizar-agasi*, leaving the Janizaries in the street, enter the temple, and in the Sultan's name salute the *Sheik*, who is still speaking and inform him, that the Sultan hearing of his sanctity and reputation, wishes to enjoy his conversation, and therefore desires him to come instantly to the palace. The *Sheik* either informed of their designs, or guessing some snake lay concealed in the grass, answers; "You seem to me from the intent, with which you "are come, to be sent by *Sheitan*, and not by the Sultan (19). But I, like "a champion for God, who ought to be indifferent whether he be applauded or "exposed to contempt, will go wherever you will lead me, so that I give no of-"fence to this assembly of Musulmans, or appear unwilling to obey the Sultan's "command. However that you may be convinced, I have spoken not of my-"self, or out of any perverse ends, but by divine inspiration, I declare to you "beforehand, that within a few hours after I am gone, you will receive to-"kens of divine evidence." Having said this, he leaves the *Jami*, and mounting the Sultan's chariot, which was brought for him, attended with the guards, he passes with great honour through the people flocking from all parts. As soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and immediately conveyed first to *Rhodostus*, and afterwards to *Prusa*.

† Green Turban.

XXXVIII. His superstitious prediction was attended with the event. For two days after, about noon a great whirlwind and storm arises, and throws down the tents of almost all the soldiers and principal officers. There happened at that time to be a fire in several tents for dressing of dinner, which seizing the tents when overthrown, and suddenly communicating itself to the rest, within the space of an hour consumes above a thousand tents, with the pavilions of the chief officers. The people stand unmoved at this sight, and crying out, God showed his vengeance for the unjust banishment of his servant and witness of truth, refuse to give any assistance. At last, the soldiers with great difficulty save the rest of the camp from the flames. The Sultan himself struck with terror, sends a respectful letter to the *Sheik*, and intreats his pardon, confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers, and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, and give his benediction to the army. *Misri Effendi* answers, he had discovered at first, that he was banished through the fault of the great men, and not of the Sultan himself, and therefore had long since obliterated the remembrance of it, and wholly forgiven the crime, but could not return to *Adrianople*, be-

The prodigies which follow *Misri*'s departure.

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(19) by the Sultan] *Sultanden, Sheitanden.* This saying of his was afterwards interpreted two ways; literally, That the Sultan was stirred up by a diabolical spirit to put to death a man, who reproved him for his vices: And metaphorically, as if *Misri Effendi* had said, They who came to call him were not sent by the Sultan, but directed by the Devil, and tempted by him to commit that crime.

cauſe the ſame ſpirit, which had prompted him to the firſt journey, would not permit a ſecond.

The Vizir about to paſs through *Walachia* into *Tranſylvania*. The Imperialiſts beſiege *Belgrade*.

XXXIX. In the mean time the Vizir, *Buiukli Muſtapha Paſha*, having aſſembled his whole army, marches from *Adrianople* to the *Danube*, from whence he deſigns to purſue the former rout of *Tekeli*, and penetrate through *Walachia* into *Tranſylvania*. But before he had paſſed the *Danube*, the *Germans*, having taken *Gena* and *Villagoſbvar*, under the command of *De la Croy*, beſiege *Belgrade*. Upon this the Vizir alters his intention and march, and returns from *Diſtra*, where he had encamped, towards *Chenge* Daghlary*, and with great danger and difficulty conducts his whole army through the ſtraits of thoſe mountains, ſcarce wide enough for an unarmed man to paſs through. The *German* general being informed by his ſcouts, that the Vizir is attempting to make himſelf maſter of *Tranſylvania*, he views the outer walls of the city beſieged for twenty days, rather like a traveller than a ſoldier, becauſe either he intended to reduce it by famine, or imagined the Vizir would be prevented by the narrow paſſes from relieving it in time. But finding the Vizir approaching, and now paſſed the mountains, he proſecutes the ſiege with greater vigour, and in eight days not only demoliſhes the outer walls by his cannon and mines, but alſo ſhakes the inner in ſuch a manner, that he ſeemed ready to take the city, though defended by ſixteen thouſand *Othmans*, if the Vizir, leaving behind him his baggage and larger cannon, had not on the eighth day advanced to its relief.

The Vizir raiſes the ſiege of *Belgrade*.

XL. For the *Germans* perceiving, from the ſmallneſs of their number, they could not at the ſame time carry on the ſiege, and make a ſtand againſt the Vizir, who was about to attack their camp, that they might not inſtead of victory receive a defeat, raiſe the ſiege, and paſs the *Save* with their whole army. The Vizir, though he had done them no other damage in their retreat, than the taking ſeveral waggons and four ſmall cannon, imagining their retreat to be a flight, informs the Sultan that he had gained a victory over the enemy.

The *Tartars* attempting to lay waſte *Hungary*, are incloſed and defeated by the *Germans*.

XLI. But not daring to purſue them, or paſs the *Save* to attack their camp, he ſends *Selim Gietai*, Chan of the *Tartars*, with his troops into *Hungary*, with orders to ravage the neighbouring provinces, and cut off the *Germans* from all opportunity of procuring proviſions. The Chan roving about incautiouſly, is ſurrounded at *Chonad* by the Imperialiſts appointed to guard thoſe parts, under the command of *Hofkirchen*, and ſhut up in ſuch a narrow ſpace, that he could not make uſe of his horſe, or find any means of eſcape. In this ſituation, the *Tartars* muſt have neceſſarily ſubmitted to the enemy, or periſhed with hunger, if the invincible reſolution of *Selim* had not ſurmounted all obſtacles, and engaged the *Tartars* in an attempt not only unuſual to the *Scythian* hords, but never heard of before ſince the *Scythian* name had been celebrated in the world. For there being no room for the cavalry to fight, by his command they all kill their horſes, fall upon the enemy with their ſwords, and riſh boldly into the thickeſt ranks of the *Germans*. So unexpected an attack at firſt confounds the *Germans*, but reſuming their courage, they incloſe them again, now almoſt eſcaped, and make ſuch a ſlaughter, that except a few attendants of the Chan, ſcarce a man was ſaved.

The *Poles* continue quiet at home. The *Venetians* do nothing in *Greece*, and make but little progreſs in *Dalmatia*.

XLII. Thus the *Germans* take a bloody revenge upon the *Tartars*, for the *Poliſh* armies ſo often defeated by them, while *Poland* it ſelf continues unactive, and either amuſed with hopes of peace, offered again by the ambaſſadors of *Selim Gierai*, or deterred by former misfortunes, dares not bring an army into the field. The *Venetian* arms are likewiſe quiet in *Greece*. However, in *Dalmatia*, under the command of *Erizzo*, governor of *Catarri*, they attempt the ſiege of *Clobuchi*, but are repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the Paſha of *Hercegovina*; who, notwithſtanding, is ſoon after defeated by *Canegotti*.

The Vizir *Muſtapha* removed from his poſt, and ſucceeded by *Ali*.

XLIII. The Vizir, *Buiukly Muſtapha Paſha*, returning to *Adrianople*, while he expects to be rewarded for raiſing the ſiege of *Belgrade*, and forcing the enemy to abandon the borders of the Empire, is deprived of his dignity by the Sultan upon a ſlight occaſion. For, going out of the city one day to relax his mind from cares, and divert himſelf with hawking, *Coltuk Vezirleri*, who had

long been his enemies, immediately inform the Sultan of it, representing that the Vizir, laying aside business and the important affairs of the state, minded nothing but his pleasures; and by these calumnies make such an impression upon the easy and credulous Sultan, that he instantly takes away the seal of the Empire from the Vizir, and delivers it to *Sham Tarabolus Ali Pasha* (20). But that he might not seem ungrateful for his services done to the Empire, nor raise a sedition among the people, he does not keep him in custody, nor deprive him of his estate, but makes him governor of *Damascus*, a very rare instance among the *Turks*.

XLIV. *Ali Pasha*, seeing the distressed state of the Empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he is advanced to the Vizirship, endeavours to make a peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*; but as he resolved to exclude the *Venetians*, and afterwards turn his whole force against them, he does not succeed. For, on the one hand, the Emperor would not abandon the confederates, and expose them to danger, and obstinately refused all terms of peace, how plausible soever, if they were not included; and on the other, the most Christian King's ambassador, by presents and great promises, had gained both the Nobles and *Ulema* so firmly to his party, that they unanimously opposed all pacifick measures, and broke the Vizir's designs.

The Vizir *Ali Pasha* endeavours to make peace with the Christians.

XLV. The Vizir, seeing himself by this means disappointed, in the latter end of the year 1105 sends the Seraskier into *Hungary*, who assaulting *Titul*, is repulsed with great loss by *Caprara*, general of the Imperialists. But this victory of the *Germans* caused no great detriment to the *Turkish* Empire; for the Emperor of *Germany*, intent upon the war with *France*, had left but a small army in *Hungary*, which was obliged to be rather upon the defence, than to make further progress. The *Polish* and *Russian* forces likewise continue to guard their own borders, neither attempting nor performing any thing memorable.

The peace being prevented by the *French* ambassador, the Vizir sends a Seraskier into *Hungary*. H. 1105. A. C. 1694.

XLVI. The *Venetians* alone this year push the *Turks* with vigour, and make an attempt which would have gained them the dominion of the sea, if they had known how to execute their undertaking with prudence and moderation. Early in the spring they send out a fleet, which, upon the invitation of the inhabitants of *Chios*, devoted to the *Roman-Catholic* religion (21), attacks that island with great

Chios surrendered to the *Venetians*.

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(20) *Sham Tarabolus*] *Tripoli* of *Damascus*, a city in *Palestine*, so called by way of distinction from *Tripoli* in *Africa*, a noted nest of *Mooriſh* pirates.

(21) to the Catholick Religion] A considerable part of *Chios* was formerly inhabited by people of the *Romish* Church, whose ancestors had many ages before the island came under the power of the *Turks*, transplanted themselves thither from *Venice*, and other provinces of *Italy*; and having brought the religion of their country with them, transmitted it down to their latest posterity. They enjoyed not only the free exercise of their religion, and the same privileges with the rest of the inhabitants, but also had built more Churches, and by the assistance and authority of the ambassadors of *France*, and of Princes devoted to the *See* of *Rome*, had obtained from the *Othman* court more immunities and prerogatives than the rest of the subjects of the same Empire. Afterwards a war arising between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, after the *Vienna* defeat, the people I am speaking of performed the office of spies to the Republick of *Venice*, and whatever was done about the *Turkish* fleet, either at *Constantinople* or in the Isles, an account of it was industriously sent by them to the admiral of the enemy's fleet. At last, their spirits were raised upon the conquest of all the *Morea* by the *Venetians*; and they began to think of putting also their Island under St. *Mark*'s banners. The better to accomplish their designs, though they were already possessed of best part of the Island, they thought it advisable to sound the inclinations of the *Greeks*, that they might not receive from them an unexpected obstacle to their designs. But not daring openly to disclose their intentions, they do, in private discourse, undervalue the strength of the *Turks*, and magnify that of the *Venetians*; saying, there was reason to fear, that after the sea was cleared of the *Turkish* fleet, that Republick would make her self mistress of all the Islands in the *Archipelago*. Therefore it would be advisable, before summer, to ingratiate themselves with the *Venetians*, by sending a letter to their admiral, to entreat him to protect a people of the same religion with him against foreigners;

great vigour. *Silahdar Haſan Paſha* was then governor, who hearing of the approach of the *Venetians*, had reſolved to make a brave defence; but after he found

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reigners; and, (if it could be) that a Chriſtian ſhould appear to the aſſiſtance of Chriſtians. This advice was not reliſhed by the *Greeks*, both becauſe they ſuſpected the faith of the *Venetians*, and alſo believed that they could receive but little protection from the *Venetians*, who were at ſo great a diſtance, againſt the preſent power of the *Turks*. But foreſeeing that the *Latins* would, without their concurrence, attempt ſomething in favour of the *Venetians*, they ſent word to *Huſeim Paſha*, who was at that time admiral of the *Turks*, that they would remain faithful to the *Othman* court, even to death; but they had many *Latins* among them, united with the *Venetians* by conſanguinity and religion, for whoſe fidelity they could not anſwer. They had in this a double view, namely, if their town was taken by the *Venetians*, and recovered by the *Turks*, they might have the excuſe ready at hand, that they gave the admiral notice of it; and withal, might not deſtroy their fellow-citizens, who, if the thing ſhould come to be known by the *Turks*, would be expoſed to the moſt cruel torments. But before this letter could reach *Huſeim Paſha*, the *Latins*, having information of the matter, and thinking there was no time to loſe, diſpatched a ſwift frigate to the *Venetian* admiral, and entreated him by all that was ſacred, to come as ſoon as poſſible to their aſſiſtance; that their deſigns being now diſcovered, they were utterly undone, if he made the leaſt delay: and he had no occaſion to fear any thing, for the town was quite defenceleſs, without ſoldiers, without ammunition, or proviſions, and rent by factions, wanted nothing to make it ſurrender but the ſight of an enemy's fleet. Upon the receipt of this meſſage, the *Venetian* admiral ſails to *Chios* with all expedition, and finds the town, as the *Latins* had repreſented, deſtitute of all things neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege, attacks it, and obliges it in a few days to ſurrender. At that time *Damad*, or *Silahdar Haſſan Paſha* lived there, not as governor, but as a private perſon, having been ſent thither by the Sultan to get a maintenance out of the revenues of the Iſland, till he could be provided with a Baſhalic. This man, finding the general in want of all things made the defence of the place impracticable, aſked the Mufti, who lived there as an exile, whether a *Muſulman* could, with a ſafe conſcience, deliver up to the Chriſtians a place that had no ſoldiers to defend it, in order to preſerve the *Mahometan* inhabitants? And receiving the *Fetvah*, that the good thereby done to ſo many *Muſulmans*, would blot out the ſin committed againſt the law of the *Koran*, by the delivery of the place, he ſurrenders the town to the *Venetians* upon certain conditions on the fourth day of the ſiege. After the taking of the place, the *Venetians*, grown more inſolent, equally exerciſe cruelties upon the *Greeks* and *Turks*; and knowing of the meſſage ſent by the former to *Huſeim Paſha*, they ſhut up all their Churches, confiſcate the goods of many, forbid the *Grecian* prieſts the exerciſe of their function and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and will ſuffer none but *Latins* to confeſs dying *Greeks*, or to baptize infants. The *Grecians* uſe entreaties, tears, and even preſents; and deſire only the free uſe of their churches, and of their religious worſhip; but all in vain, they can obtain nothing, and are ordered to frequent the *Romiſh* churches, unleſs they had a mind to paſs for rebels, and deſpiſers of the *divine* worſhip. But this inſolence of the *Latins* did not long remain unpuniſhed. For, the next year the *Venetians* being driven out of the Iſland by *Medzomorto*, the *Latins* earneſtly deſired to be re-admitted into that fraternity from whence they had excluded the *Greeks*; but, far from obtaining their requeſt, they could hardly avoid the moſt ſevere puniſhments. It is a law in the *Othman* Empire, that every country that has been but three hours in the enemies poſſeſſion, is taken away from the antient owners, and confiſcated to the Sultan's treaſury, like a new-conquered country, unleſs the inhabitants redeem it at a ſet price. In conformity to this cuſtom, a fine of fifteen hundred purſes being ſet upon the whole Iſland, the *Greeks*, who were quite oppreſſed with ſo great a burden, ſend a petition to the Sultan, repreſenting, that before *Damaſcus* was conquered by the *Muſulman* arms, they paid tribute to the governors of the Empire; and from that time had never refuſed to pay it, nor attempted any thing to the prejudice of the ſtate; that they were not the authors of the late calamity, but the *Latins*, who were united with the *Venetians* in blood and religion, had betrayed their town to the enemies. Laſtly, they pray, that in conſideration of their perpetual fidelity to the *Othman* Empire, the ſum laid upon them may be leſſened; and, to the end they may live with greater ſafety in the Iſland, that the *Latins* may be deprived of the privilege of citizens; or, if that could not be, that the Sultan would grant them ſome deſert Iſland, where, leaving their country, they would willingly go and ſettle with their wives and children;

ſound the Chriſtian inhabitants had deſerted him, and were endeavouring to deliver up the city without his conſent, as he had but few *Turkiſh* ſoldiers in the garriſon, that he might not be made priſoner himſelf, ſurrenders the city to the *Venetians*; who, to oblige the Pope, ſhut up the *Greek* churches; prohibit divine ſervice in the *Greek* tongue, and other rites uſed in the Eaſtern church; induce the inhabitants partly by force, and partly by artifice, to conform to the *Roman* church; and act in many other things contrary to juſtice, and the terms of the ſurrender.

They would likewiſe have taken *Smyrna*, if they had not been diſſuaded by the Chriſtian conſuls from beſieging it.

XLVII. Having ſettled at pleaſure the affairs of the city, they reſolve to beſiege *Smyrna*. But the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Dutch* conſuls, meet the *Venetians* in their march, and intercede for the city, urging, among other reaſons againſt the ſiege, that almoſt all the Warehouſes at *Smyrna* were full of the merchandize of their reſpective nations, which, if they ſhould be loſt in the ſiege by fire, or plundered by the ſoldiers, would be required by their maſters with intereſt of the *Venetians*. Upon this the *Venetians*, fearing the reſentments of the other Chriſtian Princes, deſiſt from their deſign, and return home with their fleet.

The ſucceſs of the *Venetian* arms in *Dalmatia*.

XLVIII. In *Dalmatia* the *Venetians* under the command of *Delfini* beſiege and take *Ciclut*, and ſubdue *Clobuch*, in vain attempted the laſt year. The Seraskier, *Soliman Paſha*, governor of *Albania*, twice aſſaults *Ciclut*, in order to recover that city, but is as often repulſed. For which reaſon being accuſed of negligence to the Sultan, he is deprived of his poſt, and ſucceeded by *Elmas Mehemmed Paſha*, governor of *Boſnia*, lately ſent from the Seraglio.

The *Arabs* revolt from the Sultan, and attempt to ſeize *Mecca*.

XLIX. While the *Othman* arms are thus unſucceſsful in all parts of *Europe*, a new ſedition breaks out in *Aſia*. *Emir Mahomet*, one of the Princes of the *Arabs*, with ſeveral thouſands of his countrymen, attacks, plunders, and deſpoils the caravan going in pilgrimage to *Mecca* (22); and afterwards increaſing his

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children; for they choſe rather to live poorly and quietly, than to be in perpetual fears of loſing their lives and eſtates. Finally, they add, that it was impoſſible for them to be ſafe in the Iſland as long as they remained mixed with the *Latin* inhabitants, who had lately betrayed the town to the *Venetians*, and would again aſſiſt them to recover the ſame. In the mean time, *Huſeim Paſha*, who was admiral when *Chios* was taken by the *Venetians*, had been raiſed to the dignity of prime Vizir; and he being aſked by the Sultan, declared that what the *Greeks* alledged was true, and mentioned at the ſame time the information they had formerly given him. The Sultan, hearing the truth of the caſe, reduces the fine upon the Iſland to five hundred purſes; but condemns all the *Latins* to the gallies, and orders all their effects to be diſtributed among the *Greeks*. And this rigorous ſentence, juſtly due to their unheard-of cruelty, would have actually been put in execution, had it not been for the *French* ambaſſador; who partly by his credit, and partly by money, got them exempted from the gallies; which yet he could obtain upon no other condition, but that they ſhould publickly renounce the *Romiſh* religion, and declare themſelves members of the *Greek* church: by which means, there is not at preſent the leaſt ſign of a papiſt in *Chios*.

(22) to *Mecca*] Becauſe the wandring *Arabs*, who dwell in the deſerts between *Damaſcus*, *Bagdad*, and *Mecca*, uſed to infeſt chiefly the road to *Mecca* with their robberies, and to render it dangerous to the ſuperſtitious pilgrims who went to viſit *Mahomet*'s tomb, the *Othman* Emperors, after *Selim* I. conqueror of *Egypt*, reſolved to pay them out of the treaſury of the women's Seraglio forty thouſand crowns of gold, by way of bounty, under the title of *Surre*; on pretence as if it was paid them for ſecuring the roads and the fountains, but in reality becauſe they could not otherwiſe remove ſuch troubleſome enemies from the *Haji's*. But the money not being ſent for ſome years on account of the *Hungarian* war, *Sheik Emir Mehemmed*, with his tribe, incloſed the pilgrims in a narrow place, and forced them to ſurrender for want of water. There was then taken among them the moſt illuſtrious Chan of *Tartary*, *Selim Gierai*, whom they obliged, by the *Arabian Rai*, to carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the uſual bounty; and ſo they diſmiſſed him upon his parole. He ſtood to his engagement, and never ceaſed to importune the *Othman* court, till the arrears of the *Surre* were ſent to the *Arabs*; which done, they remained quiet.

number, beſieges *Mecca* it ſelf; but, touched with reverence of the place, and the dread of ſacrilege, retires from the city. *Shambeglerbeg*, attended with the other Baſhas of thoſe parts, is ſent againſt him; but the *Sheikh* defeated them all by a ſtratagem, and puts them to flight.

Sultan *Ahmed* dies. † *Jan.* 27. H. 1106.

L. The Empire being ſurrounded with ſo many enemies, and almoſt entirely ruined, Sultan *Ahmed* in the year 1106 leaves it †, and reſigns his ſoul to *Mahomet*, having lived fifty years, and reigned four.

A. C. 1695. His character.

LI. In his temper and diſpoſition, he entirely reſembled his brother *Soliman*, but of a little more lively, though not acute genius. He liſtened to the calumnies of his domeſtic officers, and upon their inſtigation, for ſlight cauſes often changed the moſt important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of juſtice, though by reaſon of his ſtupidity, he could not perfectly diſcharge the function of a judge, and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, repreſented to him.

His perſon.

LII. He had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round beard, inclining to red, with a mixture of black, a ſtrait and long noſe, a middle ſtature, a prominent belly, occaſioned by the dropſy rather than fat. With reſpect to devotion and zeal for *Mahomet*'s law, he is ſaid to have have been a little inferior to his brother *Soliman*.

The End of the Reign of AHMED II.

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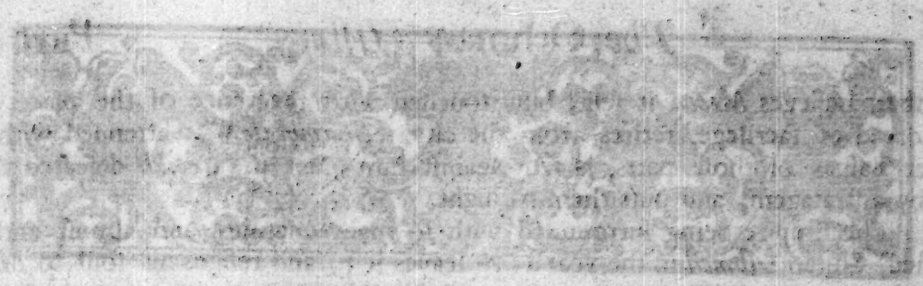

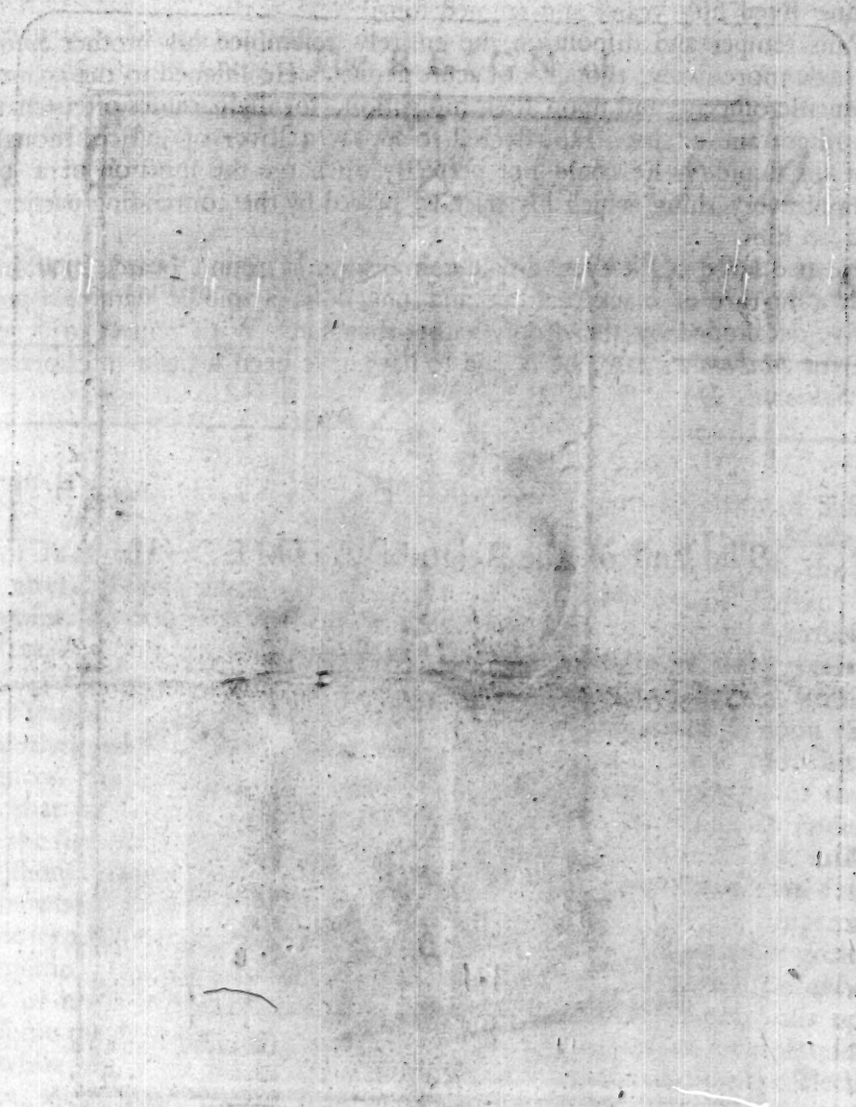

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C.Du. Bosc. Sc.

Mustapha II.

Twenty Second EMPEROR *of y* TURKS

in the Year 1696.

From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of
MUSTAPHA II,
Twenty-fecond EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. IV.

I. THE ſame thing which had been attempted upon the death of Sultan *Soliman* by *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, namely, to deprive *Muſtapha*, the ſon of *Mahomet* IV. of the throne, is attempted, though not with the like ſucceſs, after *Ahmed*'s death, by the Vizir, *Sham Tarabolus Ali Paſha*. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of ſtate, and perſuades them to place *Ibrahim*, ſon of the deceaſed *Ahmed*, a Prince of three years old, on the throne, alledging, it was unjuſt to deprive the ſon of a Sultan, who had died in the imperial honour of the crown due to him, and confer it upon the ſon of his brother, who, though a Sultan, had been depoſed. Theſe were his publick pretences, but in reality his only reaſon for defrauding *Muſtapha* of the throne was, that he feared to loſe the abſolute power he had enjoyed under *Ahmed* over the ſtate and army, if a Prince of vigour, and verſed in affairs, as *Muſtapha* was, ſhould obtain the crown; and had rather have an infant Sultan for his pupil, in whoſe name he might do what he pleaſed, than under an Emperor of ripe age be expoſed to perpetual danger. But before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nezir Aga* (1), the *Haznadar baſhi*, informs *Muſtapha* of the death of his brother, and releaſing him from his confinement, calls upon him to aſſume the *Othman* ſceptre. *Muſtapha* readily agrees to ſuch grateful advice, and while the Vizir is conſulting with the Nobles concerning the election of a Sultan, aſcends the throne without his knowledge, and is firſt ſaluted Emperor by *Chalyk* * *Ahmed Aga* (2), and *Cherkies* * *Mahomet Aga* (3).

Sultan *Muſtapha*, ſon of Sultan *Mahomet*, choſen Emperor.

II. They

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(1) *Nezir Aga*] At that time the *Haznadar baſhi*, or keeper of the treaſure depoſited in the women's Seraglio. He was, ſhortly after raiſed to the dignity of *Kyſlar Aga*, and had ſo much intereſt with the Sultan, that the Vizirs were more afraid of him, than he of the Vizirs, and the Sultan himſelf would do nothing of publick concern without conſulting him. This authority he retained by his great ſkill the whole reign of Sultan *Muſtapha*; but after this Prince was depoſed, he was in no ſmall danger, becauſe the rebels laid upon him the blame of all that had been done amiſs by Sultan *Muſtapha*. He had however his life granted him by Sultan *Ahmed*, and being diſmiſſed the court, was ſent into *Egypt*.

(2) *Chalyk* * *Ahmed Aga*] a native of *Red Ruſſia*, who being taken in the *Caminiec*-expedition, and turning *Mahometan*, was admitted into the Sultan's palace, where, in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet* IV. he was *Chobadar** to *Muſtapha*, then a child. When this Prince aſcended the throne, he was made, firſt *Kiuchiuk**, then *Baiuk*, *Imrahor*; and being diſcharged from this office, becauſe he would not accept of a *Paſhalic*, he is even now held in great eſteem; and, though but a private perſon, lives in a ſplendid manner

The Vizir, who deſigned to procure the election of *Ibrahim*, deſiſts from his purpoſe.

II. They having informed the reſt of the courtiers of the election of the new Sultan, all meet to pay their obeyſance to the Emperor, who was extremely acceptable to them. The Vizir alſo, finding his deſigns prevented by the domeſtic officers, with joy in his countenance haſtens with *Janizar-Agaſi*, and other great men, to kiſs the Sultan's robe.

The Sultan taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts, confirms him in his poſt. He declares that he will command the army himſelf, and adminiſters the affairs of ſtate alone.

III. *Muſtapha* taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts againſt him, and deferring his revenge till another time, confirms him in his poſt, and preſenting him with a robe lined with ſables, orders him to take a particular care of the affairs of the war and ſtate.

IV. On the third day after his advancement, the Sultan publiſhes his intention to command the army himſelf againſt the *Germans*; and, not content with the name of Emperor, endeavours to diſcharge all the duties of a good general. He examines, orders, and diſpoſes every thing; appoints new and large cannon to be caſt; procures, and diſtributes the warlike proviſions and military pay; convenes his father's miniſters and officers, diſperſed in diſtant countries, and rewards them with new poſts, in which they might diſtinguiſh themſelves to more advantage; ſends for *Elmas Mahomet Paſha* (4), his father's moſt beloved chamberlain, out of *Boſnia*, appointing him firſt *Niſhanji Paſha* (5), afterwards *Rekiub*

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manner at *Conſtantinople*. The name of *Chalyk** was given him, becauſe he had the ſcar of a wound in his face; for that is the appellation given to thoſe that have been maimed or wounded, as *chalyk** *Cholak**, who had loſt a hand or ſome fingers. But it is to be obſerved, that this man muſt not be confounded with another of the ſame name, who, in the beginning of the reign of *Ahmed* III, was made *Janizar-Aga* by the rebels; concerning whom, ſee more hereafter.

(3) *Cherkies* Mahomet Aga*] He was brought away in his youth from *Chercaſſia** to *Conſtantinople*, among other captives, and educated in the palace. When *Chalyk** *Ahmed Aga* was diſmiſſed from his office, he was made *Buiuk Imrahor* in his room; and thence ſent with three *Tugs*, firſt to the government of *Aleppo*, then to that of *Jeruſalem*, and afterwards to ſome others. Upon the recovery of the *Morea* by the *Turks*, he was made Seraskier of that Kingdom, as he is at preſent, and is in great reputation at the *Othman* court for his juſtice and courage.

(4) *Elmas Mahomet Paſha*] an *Aſiatick*, or, as ſome ſay, a *Boſnian* by birth, who was in his youth taken into the palace by Sultan *Mahomet* IV. for his great beauty, and ſirnamed by him *Elmas*, *The Diamond*. There was a report, that he ſerved the Sultan a great while in his deteſtable luſts; but many, as well *Turks* as *Chriſtians*, believe, that there was no other proof of *Mahomet*'s being addicted to that vice, than his giving particular names to the handſomeſt of his chamberlains. After the death of Sultan *Mahomet*, he had ſeveral places at court, and at laſt was ſent by Sultan *Ahmed* II. with three *Tugs* to the Paſhalic of *Boſnia*. Being raiſed by Sultan *Muſtapha* II. to the dignity of Vizir, he ſeemed to have the better of the *German* army in two battles; firſt, when he obliged *Veteran* to retreat; and next, when he rendered fruitleſs the deſigns of *Frederic Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, againſt the camp. At laſt, at the battle of *Zenta*, where the *Turks* were defeated by Prince *Eugene*, being too eager to engage the *Germans*, contrary to the opinion of the reſt of the wiſeſt of the Baſhas, he was ſlain by the ſeditious Janizaries as the army was preparing for battle. An ingenious *Turkiſh* poet has expreſſed the time of his death by the following chronoſtick; *Nemche** *curſhunile ſildi elmaſi*, i. e. *The* German *hath cleaned the diamond with lead:* in which ſaying, alluſion is made both to the common opinion, that lead corrodes diamonds; and alſo to this other notion, that a diamond cannot be brought to its luſtre except it is poliſhed in lead. He was, after all, a diſcreet, ſober, and prudent man, free from covetouſneſs (a rare inſtance among the *Turkiſh* Nobility,) a great lover of juſtice, except when reaſon of ſtate cauſed him to ſupplant or diſpatch out of the way rivals, though innocent. He had not indeed ſo much experience in military affairs as other old Baſhas, becauſe he had been brought up in the palace; but what he wanted in education, was ſupplied by good natural parts, by a wonderful readineſs in counſels, and great quickneſs in executing affairs; ſo that by common conſent, he paſſed for no ill general of an army.

(5) *Niſhanji Paſha*] He that ſets the mark or character of the Sultan's name to all the orders that are made. This is reckoned a very honourable place in the *Othman* court, eſpecially if it be held by a Baſha with three *Tugs*, who is upon that occaſion ranked among the *Cubbè*-Vizirs, and in the *Galibè Divan*

Rekiab Caimacan (6), and ſending him to conduct the *Valide Sultana* from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*, makes *Haſſan Paſha*, his kinſman, governor of *Diarbekir*, and confers various honours upon thoſe who had ſerved the Empire under his father. By this means he gains ſuch a reputation, that not only all the *Muſulman* common people revered him as a ſun riſing from behind a thick cloud, and promiſed themſelves more auſpicious times, but alſo the ſoldiers voluntarily came in great numbers, and offered themſelves to ſerve in the campain under ſo prudent an Emperor.

V. All things being thus ready, and the hearts as well as hands of the ſoldiers prepared to renew the war, early in the ſpring he commands the Vizir to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, diſguiſing himſelf, he mixes among the ſoldiers, impatient to know what was publickly ſaid of himſelf, the Vizir, and the reſt of the great men. And finding from thence, that himſelf, though ſuperior in many points to his uncles and predeceſſors, is ſuppoſed ſtill to be ſubject to the Vizir, and the latter to diſpoſe of every thing at pleaſure, without his knowledge or conſent, he is more incenſed againſt the Vizir, and reſolves to puniſh him as he deſerved. For this purpoſe, he carefully examines all the warlike ſtores, and perceiving the carriages of the larger cannon not to be ſufficiently ſtrengthned with iron, at firſt ſharply reprimands the Vizir, who endeavouring to clear himſelf, and caſt the blame upon *Topchi* baſhi* (7), this laſt is ſent for, and being ordered to declare the reaſon of it, anſwers, he had deſired of the Vizir as much iron as was wanted; but meeting with a repulſe, had appointed the carriages to be made as the Vizir thought proper. The Vizir not being able to deny this, the Sultan immediately commands him to be put to death, and his body to be expoſed for three days in *Sirik Meidan*, under pretence indeed that he had been negligent in executing the Sultan's orders, but in reality, becauſe he had endeavoured to raiſe young *Ibrahim* to the throne, to the excluſion of *Muſtapha*.

He views the camp unknown, and puts the Vizir to death.

VI. He is ſucceeded by *Elmas Mehemed Paſha*, who had been before made *Caimacan*, a perſon of a moſt acute genius, and worthy of the dignity he poſſeſſed; but not without the murmurs of the old Baſhas, who reſented that they ſhould be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs.

Elmas Mehemed Paſha made Vizir.

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Divan ſits with them, by the ſide of the chief Vizir, under the place where the Sultan ſits to hear whatever affair is in agitation: but if this office is poſſeſſed by *Ekitugly*, or one having two *Tugs*, or by an *Effendi*, it is not then in ſo much eſteem. All the Sultan's *Ferman's*, that are ſent from the Vizir's chancery into the provinces, and thoſe that are iſſued out of the *Teſterdar*'s offices concerning *Malie* and *Beglyk*, muſt be read to him by *Niſhanji Khaſſedar Effendi*, and then he confirms them, by ſetting down on the top the *Tura*, or character of the Sultan's name; and lays up copies of them in particular cheſts. But when any orders are made that do not reach beyond the walls of *Conſtantinople*, they need not have the *Niſhanji Paſha's* confirmation, but it is ſufficient if the Vizir's name is ſet to them. The *Niſhanji Paſha* muſt be always near the Sultan's perſon; nor can he go from thence, or be ſent any where, unleſs he is turned out: but when the Vizir goes upon any expedition without the Sultan, he gives him a *Niſhanji Effendi*, in his room to accompany him.

(6) *Rekiab Caimacan*] When the Vizir is engaged in warlike expeditions, the Sultan always appoints one of the *Cubbè* Vizirs, or Paſha's that have three Horſe-Tails, *Rekiab Caimacan*, which ſignifies a *deputy ſtirrup-holder*; whoſe buſineſs it is to diſpatch all ſuch affairs relating to the Sultan, as properly belong to the Vizir to decide, and with the ſame authority as the Vizir himſelf; except that he cannot create new Baſhas, nor turn out the old, nor put any of them to death: but upon the Vizir's return, his authority ceaſes. There is another *Caimacan*, namely, that of *Conſtantinople*, who is uſually appointed when the Sultan and the Vizir are abſent; and of him I have given an account in (Part I.)

(7) *Topchi* baſhi*] overſeer of the cannon and ſoldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kombaraji's*, or gunners. And over theſe alone his authority reaches; but the gun-powder, balls, and the reſt of the artillery, are under the juriſdiction and care of the *Jebeji baſhi*.

The Sultan commanding the army, takes *Lippa*, and cuts off general *Veterani* with ſeven thouſand Imperialiſts.

VII. However, regardleſs of theſe murmurs, Sultan *Muſtapha* paſſes with his army the *Danube* near *Belgrade*, attacks and takes *Lippa* and *Titul*, and demoliſhes their walls. While he is thus engaged, he is informed by the parties of *Tartars* ſent before, that *Veterani*, with ſeven thouſand *Germans*, had marched out of *Tranſylvania*, and was eight hours diſtant from the Imperial army, commanded by *Frederic Auguſtus* (8), Elector of *Saxony*. To intercept this body, he ſends *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with the light-armed forces, and immediately follows with the reſt of the army. With great ſpeed he comes the ſecond day in ſight of the *Germans*, whom, I juſtly doubt, whether I ſhould not call the ſtouteſt and moſt couragious troops which *Germany* ever produced; for without any ſign of fear, and as if their bodies were invulnerable, they halt, and in a manner challenge to battle the *Turks* pouring upon them in prodigious numbers. *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, though much ſuperior to the Imperialiſts in ſtrength, not thinking proper to venture an engagement before the Sultan was advanced, orders his troops only to annoy the enemy in ſlight skirmiſhes, and prevent their eſcape. In the mean time, the Sultan comes up with the Janizaries and the reſt of the army, and commands the *Germans* to be fiercely attacked on all ſides. On the other hand, the Imperial general having left two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn out but five thouſand men into the field, who ſuſtain the ſhock of the *Turks* with ſuch bravery, that the latter, after a ſhort oppoſition, are obliged to retire. The Sultan, who ſaw the battle at a diſtance, perceiving ſo unexpected a ſlaughter of his men, is enraged, and advancing, kills ſeveral of the run-aways with his own hand, and urges the reſt to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the ſhame of their repulſe, paſſing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack the carriages with which the enemy's camp was ſurrounded, and penetrate it, though with a conſiderable loſs. Upon this *Veterani* leads back his troops towards the camp, falls upon the plundering enemies, and makes a greater ſlaughter than before. The *Turks* again fly without ſtopping, till met by the Sultan, who firſt ſeeing *Shahyn Mahomet Paſha*, reproaches him in theſe terms: "He was guilty of a great error, who firſt called thee *Shahyn*, "that is, the *Falcon*, ſince thou doſt not, like a Falcon with rapacious talons, "ſtrike at thy enemy's head; but, like a Crane, draw after thee a company of "fugitives." *Shahyn Mahomet Paſha*, touched with theſe reproaches, joins with *Mahmud Beg Ogli* in rallying the flying troops, and with a reſolution to conquer or die for their ſuperſtition, they make a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janizar Aga*, on his part, attempts the ſame, who being alſo ſeverely reprimanded by the Vizir, aſſembles the diſperſed Janizaries, and leads them back into the field. Thus both ſides meet the third time with equal reſolution, and fight ſeveral hours with great ardour, excited the one ſide by the hopes of victory, the other hy deſpair. But the *Germans* would probably have withſtood all theſe ſhocks, if *Veterani*, their general, in the heat of the battle, had not been obliged by a wound to quit his horſe, and go into a waggon. For upon ſight of this the Imperialiſts, deſtitute of a commander, retire, though in ſuch order, that it was doubtful whether they could be ſaid to fly or retreat. The Sultan, ſeeing it difficult and dangerous to purſue and drive them to deſpair, privately orders the Mufti, by ſome means, to keep the *Othman* army in the camp. He, in obedience to his ſovereign's command, declares by a *Fetvah*, that it is contrary to the precepts of the *Koran* to purſue too cloſely a flying enemy; and that he would loſe the crown of martyrdom, who ſhould periſh in ſuch a caſe.

The bloody victory of the *Turks* over the *Germans*.

VIII. And indeed the Sultan had many important reaſons for reſtraining his ſoldiers from any further engagement. A thouſand horſe and fifteen hundred

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(8) *Frederic Auguſtus*] This Prince is called to this day by the *Turks Naal-Kyran*, the horſe-ſhoe-breaker, on account of his great and wonderful ſtrength in his youth: for, that it is uſual among the *Turks* to give particular names not only to generals, but alſo to whole nations, is what I have obſerved in (Part I.)

foot,

foot, ſlain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the ſlaughter of the chief officers of the army, *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*, *Shahyn Mehemed Paſha*, *Ibrahim Paſha*, brother of *Coja Jafer Paſha*, and others of the firſt rank, with about ten thouſand *Turkiſh* common ſoldiers: the victory it ſelf too would have ſeemed very doubtful, if on one hand, the preſence and reſolution of the Sultan had not brought back the *Turks* from their flight; and on the other, the misfortune of *Veterani* diſheartned the *Germans*; and a much greater loſs was to be feared, if the remains of the Chriſtian forces, being too cloſely preſſed, ſhould be reduced to deſpair, and obliged to exert their whole ſtrength in this extreme danger. Content therefore with repulſing this body of *Germans*, and thereby gaining the reputation of a victory, he neglects the reſt of their army, and leads back his forces towards the *Danube*.

IX. In this march, he takes *Loguſh* and *Caranſebes*, places deſtitute of defence, and demoliſhing them, returns triumphant through *Walachia* to *Conſtantinople*. In his return he takes ſome towns.

X. *Frederic Auguſtus* does likewiſe the ſame, though without any trophies; and having rather ſhown his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, ſends them into winter-quarters. The other Imperial general retires to winter-quarters.

XI. The *Poles*, either on account of the King's indiſpoſition, or deterred by their former loſſes, do not venture to paſs the *Tyras*, or re-enter *Moldavia*, imagining they had done enough in ſecuring their conqueſts, and defending their borders from the perpetual incurſions of the *Tartars*. For however the *Othman* Empire was preſſed in other parts, theſe ſcourges of Chriſtendom never failed one year to lay waſte *Podolia* and *Pocutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants priſoners, who confided too much in the *Poliſh* arms. The winter was hardly over, when the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, *Caplan Gierai*, aſſaulted the very ſuburbs of *Leopolis*, carried off four ſmall cannon from the gate of the city, was like to have ſeized general *Yablonowski* himſelf, and with above fourteen thouſand priſoners returned ſafe to *Crim-Tartary*. The *Poles* being negligent, the *Tartars* ſhamefully ravage the kingdom.

XII. *Peter* the firſt, Czar of *Ruſſia*, in order to the entire deſtruction of this peſt, in the beginning of the ſummer attacks *Azac*, the ſtrongeſt bulwark of *Crim-Tartary*; but his ſoldiers not being yet uſed to ſieges, and the garriſon making a ſtout defence, he is forced to retire without ſucceſs. The Czar of *Ruſſia* beſieges *Azac*, but retires without ſucceſs.

XIII. The war is much more fortunately carried on this year againſt the *Venetians*. For the *Venetians*, flushed with their conqueſt of *Chios*, having claimed the dominion of the ſea, and the *Turkiſh* ſhips not daring to appear, frequent conſultations were held at *Conſtantinople* for the reſtoration of their naval power. In theſe the name of *Medzomorto* (9), at that time only the commander of *Medzomorto* defeats the *Venetian* fleet.

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(9) *Medzomorto*] an *African*, born of *Mooriſh* parents, who in his youth exerciſed piracy in the *Mediterranean* from the Port of *Tunis*, and by that rendered himſelf very famous. He was at laſt overpowered in an engagement with the *Spaniards*, and taken by them; when he received ſo grievous a wound, that his life was deſpaired of; and upon this occaſion the name of *Medzomorto*, or half-dead, was given him, which he retained ever after. For he recovered from that wound, and, after a ſeventeen years impriſonment, being redeemed by his countrymen, returned to his old trade, and did great damage to the *Chriſtians*. He was afterwards, for his good ſervices at *Chios*, made captain of a galley, and at laſt commander of the whole *Turkiſh* fleet. Being brought to *Adrianople*, when the Sultan was going to confer upon him the honour of admiral, and three *Tugs*, he particularly deſired to have leave to inſtruct the ſailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at ſea, and bind them to ſome certain regulations; and, not to be obliged, on account of the honour of Vizir conferred upon him, to quit his ſailor's habit: both which requeſts he obtained. The Vizirs often tried to prevail upon him to change his dreſs, telling him, that ſo mean a habit was unſuitable to his dignity: but he always remained immoveable, and, when they preſſed him, uſed to tell them, that he thought it much more unſuitable for the fleet of ſo great an Empire to be left a prey to a few fiſhermen; which diſgrace was owing to nothing but this, that the latter minded arms, and the miniſters of the other nothing but dreſs and finery; that, for his part, he made the honour of Vizir,

of a ſingle ſhip, made a figure, who being ſent for to the council, not only diſſuaded them from a defenſive war, which ſeemed moſt adviſeable to the majority, but propoſes the recovery of *Chios* as very practicable, promiſing, to regain it himſelf, provided four Sultana's were allowed him, with part of the galleys. *Amuje Ogli Huſeim Paſha*, the admiral, treats him with contempt, as a preſumptuous and raſh man, and even mixes his reproaches with threats. But the Seraskier, *Myſirli* (10) *Ogli*, who had the chief command of the war againſt the *Venetians*, having maturely conſidered the affair, approves of the ſcheme, and delivers to *Medzomorto* the ſhips and eight galleys, which he wanted. With theſe *Medzomorto* ſails towards *Chios*, followed ſoon after by the whole *Turkiſh* fleet, and not only bravely withſtands the *Venetian* fleet appointed for the defence of the haven, but repulſes them, and having taken two of their ſhips, obliges them to fly. The garriſon ſeeing the *Turks* approach, at firſt, through confidence of their own ſtrength, contemn them; but afterwards, perceiving their ſhips driven from the port with loſs, their courage entirely fails them: for they had never imagined that the *Turkiſh* fleet, ſo often defeated, could be repaired ſo ſoon; or that there was any perſon among the enemy who could teach them the art of naval war: wherefore their care and buſineſs had been, not to fortify the city, but to ſhut up the *Greek* Churches, and commit other things in breach of their faith. Finding therefore that ſince their fleet was forced to quit the ſea, their walls, expoſed on all ſides, could not be defended againſt ſo numerous an army, they turn their reſentments from the *Turks* upon the *Greeks*, calling them perfidious traytors, and not only reſolve to plunder and kill them, but even clearly diſcover their deſign. The *Greeks* ſeeing themſelves in this dangerous ſituation, at firſt endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants by perſuaſion, and incline them to mercy by ſtrong demonſtrations of their fidelity; but perceiving the calumnies of their Catholick countrymen to prevail above truth, for want of a better method, privately inform the Seraskier, that they are in great danger, and the *Venetians* have reſolved their deſtruction, becauſe, ſtruck with a panic, they found none elſe to caſt the blame of their approacing misfortune upon. But this very thing proved the occaſion of ſafety to the *Venetians*. For the Seraskier imagining it to be a ſtratagem of theirs, in order to prevent an unexpected defeat, reſolves to examine the affair, before he undertakes the ſiege, and ſo gives the *Venetians* time to imbark their effects, and after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to eſcape by means of their ſhips that were in the harbour.

The *Turks* at laſt take the city of *Chios*, and oblige the *Roman* Catholicks to conform to the *Greek* religion.

XIV. On the morrow, the Seraskier diſcovering the flight of the *Venetians*, takes the city, and dragging out from their lurking-places, ſuch *Venetians*, as their ſhips could not contain, puts them to death. He obliges the *Chians*, who had profeſſed the *Roman-Catholick* religion, either to conform to that of the *Greeks*, or ſubmit to captivity; reſtores to the *Greeks* the churches taken from them, ſhutting up thoſe of the *Roman* Catholicks; and thus, not with a divine interpoſition, returns upon the *Venetians* all the acts of tyranny, they had exerciſed on the *Greeks*.

The *Venetians* gain a victory.

XV. This misfortune was a little alleviated by a victory gained by the *Venetians* near *Argos*, in which four hundred *Turks* are ſaid to have been ſlain. But this was of no great detriment to the *Turks*, nor of much advantage to the *Venetians*.

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Vizir, beſtowed upon him by the Sultan, to conſiſt not in dreſs, but in bravery; and would ſhow, how much the moſt ſlovenly men excel the beſt dreſſed ladies.

(10) *Myſirli ogli*] A very famous *Turkiſh* General, for bravery, next to *Coja Jafer Paſha*, mentioned above. He fell with the reſt of the *Turkiſh* officers, by the hands of the rebellious ſoldiers, when preparations were making for the battle of *Zenta*, to the Sultan's great grief. He was named *Myſirli ogli*, either becauſe he was born of *Egyptian* parents, or of parents that lived in *Egypt*.

XVI. In

XVI. In *Arabia*, the rebel *Sheikh Emir Mahomet* is defeated by the Pilgrims guarded by *Arſlan Paſha* Governor of *Tripoli*, with ſome troops, and his followers are put to flight; thus that inteſtine and dangerous wound of the *Othman* empire is healed, though but for a time.

The rebellious *Arabs*, attacking the Caravan going to *Mecca*, are defeated.

XVII. Sultan *Muſtapha* conſidering theſe victories as fortunate omens of his reign, upon his return to *Adrianople*, ſolemnizes them with great pomp, and appoints *Mrdzomorto*, by whoſe conduct he had recovered *Chios*, Admiral, and rewards the reſt, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this campain, by ſuitable honours and poſts.

The Sultan triumphs on account of his victories, and gives *Medzomorto* the command of the fleet.

XVIII. Having afterwards iſſued out his commands through the whole empire for raiſing a more numerous army, the *Turks*, animated by their late ſucceſſes, liſt themſelves voluntarily in great numbers. But before he had made the neceſſary preparations for the campain, *Frederic Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, at the end of the year 1107, with the Imperial army beſieges *Temiſware*. The Sultan hearing of this, immediately leads his army over the *Danube*, with a reſolution either to relieve the city, or force the *Germans* to a battle.

Frederic the Emperor's general beſieges *Temiſware*.

The Sultan marches to its relief.

H. 1107.

A. C. 1696.

XIX. The *Germans*, on the approach of the Sultan, abandon the ſiege, rather reſolved upon, than begun, and encamp in a proper place, about eight hours diſtance from the city, where they are determined to wait for the *Turks*.

The Imperialiſts abandon the ſiege of *Temiſware*.

XX. The *Turkiſh* forces ſoon after come up, and pitch their tents in ſight of the enemy, though beyond cannon-ſhot, and by the advice of *Tekeli*, who attended upon the Sultan, fortify their camp with ſtrong ramparts, and wide and deep trenches, a method unuſual with the *Turks*. The firſt day is ſpent within the camp in conſultations, without, in skirmiſhes between the *Hungarian* light-armed troops, and the *Turkiſh* advanced guards. The night at laſt reſtraining the fury of both, and each party returning to their camp, the Imperial general reſolves upon a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with ſucceſs. There lay between the camps a place full of briars, ſurrounded with a marſhy ground, ſcarce an *Italian* mile broad, but ſo thick, that a perſon unarmed could not paſs through it. Here, he orders in the night, four and twenty different paths to be ſecretly cut, and at day-break, the army, with as many cannon, to paſs through, and attack the *Turkiſh* ramparts. The ſoldiers execute theſe orders with great bravery, and having diſcharged their cannon three or four times, make a vigorous aſſault upon the Sultan's camp. But unfortunately for the *Chriſtians*, they happened upon the ſtrongeſt part of the camp, where the Janizaries and *Myſirli* were placed. They penetrate indeed their trenches, where they kill a great number of the Janizaries and *Egyptians*, and by their firſt onſet, ſtrike ſuch a terror into the whole army, that the Sultan himſelf left his tent, and retired to the fartheſt part of the camp; but ſoon after, they are overpowered by the *Turkiſh* troops, and repulſed with great loſs.

Are repulſed with loſs in their attack upon the *Turkiſh* camp.

XXI. This victory was chiefly gained by the bravery of the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Paſha*. For when the army was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion by the ſudden irruption of the *Germans*, he firſt with his men ſtopped the foremoſt of the *Germans*; now preſſing to the Sultan's pavilions, and by his example, incouraged the Janizaries; upon which, the *Germans*, finding themſelves incapable of ſuſtaining the fury of the *Turks*, were obliged to return to their own camp, with the loſs of many of their men, and the twenty four cannon they had brought. When the *Germans* had begun to give way, they were entirely routed by three thouſand *Boſtanji* (11), who were advanced to the aſſiſtance

The Vizir's bravery in this battle.

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(11) *Boſtanji*] The firſt *Turkiſh* Emperors, who made it their chief ſtudy to have an army inured to labour, and accuſtomed to hardſhips, inſtituted this order, with this view chiefly, that while they exerciſed themſelves in the culture of gardens, they might be accuſtomed to heat, and cold, and other iujuries of the air, and ſo become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From theſe *Boſtanji* were choſen the *Azapli*, or the *furious*, who were the loweſt kind of ſoldiery among the *Turks*, and out of them the

assistance of the Janizaries, and who, though designed only for the Sultan's guard, and never employed before in any other military service, yet were sent in this danger by *Mustapha*, and ordered to assist the rest of the army. However, the *Germans* did not fall unrevenged. For there were slain in this battle, besides *Mustapha Pasha*, Governor of *Temisware*, the Vizir's brother, and many other *Turkish* officers of the first rank, with several thousands of Janizaries and *Egyptians*. Of the *Germans*, those only were killed, whom the Janizaries had found within the trenches.

Both armies retire to their winter-quarters.

XXII. The rest of the Imperial army, that they might not publickly own themselves conquered, stand the whole day in order of battle, and immoveably wait the approach of the *Turks*. But the Sultan, who was particularly careful to animate his soldiers with the name of victory, not thinking proper to try again the hazard of a battle, orders the Mufti, by his *Fetvah*, to prohibit any farther engagement, and a few days after, marching his army towards the East, puts an end to the campain. The *Germans*, though very near, would not venture to interrupt the retreat of the *Turks*, imagining they had done enough in guarding their own borders, since the *French* war, in which they were involved, would not suffer them to extend their conquests.

The death of *John Sobieski* king of *Poland*.

† *June* 6. H. 1107.

XXIII. The *Poles*, besides their usual slowness, have a new pretence for delaying their campain this year, on account of the death of their king *John Sobieski*, who being exhausted by a long indisposition, died on the 17th of the month *Zylcade* †, in the year 1107. For being employed in the cabals which always attend the election of a king of that nation, they had not leisure to think of raising an army, much less of making a campain.

A. C. 1696.

The Czar of *Russia* takes *Azac*.

† *July* 6.

XXIV. While the *Poles* continue inactive, *Peter* Czar of *Russia*, having sent for persons skilled in the arts of war and gunnery, from *Germany*, marches again with a larger and better disciplined army to *Azac*, and assaults the walls with such vigour, that the garrison, of which the *Russian* sword had left but four hundred, on the 18th of the month *Zilhije* †, surrendered the castle. Their example is soon followed by the garrison of *Luttich*, opposite to *Azac*, who deliver up that castle to the Czar upon terms.

The *Venetians* are obliged to abandon the siege of *Dulcineum*.

XXV. In the mean time the *Venetians* besiege *Dulcineum*, a port famous for being the receptacle of the *Turkish* pyrates; but though they had bravely repulsed *Omerbeg* Basha of *Arnaud* from their trenches, they are obliged by the valour of the garrison to raise the siege, and probably they would have received a notable defeat, the Seraskier marching against them with his whole force, if *Liberaki*, who had been appointed by the *Turks* Prince of *Mania*, had not drawn his countrymen by a stratagem to a revolt from the *Othman* Port. For the Seraskier perceiving his forces by this means weakened, and the enemy strengthened, chose rather to retreat, than commit the safety of all *Greece* to the hazard of a battle. The *Venetians* on the other hand content with defending their former acquisitions, proceed no further, but apply themselves to repair *Hexamilon* in order to secure the *Morea*.

Medzomorto regulates the *Turkish* fleet.

XXVI. At sea *Medzomorto Capudan Pasha* regulates the fleet agreeably to the maxims of the naval science, in a manner before unknown to the *Turks*, avoids the battles, in which his predecessors used to engage without regard to the wind or situation; and perpetually watches the motions of the *Venetian* fleet. The *Venetians* do the same, and struck with admiration at the conduct of the *Ca-*

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the Janizaries, this being the direct step to that order: But now, when the militia of Janizaries is easily made up out of their own sons, and such as willingly inlist themselves, the antient manner of chusing them out of the *Bostanji* is laid aside; and they are put to no other employment, but to guard the Sultan's palace, to dress his gardens, and to row his barge. They have a commander named *Bostanji bashi*, whose dignity and office I have before explained. It never happened but this once, under Sultan *Mustapha* II, that they were used as soldiers, to repel the assault of the *Germans*, when attacking the *Turkish* camp.

pudan,

pudan, dare not hazard an engagement; ſo that one obſerving the others deſigns, they perform nothing memorable the whole year.

XXVII. The months proper for military expeditions being paſſed, *Muſtapha* leads back his army to *Adrianople*, and disbanding his forces removes to *Conſtantinople*, where he enters with ſuch pomp, that if you had conſidered the magnificence only, you would have imagined his victories had been much ſuperior to thoſe of the conquerors of *Conſtantinople*, *Hungary*, and *Egypt*. The greateſt ornament of this triumph was, the twenty four cannon taken from the *Germans* this campain, which led the way, and were followed by ſeveral noble captives taken in the former battle againſt *Veterani*. The Sultan returns in triumph to *Conſtantinople*.

XXVIII. On the third day after this publick entry, the Sultan viſits the monument of *Ebi Eyub enſari* with great appearance of devotion, and agreeably to the cuſtom of the *Turkiſh* Sultans is girt with a ſword by the *Sheik* of that *Jami*. Theſe ceremonies being finiſhed, he applies himſelf wholly to warlike preparations by land and ſea with the utmoſt expedition, orders ſix and thirty large ſhips of war to be built, deſigning part of them againſt the *Venetians*, and part againſt the *Ruſſians*, (who ſince the taking of *Azac* had begun to build a fleet in the *Euxine*-ſea) with a great number of galleys and galliots; honours *Medzomorto* the admiral, habited in a mariner's dreſs, with three *Tugs*, and gives him the command of the whole ſea and all the iſlands; and alſo confers handſome rewards upon the reſt of the ſea-officers, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in former expeditions. For the ſupply of his army he inrolls twelve thouſand *Yamagy* Janizaries (12) and eight thouſand *Levendi* (13); exerciſes both the ſoldiers and courtiers every day in *Kiagizchane* (14) in the uſe of muskets, cannon, mortar pieces, darts, jirids, and other arms common among the *Turks*; and having publiſhed a *Ferman*, orders the whole ſtrength of the Empire to be aſſembled at *Adrianople* about *Hedrelez* †. Thus *Conſtantinople*, which under the preceeding Sultans regarded nothing but pleaſure, and ſeemed in the midſt of war to be diſſolved in luxury, under *Muſtapha*'s adminiſtration reſounds nothing but arms, and not only preſages, but even promiſes itſelf future conqueſts from what were already gained. The Sultan is girt with a ſword, and orders great preparations of war to be made.

† St. *George*'s day.

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(12) *Yamagy* Janizaries] This is the name given to thoſe men that are newly liſted among the Janizaries, to make up their number; or that are taken into that order out of other cohorts: and it is moſt commonly done, when they are ſent to garriſon a town newly taken. For in that caſe, if there is occaſion, for inſtance, for ſix thouſand men, not above two or three *Oda's* from the *Ojak* are ſent; and as they do not amount to above three thouſand, the other three thouſand taken from the *Jebeji's* or other new ſoldiers, under the title of *Yengicheri* imagy*.

(13) *Levendi*] This name, which is a corruption of ſome *Italian* word, denotes the marine-forces, conſiſting of very diſorderly men, hardly obedient to their commanders. Formerly they were very unſkilful, but having been brought under ſome regulation by *Medzomorto*, they ſeem to have loſt ſome of their fierceneſs and barbarity. The uſual number of them in time of peace is fourteen thouſand: but in caſe of a war with the *Venetians*, or upon ſome other occaſion, there are new ones raiſed for ſix months; as many as the Sultan pleaſes, who have an allowance each of twenty five dolars for thoſe ſix months. There are admitted among them *Greeks* and other *Chriſtians*, which is not allowed in any other branch of the *Turkiſh* militia.

(14) *Kiagizchane*] The *Paper-ſhop*, or *houſe*, a very pleaſant place, not far from the ſuburbs *Eyub*, near a river of the ſame name, that runs into the inner port; ſo called, becauſe there formerly ſtood paper-mills. But thoſe being demoliſhed, a foundary was built in their room, where are caſt mortars, balls, and other kinds of ammunition. The river that waters that place, has in the bottom of it mud, very good to make bricks and tyles, and in ſuch plenty, that it hath afforded materials for the many buildings that have been for ſo many ages erected in *Conſtantinople*. It is encompaſſed with very large and fine meadows, in which the Sultan's horſes are turned out to graſs in the ſpring, about St. *George*'s day, which is alſo a holiday among the *Turks*, being called by them *Hedrelez*.

XXIX. The

The Sultan rejects the peace offered by the Emperor.

XXIX. The Sultan relying on this confidence, though informed that the *French* had concluded the war with the Emperor, rejects the peace offered by the *Dutch* and *English* ambaſſadors, boaſting he was alone, without the aſſiſtance of the *French*, able not only to repreſs, but ſubdue the Emperor.

He marches his forces to *Belgrade*, and muſters his army.

XXX. At the approach therefore of that pleaſant ſeaſon, which uſually invites the ſoldiers into the field, he departs from *Conſtantinople* with the ſame magnificence, with which he had entered it, and marches through *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*. There he again muſters his army, and finds, that beſides the families and ſervants of the Baſhas, (a very great number of which always attend a *Turkiſh* camp,) and a multitude of other uſeleſs perſons, he had an hundred and thirty five thouſand men in the military liſt.

The Emperor orders Prince *Eugene* to act upon the defenſive.

XXXI. To this ſtrong army the Emperor had only oppoſed forty ſix thouſand *Germans* under the command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in a battle without compulſion, and only to guard *Peterwaradin* and the other fortreſſes of *Hungary* ſituated upon the *Danube*.

After a general council, the Sultan reſolving to attack *Tranſylvania*, paſſes with his army over the *Danube*.

XXXII. The *Turks* having extorted the intelligence of this from the priſoners by torture, a private conſultation is held firſt at *Belgrade* between the Vizir and principal Baſhas, and afterwards a *Galibe Divan* in the preſence of the Sultan. Here it is determined to leave the *Save* on the right, and to paſs the *Danube* below *Belgrade*, and avoiding the *Germans*, who were encamped near *Segedin*, to penetrate with the army into *Tranſylvania*. This advice was ſuggeſted by *Tekeli*, who was preſent in the *Turkiſh* camp, and perſwaded the Sultan and great officers, that it would be eaſy to reduce *Tranſylvania*, both becauſe the *Hungarian* rebels, who were now aſſembled from ſeveral parts, to the number of fifty thouſand, offered to join their troops, and becauſe the Emperor's General had ſent for moſt of the garriſons in *Tranſylvania* to reinforce his army, and left the cities almoſt empty, and deſtitute of defence.

Muſtapha by the advice of his Council marches his forces to *Titul*.

XXXIII. The Sultan approving this advice, and paſſing the *Danube*, orders his army to move towards *Temiſware*; but in his ſecond day's march hearing the *Germans* were advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a *Galibe Divan*, and enquires whether it was proper to purſue the reſolution of the former Council to invade *Tranſylvania*, and leave the enemy behind, or to march againſt the enemy, and engage them in open field, wherever they ſhould be found. The former opinion ſeemed to the majority very hazardous in the preſent ſtate of affairs, ſince there was reaſon to apprehend, that while the *Othman* forces were engaged in *Tranſylvania*, the *Germans* would beſiege *Belgrade*, and take that city, though ſtrongly fortified and garriſoned, if no relief could be brought. The Vizir urged this particularly, and obſerved, that the *Othman* troops could not without extreme danger make any attempt, till the enemy's army was defeated. On the other hand, if the *Germans* were once driven out of the field, all *Hungary* would lie open to the *Turkiſh* arms. This advice being recommended to the Sultan by the authority of the giver, they unanimouſly reſolve to attack the enemy; for which purpoſe the Sultan not only marches his land-forces towards *Titul*, but orders his fleet in the *Danube* with his ſhips of burthen to ſail as far as the *Tibiſcus* †. In the mean time the *Germans* perceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain, on which *Titul* ſtands, though their army conſiſted of but ſix thouſand horſe, determine bravely to reſiſt, and not ſell the paſſage of the *Tibiſcus* to the enemy without blood.

† *Theiſſe*.

The Sultan returns to the *Tibiſcus* with great loſs.

XXXIV. For this purpoſe the Imperialiſts fortify the banks of the *Tibiſcus*, extending in a plain under the caſtle with ramparts and cannon, and reſolutely ſhow themſelves to the enemy in the rear from an eminence. The Sultan ſoon after approaches, and ſeeing ſo ſmall a body as it were provoking him to battle, orders ſeveral Baſhas to paſs the river in open boats, (which the *Turks* uſe to carry with them in waggons for the forming of a bridge,) and to animate his men, promiſes fifty gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and twenty five for the head of every *Chriſtian*. They obey with great alacrity, not knowing, the banks were fortified by the *Germans*, paſs over without any order. The *Germans* are quiet at firſt, but when they ſee ſeveral thouſand *Turks* had paſſed,

and the enemy's number to increaſe, they diſcharge their cannon upon the thickeſt of them, and mounting their ramparts, attack them ſword in hand. The unexpected noiſe of the cannon had now ſtruck the Janizaries with ſuch terror, that forgetting they were ſoldiers, like women they thought of nothing but flight, by which however they could not prevent the ſlaughter of three thouſand of their companions, nor would one have eſcaped, but that by good fortune the fleet came up juſt at the very time, and ſeized the iſland in the middle of the *Tibiſcus*; by which means the Janizaries firſt paſs over from the lower part of the river, and march in a body againſt the *German* ramparts. A ſecond but lighter engagement enſues. For the *Germans* ſeeing the Janizaries continually increaſe, and that there was reaſon to fear, if they perſiſted to defend the place of battle, they might at laſt be overpowered with numbers, abandon their ramparts, and retire firſt to the city, and afterwards, mounting their horſes, to *Cobila* (15). Some hundreds of the *Haiduks* make a little longer ſtay in the caſtle, but in the evening ſetting fire to it, follow their companions. After the *Germans* were gone, the Sultan with the reſt of his forces paſſes the *Tibiſcus*, and in his march the Vizir, to remove the remembrance of the defeat, expoſes the dead bodies of about three hundred *Germans*, having before buried thoſe of the *Turks*.

XXXV. Without ſtaying long there, he marches the ſame way, where the *Germans* had joined each other, and finding in the plain of *Cobila* the bridge left intire by the *Germans*, (whether through deſign or haſte is uncertain) he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and ſtops at the lower part of the iſland formed by the *Iſter* oppoſite to *Peterwaradin*. Here is held a third conſultation, in which it is determined immediately to run a bridge over the *Danube*, and beſiege *Peterwaradin*, which might be done in two days, and before the Imperialiſts could march thither from *Segedin*. The third conſultation, in which the Sultan reſolves to beſiege *Waradin*.

XXXVI. The inhabitants of that city had indeed a bridge intire in the lower part of the iſland, but ſo ſtrongly guarded, that the *Turkiſh* army could not come near, much leſs paſs over it without great loſs. Upon this account they vigorouſly begin a new bridge, and would have finiſhed it the ſecond day, if ſome of the garriſon of *Peterwaradin*, who had concealed themſelves in that iſland with four cannon, had not thrown an unexpected obſtacle in their way. For when they ſaw the *Turks* near the bank, they diſcharge their cannon upon them, piercing ſeveral boats, upon which the bridge was founded, and though upon the coming of the *Turkiſh* fleet, they are ſoon obliged to abandon the iſland, yet they prevent the *Turks* from finiſhing their work till the third day, and by that means occaſioned them to loſe the victory, which ſeemed already to be in their hands. Slight ſkirmiſhes during the building of the bridge.

XXXVII. For on that day Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who immediately on notice of the march of the *Turks*, had prepared for the relief of *Peterwaradin*, and left *Segedin*, with great expedition, arrived at ſun-ſet, and paſſing by the camp of the enemy, haſtens towards the head of the bridge. *Shahbaz Gierai* Sultan (16), ſon of *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* (17), had attempted indeed to Prince *Eugene* with great hazard comes to the relief of *Peterwaradin*.

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(15) *Cobila*] So the *Turks* call that large plain, which reaches from the Town of *Titul*, between the *Danube* and the *Tibiſcus* to *Segedin* and *Peterwaradin*.

(16) *Shahbaz Gierai*] He was afterwards, upon the death of his father, *Selim Gierai*, advanced to the dignity of Chan, under *Ahmed* III. Sultan of the *Turks*; but ſhortly after preparing to make war againſt the *Chercaſſians**, he was ſurprized by them in an ambuſcade, and ſlain. Of which I have given an account in (Part I.)

(17) of the *Tartars*] It will not be improper to relate here a remarkable inſtance of dexterity and nimbleneſs performed then by the *Tartars*. Both armies ſtood oppoſite to one another near *Peterwaradin*, and neither of them could be informed of the others number, nor had they been able to take any priſoner on either ſide. In this exigency, Sultan *Muſtapha* writes a civil letter to *Shahbaz Gierai*, deſiring him to take, ſome way or other, if it was but one *German* ſoldier, priſoner, by whom he might

to ſtop his ſwift progreſs, and with twelve thouſand *Tartars* had burnt up all the graſs far and near; but theſe obſtacles could not repreſs the ardor of the *Germans*, though they met with no lake, ſpring, river, or field for the ſpace of nine hours.

The fourth conſultation of the *Turks*.

XXXVIII. This unexpected arrival of the *German* army obliges the *Turkiſh* officers to conſult again, whether it was proper to attack the *Germans* in ſuch an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they ſhould aſſault the *Othmans* in their trenches.

The advice of the young Vizir worthy a man of years.

XXXIX. The Prime Vizir endeavours to the utmoſt of his power to perſwade the Sultan to the former opinion, alledging, it was not for the honour of the *Othmans* to ſuffer the enemy, who was ſo near, to eſcape without trying the fortune of a battle, ſince the Muſulman forces were not brought into the enemy's country, merely to ſhew themſelves to their enemies, and then retire, but to gain the lawrels promiſed by the prophet, and recover the provinces unjuſtly ſeized by the infidels. That God, by inſpiring the ſoldiers with an impatience for battle ſcarce to be reſtrained, ſufficiently declared, that now was the time to defeat the enemy; and if this ardor ſhould be repreſſed, and the army, eager to fight, be prevented, it was to be feared, this exceſſive caution would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, or excite in them thoughts of ſedition for want of other employment.

It is diſapproved of by the reſt.

XL. This opinion of the Vizir is boldly oppoſed by *Coja Jafer Paſha*, a veteran ſoldier, who had been preſent in almoſt all the battles of the *Turks* with the *Germans*, from whence he had acquired a great experience in war. He vehemently contended, that the army might not be led into the field againſt the *Germans*, urging, he had obſerved, that the *Germans*, as often as they had fought in an open plain, in which they could at pleaſure open their front, advance or retire, had always gained the victory. That they had never before brought ſo great an army into the field as at preſent, and formerly had defeated the *Othman* troops, though much ſuperior in number, when oppoſing them in the manner preſcribed by the Vizir. That they were now commanded by a prudent general of approved valour and conduct in war, who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a battle, unleſs he had placed his own troops to ſuch advantage, as to be in a manner ſure of victory. Almoſt all the Baſhas inclining to this opinion, the Vizir, that *Jafer's* authority might not prevail over his, uſes all his efforts to engage the Sultan on his ſide, ſtiling *Jafer Paſha* an infidel and traytor, who gave ſuch advice concerning the *Othman* affairs, as if he was bribed by the enemy to prevent all wholſom counſels, which ſhould be ſuggeſted to the Sultan. *Jafer Paſha* ſeeing the Vizir's obſtinacy could not be ſurmounted any other way, deſires the Sultan to remove the curtain (18), and hear in perſon what he ſhould ſpeak for the advantage of the *Othman* intereſt. This being granted, *Jafer* ſays, " But if, Brother, you have gained ſuch

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might be informed of the ſtate of the enemy's army. This ſeemed indeed difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, becauſe the *German* army ſtood then in order of battle; and to make any attempt againſt it, would have been running one's head againſt a wall of braſs, and writing upon it a memorial of raſhneſs in bloody characters. The *Tartarian* Prince however willing to comply with the Sultan's deſire, calls a council, and orders four hundred choſen men, who willingly undertook to go round the *German* camp, and to bring away ſome of the enemies, either from among the baggage or the carriages. Theſe dividing themſelves into ſeveral bodies, attack the *German* army, but not without loſing many of their men, and would have been obliged to return without ſucceſs, had not three brothers, who had deſired to be of the party, though againſt their father's will, attacked the rear of the *German* wing, with ſo much dexterity, as to take a man from the midſt of his companions, and carry him away bound.

(18) curtain] When, upon an expedition, a Council is called by the *Turks*, to which they give the name of *Galibe Divan*, the Sultan ſits indeed in it, but in a particular place, with a *Perde*, that is a curtain drawn before him, where he can hear all that is ſaid, without being ſeen.

" high

" high favour with God, that he inſpires you with counſels, and aſſures you of " the events, you cannot blame me for not knowing or believing it. But if it " ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty, let him order me to be bound here, and kept in " irons, and you to attack the enemy in the manner you think proper. If, with- " in an hour or two, you do not betake yourſelves to a ſhameful flight, I will " ſubmit to ſuffer as a ſtinking dog, whatever puniſhment his Majeſty pleaſes to " inflict upon me. But if (which God forbid) my prediction ſhall be fulfilled, " may you give an account of your imprudence to God and the Sultan. But " whatever ſhall happen to myſelf, I ſtill adhere to my former opinion, and with " due fidelity to the *Othman* empire, adviſe not to engage the enemy in open " battle, but only to fortify our trenches, and ſuſtain their attacks with our can- " non and ſoldiers. By this means, though God ſhould not favour us with vic- " tory, I can certainly promiſe, we ſhall not be defeated. But if, paſſing by us, " they ſhall advance to the head of the bridge, I am of opinion, we ought not to " march againſt them openly, but ſurround them with ramparts. For thus they " will be obliged, by want of proviſions, to leave their camp, and attack us in " our works, or paſs the *Danube*, and ſo give us an opportunity of falling upon " them in their paſſage, without any hazard."

By the advice of *Jafer Paſha*, the council and battle are deferred till next day.

XLI. The Sultan, though he approved of *Jafer*'s advice, yet adjourns the council till the next day, in order to further deliberation, but commands his men to keep in their trenches, and thoſe, who of their own accord, had already taken the field, to be beaten back by the *Chauſhis** (19). This not being ſufficient to reſtrain the ardor of the ſoldiers, impatient for a battle, the Mufti proclaims by a *Fetvah*, that whoever ſhould fall in that battle, would not only loſe the expected crown of *Shehadet*, but alſo eternally lament their unſeaſonable boldneſs in hell.

The Vizir endeavours by all means to perſwade the Sultan to a battle,

XLII. Mean while, Prince *Eugene* had advanced as far as the bridge, and having refreſhed his ſoldiers, almoſt dead with thirſt and heat, with the waters of the *Danube*, had drawn them up, in which poſture remaining all night, the *Turkiſh* camp is ſeized with great terror, the ſoldiers, who were reſtrained from fighting, thinking it to proceed from their general's fear, and to be the worſt of omens to the *Othman* affairs. The Vizir perceiving this, and having got a proper occaſion of expoſing *Jafer Paſha*, informs the Sultan of the ſpeech and commotions of the ſoldiers, and makes uſe of them as an argument how prejudicial the Baſha's too great caution had been to the *Othman* intereſt, and how fatal it would prove, unleſs immediately obviated. For that there was no hope, that the enemy could be deprived of forage and proviſions, ſince they had the *Danube* open, and were maſters of all the towns above them, from whence they might be plentifully ſupplied. That in the mean while, time was loſt, ſo large an army languiſhed in a fruitleſs idleneſs, the treaſure was exhauſted, and the enemy every day ſtrengthned.

or to beſiege *Segedin*, which is approved of by the Sultan.

XLIII. Since his Majeſty therefore would not engage the enemy in the field, he adviſed to leave them behind, and march towards the *Tibiſcus*, and beſiege *Segedin*; ſince he certainly knew, that this city was not ſo ſtrongly fortified nor garriſoned, as to be able to hold out againſt the *Othman* army ten days. That when this town was ſubdued or deſtroyed by fire, the whole country between the *Tibiſcus* and the *Danube* would be reduced to the *Turkiſh* obedience, and the neighbouring countries of *Hungary* might be laid waſte by the *Tartars* and

ANNOTATIONS.

(19) by the *Chauſhis**] There are two ſorts of *Chauſhi** among the *Turks*. Some, who, in time of peace are employed at *Conſtantinople* in the Vizir's Divan, to receive the petitions of the plaintiffs, to carry the Vizir's orders to the Judge, and to put his ſentence in execution. The others, called *Alai Chauſhi*, are made in time of war, and their office is much the ſame as that of *Aides de Camp*, in regular troops. The buſineſs of theſe is to carry, in a battle, the Vizir's orders to the Baſha's, to take care that the horſe ſtand in a ſtrait line, to give the ſignal of battle, to ſound the retreat, and the like; in which they are not half ſo dextrous as the regular *Aides de Camp*.

light-armed ſoldiers. That the *German* army was heavy and ſo fatigued as not to be able to follow, much leſs purſue the *Turkiſh* troops; and he could not imagine, that if *Segedin* was once beſieged, the *German* general would ſhut up his forces in ſuch a place, where, if any accident ſhould happen, they muſt periſh for want of ſuſtenance. That they might indeed beſiege *Belgrade*, but there was a garriſon of eighteen thouſand men in that city, and a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient for three years. Beſides, the *Othman* army and fleet were near, and if there ſhould be any urgent occaſion, though the enemy ſhould cut off all other paſſages, ſupplies might be thrown in by the fleet. That nothing more was required for the ſecurity of that city, but the removal of the governor *Amucje ogli Huſſein Paſha*, an infirm and weak man, and the placing in his room, *Coja Jafer Paſha*, whoſe abilities in the defence of cities, ſufficiently appeared in the ſiege of *Temiſware*. The Vizir ſuggeſted this change to the Sultan with this particular view, that he might recover his authority in the army, and remove *Jafer Paſha* from about the Sultan, and afterwards take occaſion to put him to death, and by his example, warn the other Baſhas not to oppoſe him too warmly for the future. But the Sultan ſuſpecting the Vizir's deſign againſt *Jafer Paſha*, approves of his advice relating to the ſiege of *Segedin*, but orders *Jafer Paſha* to continue in the camp, ſince his counſels would be of more uſe in the army, than in the cities.

The Sultan marches towards *Segedin*.

XLIV. On the morrow therefore, which was the 5th of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, at day-break, he commands the drums and trumpets to give the ſignal, and marches the Janizaries and the reſt of his forces the ſame way, by which the *Germans* had come, toward the *Tibiſcus*, and on the firſt day, having performed nine hours march, pitches his camp near a lake, where the *Germans* had likewiſe encamped, but allows theſe troops, who were deſirous of proceeding further, the liberty of doing ſo. On the ſecond day, having left *Kiuchuk* Jafer Paſha* (20) at the bridge over the lake with five hundred choſen horſe, he goes on before day to *Zenta*, a caſtle, little known before, on the banks of the *Tibiſcus*, with ſuch expedition, that he ſeemed to fly, rather than march.

Prince *Eugene* follows the *Turks* with great reſolution.

XLV. Prince *Eugene*, the *German* General, hearing the *Tubulchana*, and imagining the ſignal to be given, and the *Turkiſh* army drawn up, had, in the mean while marſhalled his forces, and waited without motion for the enemy till noon; but being informed by the *Hungarian* ſcouts, that the *Turks* had decamped, and were marching to *Zenta*, taking this to be a flight, he orders the *Hungarian* horſe to march before, and leaving behind, the heavier and weaker part of his army, with only ſixteen thouſand men, immediately follows the *Hungarians*, with more courage than prudence.

The *Hungarian* light-armed troops take *Jafer Paſha*.

XLVI. The *Hungarians* that night firſt lighting upon *Kiuchuk* Jafer*, left to guard the bridge over the lake, find the *Turks* ſleeping, and expecting nothing leſs than the enemy, ſurround and cut them off, ſo that of the whole party, only the Paſha's chamberlain eſcaped by means of the darkneſs; who immediately flies to the *Turkiſh* camp, which had already reached *Zenta*, and informs the Vizir that the *German* army was very near, and had deſtroyed his maſter, with all the troops under his command.

The Vizir makes a falſe repreſentation to the Sultan.

XLVII. The Vizir, to prevent the report of this misfortune from raiſing new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the perſon, who brought the news, and ſignifies to the Sultan, that the *Hungarian* horſe in the Emperor's ſervice had appeared in the rear, and ſurpriſed *Jafer Paſha*, but were afterwards defeated by the *Tartars* and other *Othman* forces. He had ſcarce told the Sultan this,

ANNOTATIONS.

(20) *Kiuchuk* Jafer*] A different perſon from the above-mentioned *Coja Jafer Paſha*, who was afterwards ſlain at the battle of *Zenta*. Being taken by the *Germans*, he ſincerely gave them an account of the ſtate of the whole *Othman* army, and for that piece of treachery was ſet at liberty after the battle, without ranſom. When he returned to the Sultan, he not only received no puniſhment for his treachery, but was reſtored to his former dignity; However, he died the next year.

when ſeveral troops of *Tartars*, which had accidentally ſeen the *Hungarian* horſe, come, and report in the camp, that the whole *German* army were purſuing the *Othman* forces with the utmoſt ſpeed, and were now very near.

XLVIII. Whereupon the Sultan commands his men immediately to halt, and thoſe, who were marched before towards *Segedin*, to return, and a bridge as ſoon as poſſible to be run over the *Tibiſcus*; which was done in four hours, the boats brought in waggons, and by the *Turks* called *Dumbe*, ſerving for the foundation. About noon, the Sultan paſſes over firſt himſelf on horſeback, whoſe ſtirrup, when the Vizir came according to cuſtom to kiſs, he is refuſed by him with a ſtern countenance; and commanded to take care that the cannon and the whole camp be conveyed ſafely over, for if the enemy ſhould take but a ſingle waggon, he ſhould for it ſuffer an infamous death.

The Sultan being informed by the *Tartars* that the enemy was purſuing him, paſſes the *Tibiſcus* in great terror.

XLIX. The Vizir knowing that every thing could ſcarce be conveyed over in two days, and perceiving his ruin inevitable, if he ſhould ever appear before the Sultan, at firſt ſends over eight cannon with their ammunition, that he might not ſeem openly to neglect the Sultan's command, but afterwards ſtops the reſt, allowing the Spahis and Baſhas troops to paſs, alledging, that the cannon and beſt part of the army ought to be detained, in order to defend the camp, if the enemy ſhould attack it in the rear. Theſe therefore continue to paſs all night and the next day till dinner-time.

The Vizir contrary to the Sultan's intention, conſults about fighting the enemy.

L. About noon the Vizir is informed that the *Germans* were advancing, and but three hours diſtant from the camp; upon which, that he might not periſh without his rivals, he ſends for all the Baſhas, who had already paſſed over with their troops, under pretence of conſulting with them; they, being obliged to obey the Vizir's order, return on foot with only three *Chocadars**, the baggage on the bridge not allowing a paſſage for the horſe. The Vizir ſeeing them all aſſembled, except the *Caimacan*, *Buyukli Muſtapha Paſha*, ſays to them, "The "enemies, brethren, are advancing, and are now in ſight. We who refuſed to "fight when we had a convenient place and opportunity, ſhall now be forced to "do it without thoſe advantages. We have but one happineſs left us, the pro- "feſſion of the *Mahometan* religion, which declares us *Gazi*, if we conquer, "and *Shehid*, if we die valiantly fighting; privileges of ineſtimable value! Now "as one of theſe waits for me this day, I thought it unreaſonable to defraud "you, my brethren and fellow-ſoldiers, of ſuch a felicity. Behold therefore "Paradiſe open before you, which I command you by the divine injunction to "enter, and enjoy the delights promiſed by our prophet. But if you refuſe to obey "the law and my orders, my ſword (which he ſhewed) ſhall deprive you both "of the life, which you deſire, and the Paradiſe, which you deſpiſe."

By an artful ſpeech he ſacrifices the other Baſhas with himſelf to the *Germans*.

LI. All the Baſhas, ſince they durſt not in the middle of the camp oppoſe the Vizir, nor could find any method of eſcape, pretend conſent and obedience, and retire to their ſtations in the trenches; where perceiving the circuit of them too extenſive to be conveniently defended by the forces which remained, they begin to form a leſſer trench within the greater, the ſoldiers indeed complaining and reproaching the Vizir to his face with their imminent danger, but obeying his orders, ſince their own ſafety was concerned. While they are thus employed, the *German* army appears, which the Sultan ſeeing approach, and cover the whole plain, is inraged, and ſending frequent *Chatiſherifs** to the Vizir, commands him inſtantly to ſend over the Janizaries, cannon, and ammunition, and not delay, though all the other carriages ſhould be taken by the enemy. But the Vizir conceals theſe orders from the Baſhas, and anſwers the bearer, he had rather die fighting valiantly, with his drawn ſword, than be ſhamefully put to death by the Sultan, and ſtops the Janizaries from paſſing. The Vizir is aſſiſted in this by the negligence of the herdſmen, who ſeeing the *Germans* advancing, drive at the ſame time all the cattle, appointed for drawing ſo many thouſand waggons, into the river above the bridge, by which the waters being intercepted, force the cattle againſt the bridge, which the fearful animals endeavouring to mount, ſink three of the boats, and thus overſet the foundation, ſo that but one man, and that with difficulty, could paſs upon planks laid acroſs.

The Baſhas and ſoldiers murmur, but obliged to obey.

The Imperialists advancing, fall directly upon the *Turks*.

LII. The infantry of the Vizir being thus ſeparated from the Sultan, the *German* forces arrive about three hours before night, and without viewing the fortifications of the *Turkiſh* camp, imagining it only guarded by the carriages, fall directly upon the *Turks*, but are repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The *Germans*, perceiving the camp, contrary to their expectation, fortified by a double trench, and two rows of waggons chained together, and that the *Turks* on this ſide the river were much ſuperior to them in number, deſiſt from their aſſault, and reſolve to attack the enemy another way.

But this method being found dangerous, they try another.

LIII. The weſtern banks of the *Tibiſcus* are high and ſcraggy, the ſpace between which, when the river is ſwoln by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which in the ſummer ſubſides, and leave a ſandy piece of ground of thirty paces. Prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug here a little below the *Turkiſh* camp, and ſeveral regiments to paſs that way, and fall upon the *Turks* within, while he attacked them without. And leſt the Sultan ſhould repair the bridge, and ſend ſupplies to his army, he plants two cannon near the head of the bridge, and quickly demoliſhes it. The Sultan likewiſe places four of the eight cannon, which the Vizir had ſent over before the battle, on the bank, and orders *Arnaud Abdi Kiehaya* (21) to fire upon the enemy, but with ſuch confuſion, that he had no trench to ſecure him, and imagined a place covered with reeds, which was before him, would ſufficiently protect him from the enemy. But the *Germans* obſerving from whence the *Turks* fired, immediately plant their cannon againſt them, after the bridge was deſtroyed, kill ſeveral of the engineers, and wounding others, oblige the *Turks* after one diſcharge to remove their cannon.

The Janizaries kill the Vizir and the reſt of the Baſhas.

LIV. And indeed every thing ſeemed to conſpire the deſtruction of the *Turks*; for the Janizaries themſelves having repulſed the enemy from the outer trench, retire into the inner, which though not finiſhed, they had carried in ſome meaſure from one bank to the other, and declare their reſolution to defend it. The Vizir, with the reſt of the Baſhas, endeavoring to divert them from their purpoſe, firſt by entreaties, and afterwards by force, their deſpair turning into rage, they fall upon their own friends, and deſtroy all their officers, Vizirs, and Baſhas, and ſpare none but their Aga, *Deli Balta ogli*.

The Imperialiſts ſtorm the camp of the *Turks*, and cut them off to a man.

LV. In the midſt of theſe conteſts, part of the *German* army ſeize the outer trench, abandoned by the *Turks*, and feign to attack the inner, only with intent to draw the enemy from that ſide of the camp, which lay towards the river, and by diſpoſing their own men on the bank, render the aſſault more eaſy. Theſe appearing ſuddenly at the head of the bridge, the *Turkiſh* forces are ſtruck with great terror, and employ their whole ſtrength in that part, in order to prevent the *Germans* from entring. While both ſides fight here with equal reſolution, the party of *Germans*, which was come from the plain, ſeize the inner trench, which was negligently guarded, and fall in the rear upon the enemy, fighting at the river. The *Turks*, incloſed and preſſed on all ſides, fight bravely, though in confuſion, and at laſt, having in vain attempted a paſſage for eſcaping, in the ſpace of three hours, are all ſlain to a man.

The battle bloody on both ſides.

LVI. However, they did not fall unrevenged; for ſix thouſand of the *Germans* are ſaid to have periſhed in that expedition: On the other hand, of the *Turks* were

ANNOTATIONS.

(21) *Arnaud abdi*] This man was an *Albanian* by birth, and upon that account, had the name of *Arnaud* given him. He was inferior to none of the *Turks* in courage and political knowledge. From a *Chauſh* baſhi*, he was raiſed by *Elmas Mehemed Paſha*, to the dignity of *Kiehaia*; and, after the battle of *Zenta*, that the remains of the army might not diſperſe themſelves for want of a commander, and fall into the enemies hands, all the reſt of the Baſha's having been ſlain, he was honoured by the Sultan himſelf with three *Tugs* near *Temiſware*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Belgrade*: and as the manner of having the honour conferred upon him, was ſuch as had never happened before to any other Baſha (for all the Baſhas are created, not by the Sultan himſelf, but by the Vizir, from whom alſo they receive the badges of their authority) he obtained upon that account, the name of *Padiſha chiragy**. I hear he is ſtill alive, and enjoys the Paſhalic of *Myſr* or *Egypt*.

ſlain, as appeared by the liſts, fourteen thouſand and ſeventy Janizaries, with their Aga, *Deli Balta ogli* (22), ſeventy three *Ojak* and *Baluk Agalari*, three thouſand ſeven hundred *Topdgi's*, and *Jebegi's*, ſeven thouſand *Arnaudi* (23), the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Paſha* himſelf, fifteen Baſhas honoured with three Horſe-tails, the moſt eminent of whom were *Coja Jafer Paſha*, *Myſirli ogli*, famous for the taking of *Chios*, *Kioſe Halil* Baſha of *Diarbekir*, *Fazli* Paſha of *Sarcu-li* (24), twenty ſeven Baſhas honoured with two or one Horſe-tail, beſides a great number of the uſual attendants upon the *Turkiſh* camps, ſo that the whole number of ſlain may be juſtly computed (25) at above thirty thouſand.

LVII. The

ANNOTATIONS.

(22) *Deli Balti ogli*] His father was *Janizar-aga*, and he arrived himſelf to the ſame dignity, after having paſſed through the ſeveral poſts in the army: at laſt he was, for the ſake of his virtues, honoured by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, though the Vizir, the common enemy of all good and great men, murmured at it. For the *Janizar-aga* has commonly but two horſe tails, and if any one has three granted him, it is looked upon, as done in prejudice to the Vizir. The ſirname of *Deli*, or the *Mad*, was given him on account of his exceſſive boldneſs, becauſe he ruſhed like a madman into all dangers.

(23) *Arnaudi*] Ever ſince the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion of *Iskenderbeg* in *Albania*, when almoſt all the inhabitants of that country were compelled by Sultan *Murad* II. to embrace *Mahometiſm*, the Sultan have always kept ſome thouſands of them in their camps. They are reckoned, and really are, the braveſt and boldeſt of all men in war, and ruſh upon the enemies with no leſs reſolution, and much more diſcretion than the Janizaries: and though they are under no regulation, yet have agreed upon ſome order among themſelves, by which they are kept together, and not diſperſed, or confounded with others, except when the whole army comes to be routed. They are particularly famous for their ſkill in ſhooting at a mark, in which they are ſo dextrous, that they make nothing of taking an egg or an apple, from off their mother's or wife's head, with a bullet, at two hundred paces diſtance.

(24) *Fazli* Paſha] A man famous among the *Turks* for his learning and other excellent qualities, whence he had the name of *Fazli*, i. e. *the Learned*. He was, for his fine way of writing, raiſed by *Elmas Mehemed Paſha*, in the firſt year of his Vizirſhip, to the dignity of *Kiehaia*; and afterwards ſent with three *Tugs* to *Shebrezulien* Paſhalic. He left a very good name behind him.

(25) juſtly computed] The *Turks* were never known to have fought ſo ſtoutly and deſperately as in this battle, for not one of them was taken alive. Hence appears the bravery of the conquering army. The victory however would have been very doubtful, had not the Janizaries themſelves ſlain, juſt before the battle, their commanders, men renowned for their valour; by whom if they had been headed, it is generally thought, that with their aſſiſtance, they might eaſily, either have defeated, or at leaſt repulſed, the *Germans*, who were much inferior to them. And truly, it has ſometimes been found by experience, that when the *Turks* are hemmed in, and ſee no way of eſcaping, they will fight much more fiercely for life than for victory, and if they have wiſe commanders upon ſuch an occaſion, they will not only fight beyond expectation, but even do ſuch things as ſeem to exceed human ſtrength. And here I think it may be of uſe to give ſome directions about the manner of fighting againſt the *Turks*, drawn from obſervations I have made in the expeditions where I have been preſent; though I well know, that *Buſbequius* has given a large account of it, and others have written whole volumes about the ſame. A General then muſt conſider, whether his forces are equal to thoſe of the *Turks*, if not in number (for that is what the Chriſtian's army can ſeldom be) yet at leaſt in courage; and whether he has good ammunition, and neceſſary proviſions. If he wants theſe, he muſt take care of coming even within ſight of the *Turks*. For not only their courage increaſes, when they perceive the enemy is afraid, or draws back; but they alſo fight more bravely; and whenever they find, there is no one dares purſue them, even when they fly, they ſometimes renew the fight. But if a General knows himſelf to be a match for them, and is furniſhed with every thing, let him boldly come and face them; however, let him not hazard an engagement the firſt day, but remain two or three days in the ſame place without motion. For almoſt all the *Turkiſh* ſoldiers are ſeized, at the firſt ſight of the enemy, with an eager deſire of coming to an engagement, ſo that they ruſh like lions to a battle, of their own accord, and can hardly be reſtrained by the *Chauſhis*: but after the ſecond or third day, this immoderate ardor abates, and if they are kept longer without fighting, it grows ſo cold, that they muſt be compelled to fight. It is ſa-

ſier

But one Baſha of the great number eſcapes.

LVII. The only perſon who eſcaped, was *Mahmud ben ogli* (26), Paſha of the *Arnaudij*, and ſon of that Beglerberg of *Rumelia*, who fell in the battle with *Veterani*: This *Mahmud* being twice wounded, was ſaved by the ſtrength of his horſe, which carried him over the river. I have heard him deſcribing his eſcape in a very lively manner.

The Sultan abandoning his camp and baggage, retires to *Temiſware* in great terror.

LVIII. After this misfortune, Sultan *Muſtapha*, who was a melancholy, as well as idle ſpectator of the battle, being ſeized with a panic, though there was nothing to be feared from the *Germans*, who, fatigued with ſo much toil, could not repair the bridge in ſight of ſo numerous an army as he had with him, at midnight, without any guide or light, abandons his camp, and directs his courſe towards *Temiſware*.

He puts *Capuji baſhi*, who gives him better advice, to death.

LIX. *Capuji baſhi*, a *Venetian* by birth, who had apoſtatized from the *Chriſtian* faith, and aſſumed the name of *Shabin Mahomet*, endeavours to correct the error of the Sultan, and adviſes him not to leave his camp diſhonourably, and by his flight, give the enemy, who had deſtroyed but a ſmall part of his army, an entire victory. For there was no reaſon why he ſhould retire with ſuch precipitation, ſince the enemies were not only tired with ſo long a march and ſo many labours, but had no bridge, nor any other means of paſſing the river. But the Sultan was poſſeſſed by ſuch dreadful apprehenſions, that he rejected theſe wholſome advices, and immediately put the author to death, as a diſguiſed *Chriſtian*, bribed by the *Germans* to ſuggeſt pernicious counſels, and continued his flight with as much ſpeed as before.

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fer to receive their firſt onſet, than to attack them in their ranks. For when they are attacked, they fight in better order, and defend themſelves with more care; beſides, the cannon which they always place in their foremoſt ranks, make a great ſlaughter among thoſe that dare to aſſault them. But if, on the contrary, you wait their attack, though it be very fierce, and mixed with hideous cries, yet as they are immediately in diſorder, and cannot keep their ranks as they run, they are eaſily repulſed by the fire of the muſkets. And theſe are the only inſtruments for gaining the victory, and for quelling the *Othman* fury. For if they come once to cloſe fighting, they make a terrible ſlaughter among the *Chriſtians*, whoſe ſwords are not equal to the ſharp *Turkiſh* ſcimetars. But when the *Chriſtians* perceive them giving ground, and find their courage abate, they muſt not ſtand ſtill, for that the enemies will take for a ſign of fear, but they muſt advance ſlowly towards the enemies camp. And the retreating Janizaries ſeeing that, will make their whole camp reſound with the confuſed cry of *Giaur gieldy*, the Infidel is advanced; which diſheartens the reſt of the army, and is the firſt ſtep to the enemies getting the victory. The Janizaries however do not immediately yield it, but are obliged by their officers to renew the fight. As they are coming on, the *Chriſtians* muſt receive them with a continual fire, and drive them back, before they can approach: and if that ſucceeds, they are hardly brought to make a third onſet. They being alſo repulſed the third time, you muſt not ſtand ſtill, but march cautiouſly towards their camp. And then this more horrible and louder outcry is heard throughout their camp, *Giaur baſti*, the infidel is come, or hath troden on our heels; after which, I have obſerved, they can never be brought again to renew the charge. For the moment the Janizaries hear it, they leave their trenches and cannon, and mind only to get a horſe or a mule from any one that comes in their way, by which they may ſave themſelves. And the cavalry, who are well acquainted with the Janizaries way, as if placed between two enemies, fly with all ſpeed, and get as far as they can from the foot, for fear of being ſurrounded, as it generally happens, by the Janizaries, and thrown from their horſes. But if a *Chriſtian* General is over-cautious, and, for fear of an ambuſh, neglects to purſue them when they give way, the Janizaries immediately grow couragious, and, forgetting their defeat, as if they were victorious, the cry of *Giaur corcar*, *the Infidel is afraid*, is ſpread through their camp, by which means, their laſt attacks are much fiercer than the firſt, and they often gain a victory of which the *Chriſtians* have thought themſelves ſecure.

(26) *Mahmud ben ogli*] Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*, whoſe father, of the ſame name, was killed, three years before, in the battle with *Veterani*. That family has not only a great eſtate in *Rumelia*, but is alſo frequently promoted to Paſhalics in that country, and very often, to the dignity of Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*.

LX. The *Turks* had another more grievous misfortune through the darkneſs of the night, which was ſo great, that no perſon could diſcern the path they were to take, by which means the whole retinue of the Sultan turning too much to the right towards the *Tibiſcus*, fall into muddy and marſhy ground, from which they were obliged to free themſelves, by leaving their horſes and baggage behind.

The *Turks*, out of fear, caſt away the baggage which they had taken with them.

LXI. At laſt, at ſun-riſe, the Sultan comes to that place, where, the laſt year a battle had been fought with the *Germans*, and performing his morning-devotions, changes his horſe and habit, and unknown to all, flies with the utmoſt ſpeed to *Temiſware*.

The Sultan alſo leaving the army, enters *Temiſware* in diſguiſe.

LXII. The army advancing about noon near the ſame place, and perceiving neither the Sultan, nor any of the great officers with them, are extremely ſurprized; and this terror is increaſed by a rumour, the author of which was unknown, ſpread at the ſame time through the whole army, that the Sultan was taken by the *Hungarians*, or betrayed by his own ſoldiers to the enemy. This report is readily received by thoſe, whoſe minds were prepared by fear to believe any thing, and occaſions them to diſperſe ſeveral ways, and every one anxious for his own ſafety to think only how to eſcape the *Germans*, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels.

This occaſions a dreadful ſcene of affairs among the *Turks*.

LXIII. Agitated with theſe imaginary fears, at laſt in the evening they reach *Temiſware*, the governor of which ſhuts the gates againſt them. As they receive no certain account concerning the Sultan, the rumour of his being taken encreaſes. For the governor of that city had been commanded by the Sultan to conceal his arrival by all poſſible methods, leſt the *Germans* hearing of it ſhould inveſt him there.

A rumour ſpread of the Sultan's being taken.

LXIV. Beſides this apprehenſion, thoſe, who had eſcaped, are attended with the perpetual companion of a defeat, want of proviſion; the corn had been left in their camp, they having been more ſollicitous to preſerve themſelves than their food. Some few had the good fortune to purchaſe bread at an exceſſive price. Their beaſts of burthen likewiſe, as well as themſelves were ready to die with thirſt, and had no water to allay it. For the moraſs which ſurrounds *Temiſware*, was almoſt dried up through the heat of the ſummer, and if there were any ſtinking puddles to be found, thoſe who were ſtrongeſt (27) ſeized them, and excluded the reſt.

Which is attended with other misfortunes.

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(27) were ſtrongeſt] Whenever I call to mind the miſerable confuſion at that time, I cannot help being ſeized with a ſecret horror. There was then no ſafety, either from friend or foe, but, on the contrary, the greateſt confuſion imaginable. The Sultan lay hid three days in the town, unknown to all but the Paſha, while various reports flew through the whole camp of his being taken and betrayed by his ſubjects. The troops that had eſcaped, wandered up and down without a commander, without a leader, without diſcipline, and for hunger, plundered every one they met. The great drought that happened that year, having dried up all the waters, the horſes were forced, for thirſt, to ſuck up the very mud; and if a man found by chance any ſtanding water, he was obliged to kill or wound many, before he could come to wet his lips, much leſs to quench his thirſt. Having eſcaped from the battle, I had brought away my tents and whole baggage, and was come with the reſt of the forces, to *Temiſware*, where I laid my furniture in a vineyard. Here I found by chance, the mouth of a well, covered with earth, over which, having pitched my tent, and got it cleaned to the bottom, it afforded me very freſh and pure water. After my family and horſes had drank, I ſent the next morning, about break of day, a ſervant, with a pitcher of water to the cook, but a ſoldier meeting him, takes the pitcher from him, drinks the water, and threatens to kill him, unleſs he would tell where he had found that water. The poor fellow, ſeeing a naked ſword at his breaſt, is overcome with fear, and confeſſes that I had found a well under my tent. The ſoldier, the moment he had received the information, goes to his companions, tells them what he had heard, whereupon they all come, with a ſword in one hand, and a bucket in the other, aſking every one they met, where my tent was? So perceiving the thing diſcovered, and no longer to be concealed, I ordered my tent to be removed,

The Sultan at laſt diſcovers himſelf to the remains of his army.

LXV. At laſt, after the *Othman* army had for three days been like a ſhip in a ſtormy ſea, without rudder or pilot, the Sultan, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, with a guard of ſoldiers which he had received from the Paſha of *Temiſware*, diſcovers himſelf to his army, and removes their fears: for all his forces teſtify their joy upon ſight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their late misfortune, but would take a ſevere revenge upon the enemy, ſince they were aſſured of their Sultan's ſafety.

He appoints *Huſeim Paſha*, governor of *Belgrade*, Vizir.

LXVI. The Sultan next day leads his troops, now recovered from their deſpair, towards *Belgrade*, and in his march coming to a place called *Alibunar* (28), is met by *Amucje Ogli Huſeim Paſha*, governor of *Belgrade*, for whom he had ſent by *Mirachor Cherkies* Mehemed Aga*, and as there were preſent no other Baſhas honoured with three *Tugs*, confers on him the Vizirſhip.

The Sultan departs from *Belgrade* to *Conſtantinople*. H. 1109. A. C. 1698.

LXVII. After a ſhort ſtay at *Belgrade*, about the end of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1109, he returns with the remains of his army to *Adrianople*. This was the fate of the *Turkiſh* forces after their defeat. But the Imperialiſts, after their victory, had continued all night in the place of battle, apprehenſive of ſome ſtratagem, uſual among the *Turks*; but the next day paſſed the *Tibiſcus*, and plundered what *Tekeli* (29) had left in the camp.

The Imperialiſts turn their arms againſt *Boſnia*, which they ravage in a dreadful manner.

LXVIII. After this, being diſcouraged from the ſiege of ſuch ſtrong cities as *Temiſware* and *Belgrade*, by the ſeaſon being too far advanced, they turned their arms againſt *Boſnia*, took *Dobe* and *Mogle*, ſet fire to *Serayo*, the capital of the country, and reduced almoſt the whole province.

The ſucceſsful expeditions of *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha*.

LXIX. In this diſtreſs, the *Turkiſh* forces appointed to guard that country, not knowing what other method to take, go to *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha* (30),

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removed, and the well to be opened; and to excuſe my ſelf, told them, that having found there a dead man, I had hid the well, for fear ſome perſon preſſed by thirſt ſhould, not knowing it, taſte of the water before it was purged, and thereby pollute his ſoul. By this innocent lie, abſolutely neceſſary at that time, I not only eſcaped the fury of the Barbarians, but received thanks for the good ſervice I had done them.

(28) *Alibunar*] The *Fountain of Ali*, a place half way between *Temiſware* and *Belgrade*, where the ſpies on both ſides are wont to reſort; for it is very high, and from thence you have a very good proſpect of the whole country round.

(29) *Tekeli*] He had accompanied the Sultan in this expedition, and, after the defeat, ſeeing the bridge broken down, and knowing it could not be repaired by the *Germans* in ſo ſhort a time, he ſtaid all night in the *Turkiſh* camp, where he plundered all that was moſt valuable; and by that means he got greater riches for himſelf and his family, than he could have done from the Sultan's penſion, which was hardly ſufficient to maintain him.

(30) *Daltaban Muſtapha*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his warlike virtues. In his youth he was a Janizary, and brought up at the court of the great Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*. His ſucceſſor, *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, promoted him to the office of *Talkhiſhchi**; but after his death, becoming the ſport of fortune, he not only loſt his place, but alſo could not come again into play, till *Arabaji Ali Paſha* was made Vizir, by whom he was created *Janizar-Aga*. That poſt gave him the firſt opportunity of making his virtues known to the world; for he took a very great care of the publick tranquillity, ſeverely chaſtiſed diſorderly perſons, and inſtead of riding on horſeback, as his predeceſſors, he uſed to change his dreſs, and walk on foot night and day about the city (upon which account he had the name of *Daltaban*, that is, *unſhod* or *barefooted*, given him,) which gave all ſorts of men a very high opinion of him: ſo that when *Buyukly Muſtapha* was raiſed to the dignity of Vizir, he thought no one ſo fit to ſucceed him in his office of *Babadagby* Seraskier as *Daltaban*. Whilſt he enjoyed this poſt, he applied himſelf wholly to clear *Moldavia* of the *Poles*, and for that purpoſe endeavoured to take *Soroka*, which was their magazine in that country, though he could not execute his deſign for want of a ſufficient number of men, (for the greateſt and beſt part of the *Othman* army was ſent againſt the Emperor of *Germany*) yet he ſo bravely defended the borders of *Moldavia*, that the *Poles* could not make any farther progreſs, or do any conſiderable damage to the *Turkiſh* provinces. He held that employment about four years, in which time he contracted a cloſe friendſhip with my father; which he not only retained as long as he lived, but alſo expreſſed it ſeveral ways, after my father's death, to his ſons; a thing uncommon amongſt Barbarians. When troubles aroſe in *Aſia*, and the country

who then happened to be at *Bichkie*, a town of *Boſnia*, and offering him the command of the army, force him to take it upon him. Under his conduct the *Turks*

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try began to be infeſted with robberies, no man appeared fitter to the Vizir to put a ſtop to them than *Daltaban*. Being ſent therefore to *Kiutahia* with the dignity of *Anadol-Beglerbeg*, he not only quelled the ſeditious in a ſhort time, and reſtored that province to its former tranquillity, but alſo revived amongſt them military diſcipline, which had been entirely laid aſide, and augmented very much the *Aſiatic* forces. The envy of his enemies was the cauſe of his not periſhing at the battle of *Zenta*; for being come that year to *Sophia*, the metropolis of *Bulgaria*, he was by the Vizir accuſed to the Sultan of having unjuſtly plundered many perſons in *Aſia*, and exacted a large ſum of money upon the inhabitants of thoſe countries, without and contrary to the Sultan's order, and of having converted it to his own uſe. To which *Daltaban* anſwered, that it was true, he had received a larger tribute from *Aſia* than his predeceſſors, but he had not hoarded the money in his own coffers, but applied it in augmenting the forces; and for proof, appealed to all the *Aſiatic* troops. Notwithſtanding this, the Vizir being afraid, if that hero's noble qualities became more conſpicuous in the expedition, he would ſupplant him in the Vizirſhip, he was, unheard, deprived of his *Paſhalic*, and all his riches and employments, and baniſhed to *Bichkie*, a little town in *Boſnia*. I happened about that time to go into the *Kiehaia*'s chancery on ſome buſineſs of my own, where a clerk was ingroſſing the mandate for *Daltaban*'s baniſhment; and chancing to read it over by ſtealth, as he was an old friend of mine and my father's, I went privately to him, and faithfully told him what I had ſeen. At which, without any emotion, he ſays "I indeed thank you for "your friendſhip, and commend you for "being mindful of my ſervices to your fa- "ther. But you need not concern your "ſelf about me, for perhaps the divine "Providence will deliver me by this means "from that death and deſtruction which I "foreſee will overtake the Vizir, and the "reſt of my enemies." I ſhall here, for the ſake of the curious, give the form of the mandate commonly made uſe of at the degrading of a Baſha. "Thou who art "*Muſtapha* (without any mention of his "office or dignity) ſince thy crimes and "offences are become notorious, thou art "entirely guilty of, and condemned to, "death; but by means of our mercy, "thou art exempted from capital puniſh- "ment: however, our ſublime mandate is "iſſued, that thou be deprived of the dig- "nity of Vizir, and baniſhed to the town "of *Bichkie*, in the country of *Boſnia*, *&c.* Now this very baniſhment proved the cauſe of *Daltaban*'s advancement; for the Imperialiſts having, after the battle of *Zenta*, carried their arms into *Boſnia*, and conquered the greateſt part of that province; ſuch *Turks* as remained there, being without a general, and knowing not what to do, apply to *Daltaban*, and declare him Seraskier, much againſt his will, and without the Sultan's knowledge. Having, after he was inveſted with that office, taken four and twenty caſtles from the victorious *Germans* on both ſides the *Save*, he found it eaſy to obtain from the Sultan a confirmation of the dignity conferred upon him by the voice of the people. Soon after, when the *Arabians*, having revolted, and taken *Boſtra*, made incurſions into *Meſopotamia*, *Daltaban* was choſen by the Vizir *Amuje Ogli Huſein Paſha*, to ſuppreſs alſo this danger; and, beſides the dignity of Seraskier, had alſo the government of *Bagdad* beſtowed upon him. When he came thither, with no more than twelve regiments he attacks and defeats an hundred and twenty thouſand *Arabs*; in which battle he is ſaid to have killed with his own hand four hundred of the enemies. After this victory, he recovers *Boſtra*, takes under his protection the *Arabian* troops who implored his clemency, lays a heavier tribute upon them than they uſed to pay; and ſo not only reſtored the *Paſhalic* of *Bagdad* to its antient bounds, but alſo enlarges them, and makes it richer than ever. Whilſt he was thus employed, being ſlandered by *Rami reis effendi*, the Vizir accuſes him to the Sultan as a rebel, and favouring the *Arabs*, and prevails with the Sultan to ſend *Battal Othman Aga*, formerly his maſter of horſe, to *Bagdad* with a *Chatiſherif*, to diſpatch him out of the way. When he comes to *Daltaban* in his camp near *Boſtra*, elated with his late victory, and perceiving that, by reaſon of the ſoldiers great affection to him, he could not put the Sultan's orders in execution, he prudently conceals the reaſon of his coming, and pretends he was ſent by the Sultan for no other end but to ſee whether *Daltaban*'s actions were anſwerable to his fame. Upon that, *Daltaban* ſhewing him thirty-two thouſand heads of *Arabs*, "Go, ſays he, and tell my maſter, "the Sultan, faithfully what you have ſeen." *Othman Aga*, after having examined every thing, returns to *Conſtantinople*, and informs the Sultan, how he had found the man whom he had adjudged to death, in

Turks reſume their courage, and not only repreſs the victorious *Germans*, but oblige them to retreat beyond the *Save*, and take from them four and twenty caſtles, ſituated on both ſides that river.

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the midſt of a victorious army, and therefore could not perform his orders. Then he went on to declare what *Daltaban* had done for the good of the *Othman* ſtate; how he had entirely ſubdued the *Arabs*, freed *Meſopotamia* from their incurſions, and rendered all the adjacent provinces entirely ſafe. After *Othman aga*'s return, *Daltaban*, knowing the covetouſneſs of the Mufti, *Feizullah effendi*, as well as his great intereſt with the Sultan, ſent him by ſome of his people a preſent of ſixty thouſand gold crowns. The Mufti gueſſing, that ſuch a large of ſum of money, which came thus unexpectedly to him, was the interpreter or fore-runner of ſome very conſiderable requeſt, ſent a truſty meſſenger to *Daltaban*, to know his deſires. If he aimed at the dignity of Vizir, that he could eaſily obtain it for him from the Sultan, becauſe the preſent Vizir *Huſſein Paſha* was very ſickly, and had in a great meaſure loſt his character, by reaſon of his drunkenneſs. To this *Daltaban* anſwers, That he thought indeed, the ſervices he had done the *Othman* Empire deſerved ſome recompence: and knowing he could not riſe to the dignity that was offered him, without his protection and aſſiſtance, he therefore deſired him to attach to himſelf a new and ever-faithful vaſſal by ſo important a favour: that he did not want means of making him amends for the ſame, and accordingly had prepared preſents for him much larger than the former. Upon receiving this anſwer, the Mufti, who was already diſpleaſed with *Huſſein Paſha*, in order to execute his deſigns, perſwades the Sultan to bring *Daltaban* nearer the court, by making him Paſha of *Kiutahia*: When he heard of his being there, he prevails upon the Sultan to depoſe *Huſſein Paſha*, and to ſend *Battal Othman aga* to *Kiutahia* with the Vizir's ſeal to *Daltaban:* Who upon receiving it, comes without delay to *Conſtantinople*. Having ſtaid till the evening without the walls in the powder-magazines, he receives advice, that *Huſſein Paſha* was departed this life, at his country houſe, about eight hours from *Conſtantinople:* So he goes thither, and aſſiſts at his funeral; and then comes the next day to *Adrianople*, where he receives the Vizir's robe from the Sultan. On the morrow, he ſends for *Rami Reis effendi* and *Maurocordatus*, and asks them, upon what terms they had made peace with the *Germans* and *Poles?* They give him a full account of every thing, what their inſtructions and orders were; how far they had been able to go; and upon what conditions the Sultan had ordered them to put an end to the war. When *Daltaban* had heard their report, he ſays in a great paſſion. "You have indeed followed your inſtructions; but "ſurely thoſe inſtructions were fraudulently obtained. For the Sultan could never have given ſuch orders, had he not "been perſwaded, the *Othman* affairs were "in ſo deſperate a condition, as that the "Empire could not be eſtabliſhed without "a peace upon any terms. I ſuppoſe he "did not know, what ſoldiers, what generals, what bulwarks, the *Othman* ſtate "had yet to oppoſe to the enemies: he "doubtleſs had not been informed, how I, "with a handful of men, had wreſted "four and twenty caſtles in *Boſnia* out of "the enemy's hands, at the expence of "my blood: and what would have been "the conſequence, if the managers of the "*Turkiſh* affairs had acted as faithfully "every where, may eaſily be gueſſed. "For what did the *Othman* Empire want "to enable it, not only to make head a-"gainſt ſo weak an enemy, but alſo to "enlarge its bounds? was it ſoldiers? generals? or money? It was not ſurely the "want of any of theſe, but either the "want of brains in your heads, which to "be ſtuffed with ſtraw would have been "better, or your treachery that induced "you to make ſo ſcandalous a peace with a "weak and exhauſted enemy; and perſwade "a Sultan unacquainted with publick affairs, "to ratify and confirm it by oath. I grant, "the *Germans*, on account of our ſins, "and encouraged by the lazineſs and un-"ſkilfulneſs of the *Othman* generals, have "gained ſome victories upon us, and have "taken ſeveral towns that could not be "recovered; but why have you ſurrender-"ed to the *Poles*, *Cameniec*, a place im-"pregnable both by nature and art, and "by that, have imprudently loſt the beſt "part of Sultan *Mahomet*'s conqueſts? Is "this what our law teaches us? Are theſe "the precepts of our prophet? Is the ho-"nour of the *Aliothman* name preſerved "by ſuch means? The divine vengeance "will undoubtedly find, in its own time, "thoſe who have been ſo injurious to the "Muſulman affairs, and have without ne-"ceſſity, delivered to the Infidels, pla-"ces ſanctified by ſo many Muſulmans "prayers." So diſmiſſing them, he demands liſts, of the ſoldiers, of the treaſure, and of the towns, both ſuch as had been

LXX. The *Ruſſians* that ſummer fortify *Azac* and *Lutzick* with new works, and prepare for a freſh campain, though the enemies give them no opportunity of a battle.

The *Ruſſians* fortify *Azac*. *Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony* choſen King of *Poland*.

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yielded to the enemies, and ſuch as ſtill obeyed the *Othman* laws; and finds nothing any where that could pleaſe him. He publickly blames all the miniſters, calls them traitors to the Empire, privately prepares for war, and deſigns at firſt to turn his arms againſt *Poland*, as the weakeſt part; and that he might have ſome colour of juſtice, reſolves to put to death the authors of the peace, namely, *Rami Reis Effendi*, and *Maurocordatus*, as traytors, who had granted many things to the Infidels, contrary to the Sultan's orders. And the more to ſtrengthen his party, he enquires by letter of the Chan, and great men of *Tartary*, whether they gave their conſent to the peace made by *Iſkierlet Ogly*, and to his companion, *Rami Reis Effendi*: he knew, he ſaid, and was well ſatisfied that both, bribed by the Infidels, had acted treacherouſly, impoſed upon the Sultan, and ſo betrayed rather than promoted the *Othman* affairs. None were more uneaſy at theſe proceedings of *Daltaban*, than the two ambaſſadors above-mentioned, *Rami Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*; for they plainly ſaw, if *Daltaban* remained in his dignity, they could not avoid puniſhment; and they were alſo ſenſible, there was no hope of a change as long as the Mufti continued *Daltaban*'s friend. After long conſidering this matter, as there appeared to them no other method of ſafety; they reſolve to go and draw the Mufti, if poſſible, from *Daltaban*'s party. *Maurocordatus* contrives how the matter ſhould be managed, and inſtructs *Rami* in what he was to ſay, and what arguments to uſe to move the Mufti. *Rami* follows the politic *Skierletogly*'s directions, and takes an opportunity of repreſenting to the Mufti, how he was ordered by the Sultan to make peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*, and had, in compliance therewith, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get terms as advantagious as he could for the *Othman* ſtate; and had granted nothing to the Infidels without an order from the Sultan, and the conſent of the Mufti, and of the Vizir, *Huſſein Paſha*. But when he thought he had, by theſe his endeavours, well deſerved of the *Othman* ſtate, he found, that he had drawn upon himſelf and his partner, *Iſkierletogly*, the utmoſt indignation of the new Vizir, *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha*. He had not only treated them in the moſt abuſive manner, though they were altogether blameleſs, but had alſo railed bitterly at all thoſe who had contributed, either by their orders or conſent, to the making of that peace: nay, he had gone ſo far as to ſay publickly, he would purge the honour of the *Othman* name from all internal and external *Giaurs*. Moreover he had, by ſecret letters, ſtirred up the *Crim-Tartars*, and the other *Scythian Hords*, to a rebellion; and the more eaſily to excite them, had ſpread among them many lies concerning the ill adminiſtration of the ſtate. Since theſe, and the like attempts of *Dalbaian*, manifeſtly tended to the ruin and deſtruction of thoſe who had ſpared no pains to reſtore tranquillity to the *Othman* Empire, and even to the depoſition of the Sultan, they had thought it their duty to inform the Mufti of them, becauſe he was the chief inſtrument of the peace; and to beg of him at the ſame time, not only to take care of himſelf, but alſo to vouchſafe to defend and preſerve thoſe who acknowledged him their only patron and protector, againſt that man's outragiouſneſs. The Mufti, *Feizullah Effendi*, perſuaded by this diſcourſe of *Rami* that his own head was in danger, reſolves not to wait the blow, but prevent the enemy, and take him in his own net. But the better to conceal the ſnares laid for him, he ſends for *Cara Mehemed Aga*, the chief butcher, a very rich man, who had learned by long experience to hide the barbarity of his nature, and by that means had obtained the Mufti's daughter in marriage for his ſon. When he was come, "I have ſome things, "(ſays he) to communicate to the Vizir, "which I would deſire you to go and tell "him; for I know that there is a great "friendſhip between you. *Rami Reis Effen-* "*di* and *Iſkierletogly* have been with me, "and have told me many ſad things of the "Vizir, as if he was contriving to depoſe "the Sultan, and put me to death, and "had for that reaſon publickly ranked "me among the Infidels. Now becauſe "he was, upon your interceſſion, as you "well know, raiſed to the dignity of Vi-"zir through my intereſt, and therefore "is my *Chirug**, or client, I would not "have a flambeau of my own lighting ſo "ſoon extinguiſhed, and the life of a man "taken away, whom a few days before I "raiſed to the higheſt dignity the *Othman* "Empire can give. Beſides, I am ſatis-"fied that *Rami* and *Iſkierlet Ogly*, when "they were negotiating a peace, being "bribed by the *Giaurs* with large ſums of "money, have, of their own heads, yield-"ed many things to the *Germans* and *Poles*, "that might have remained under the *Oth-*"*man* dominion; and perſuaded the Sultan "and me, by their artful lies, that a peace "could

a battle. In *Poland* the new King *Frederic Auguſtus*, who was before Elector of *Saxony*, applies himſelf entirely to warlike preparations, and the gaining of the Nobles, and defers the campain till the next year.

LXXI. Not

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" could not poſſibly be made upon other " terms. Wherefore I deſire you to ac- " quaint the Vizir, in my name, that I " will not be influenced by the miſrepre- " ſentations of thoſe knaves, to ceaſe to " be his patron; but ſhall, whenever an " opportunity offers, perſuade the Sultan " not only to confirm him in the dignity " of Vizir, but alſo to put all his enemies " to death." When *Daltaban* hears this from *Mehemed Aga*'s mouth, he viſits the Mufti in the night, and pretends to diſcover his whole mind to him, as to his patron and benefactor. The Mufti, with feigned applauſe, extols the Vizir's deſigns, and promiſes to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to bring them to perfection, and that *Rami*, *Maurocordatus*, and their accomplices, be brought to juſtice. *Daltaban*, encouraged by theſe promiſes, returns home with a chearful countenance, and ſending for the *Kiebaia Topal Ibrahim-Aga* (who was afterwards made governor of *Theſſalonica*) gives him a particular account of what had paſſed between the Mufti and him; and adds, at the ſame time, he acknowledges the Mufti for his patron, being indebted to him for the Vizirſhip; yet he cannot bear, he ſhould have ſo much credit with the Sultan, as to make and unmake Vizirs at pleaſure: for as he had beſtowed the ſeal of the Empire upon him, after having depoſed *Huſeim Paſha*, ſo it was in his power to turn him out, and raiſe another to that dignity. Therefore, as he could find no way to put him out of favour with the Sultan, who had a great veneration for him, there was a neceſſity of diſpatching him out of the way, unknown to the Sultan; for it would be eaſier to ſtruggle with a dead than a living man. Accordingly, he propoſes this method to put him to death, namely, to invite him to a feaſt on a *Thurſday*, when all the courts of juſtice and the other offices are ſhut, and to have him ſtrangled at table with a bow-ſtring, by ſome faithful perſons provided for that purpoſe; then to ſend for the Janizaries, and cauſe them to raiſe a commotion, acquainting the Sultan at the ſame time, that they inſiſted upon having the Mufti's life, and were demanding the heads of *Rami*, *Maurocordatus*, and ſome others. The treacherous *Kiebaia* approves of the Vizir's project to his face, and commends his deſign; but at night he changes his dreſs, and going to the Mufti, tells him his danger. The Mufti, diſmiſſing the *Kiebaia* with very great promiſes, calls for his chariot at the third hour of the night, goes to the Sultan, and makes known to him what he had learned from the *Kiebaia*; adviſes him to put *Daltaban* to death, that he might not raiſe freſh commotions in the Empire, and promiſes to give a *Fetvah* for that purpoſe; and ſays withal, that for fear too much haſte in the affair ſhould occaſion a ſedition among the people, he would find ſome ſpecious pretence to have him diſpatched out of the way without any noiſe. The Mufti, at his return home, pretends to have the gout in his feet, that he might be hindered from going to the Vizir's houſe, and ſends a *Talkbiſhchi* * to deſire him to come to him, becauſe he had things of importance to impart to him. Upon the receipt of this meſſage, the Vizir goes thither with all ſpeed, thinking a ſnare was now laid for his enemies. When he comes, " Thank God, " ſays the Mufti, the Sultan has granted " all my requeſts, and promiſed that he " will put *Rami Reis Effendi* to death, pro- " vided there may be deviſed ſome cauſe of " his puniſhment. If you will therefore " follow my advice, you will eaſily find " not only a pretence, but alſo a juſt rea- " ſon for putting him to death. He muſt " be removed at a diſtance from court, if " we wiſh our deſigns to take effect. As this " cannot be done any other way, you muſt " offer him, as a reward for his ſervices to " the *Othman* Empire, a Vizirſhip, with " three *Horſe-Tails*, and a few days after " give him ſome remote government; and " then you will eaſily find ſome crime to " render him odious to the Sultan, and to " have him put to death. When he is once " diſpatched, you may kill *Skierletogly* with " as much eaſe as you would a dog in the " ſtreets." When he had ſaid this, he made *Daltaban* ſwear not to diſcover it to any one, not even to his *Kiebaia*. The Vizir, deceived by theſe ſpecious falſhoods of the Mufti, believed he was really his friend, and thought himſelf now very ſafe. Wherefore he asks *Rami Effendi*, at firſt, as it were in jeſt, whether he ſhould not be glad to be raiſed higher, and enjoy a Paſhalic. The other, as he had been inſtructed by the Mufti, falls at the Vizir's feet; begs he may not be burdened with that honour; that it was enough for him to be a ſcribe; and his birth could not give him any pretenſions to deſire the dignity of Vizir: beſides, he was unskilled in the art of governing provinces, and could ſhow his induſtry and faithfulneſs no where but in the chancery. *Daltaban*, blaming him for ſaying

theſe

theſe words, tells him at the ſame time, if he did not comply with the Sultan's order, he would loſe all thoſe rewards which he had hitherto deſerved by his induſtry, and could not avoid the Sultan's indignation. *Rami Effendi* ſubmitting at laſt, with a ſeeming unwillingneſs, *Daltaban* notifies to the Sultan by a *Talchyſh*, that *Rami Reis Effendi* intreated the Sultan's clemency to diſmiſs him from the *Calem* with three *Tugs*, and prayed that his requeſt might be granted. The Sultan, who was before-hand prepared by the Mufti, eaſily conſented; adding, that on account of his ſervices, he not only gave him three *Tugs*, but alſo declared him *Caimacan*, and one of his counſellors, and required he ſhould be always near the court. Though this was diſagreeable to *Daltaban*, and ſeemed to defeat all his deſigns, yet he obeyed the Sultan's orders; and ſending for *Rami*, inveſted him with the Vizir's robe, and gave him the name of *Cubbe niſhin*, or *Counſellor*. This unuſual and extraordinary promotion of *Rami*, raiſed the peoples admiration; for it was well known that *Dalbatan* diſliked the peace, and ſought rather to puniſh with death, than to confer honours upon, the promoters of it: and therefore to ſuch as were unacquainted with what had paſſed between the Mufti and *Daltaban*, it ſeemed a myſtery, that thoſe for whom puniſhments were thought to have been preparing, ſhould be exalted to the higheſt honours. This gave occaſion to various, and generally diſadvantagious reports concerning *Daltaban*; that he was undone; that his ſaddle, (a *Turkiſh* ſaying) was thrown upon the ground; that the Sultan, deluded by the Mufti, and the arts of his creatures, *Rami* and *Iskierletogly*, was but a tool to other peoples ambition; that *Rami* had no other merit for his riſing in ſo ſtrange manner from a ſcribe to a Vizir, but his having ſold the honour of the *Otbman* name to the Infidels; that finally, this was a certain ſign that *Daltaban*, the moſt famous hero among the *Turks*, the brave defender of the Sultan's honour, was to be condemned to death, or at leaſt to baniſhment, that there might remain no obſtacle to their treacherous deſigns. When *Daltaban* perceived by theſe diſcourſes, that the people were on his ſide, and diſliked the Mufti's proceedings, he was confirmed in his purpoſe, and reſolved to kill the Mufti firſt, then *Rami*, and if neceſſary, to depoſe even the Sultan. But that he might ſtrike the ſurer, he ſends for the forementioned *Cara Mebemed Aga*, whom, as being an old friend, he took to be very faithful to him, and enquires of him what the people ſaid of himſelf, of the Mufti, and of *Rami*; and whether they approved or not what the Sultan had done for *Rami*? *Cara Mebemed*, the better to impoſe upon the Vizir, and to diſcover his deſigns, tells him what the people ſaid; how diſpleaſed they were at the honours conferred upon *Rami*; and generally believed that the Sultan, infatuated by the Mufti, had only the name of Sultan, whilſt the Mufti was Sultan in reality, and diſpoſed of all affairs at pleaſure: and this was not only ſaid by the common people, but alſo by *Erbabi deulet*, that is, the chief of the great men. *Daltaban*, ignorant of the *Caſabbaſhi*'s treachery, could not, upon hearing this, forbear uttering theſe words: "You ſhall ſee, my dear *Mebemed*, what "will be acted one of theſe days on this "ſtage;" which ſaying being carried by him to the Mufti, not only confirmed the ſuſpicions raiſed in him by the *Kiehaia*'s diſcourſe, but alſo ſerved to haſten *Daltaban*'s downfall. In the mean time, *Daltaban* makes preparations for the Mufti's deſtruction. He had in his houſe a certain Derviſe, called *Mahomet*, a *Moldavian* by birth, an old and faithful ſervant, whom, for his approved fidelity, he had not only raiſed to the office of *Baſhchobadar* *, but alſo had entruſted with moſt of his ſecrets. To him *Daltaban* communicates his deſigns, ordering him to get a cord rubbed with ſoap, and when the Mufti ſhould come to waſh his hands, to be ready with the reſt of the officers to put it round his neck, and ſtrangle him. The man undertakes the buſineſs, and promiſes faithfully to perform his will; ſaying, he would not refuſe even to die, could he but carry his enemies to hell along with him. Things being thus prepared, he ſends *Sheïkbogli*, who had ſucceeded *Rami* in the office of *Reis effendi*, to the Mufti, to invite him the next day, which was *Thurſday*, and conſequently free from all public buſineſs, to a feaſt. The Mufti ſent anſwer, that he was then indeed very lame of the gout, but if his pain abated, he would certainly come the next day. This anſwer being brought back by *Sheïkbogli* to the Vizir, he orders a ſplendid feaſt to be made, and bids his *Agalar* to withdraw to their apartments the moment the Mufti came, becauſe he had ſome private buſineſs with him. The next morning as ſoon as it was light he ſends his *Kiehaia*, *Topal Ibrahim Aga*, to invite the Mufti a ſecond time, and to know certainly whether he would come. Accordingly he comes to the Mufti, tells him his errand, but privately adviſes him to take care of himſelf, becauſe there were perſons appointed and ready to ſtrangle him. Whereupon the Mufti ſays to the *Kiehaia*, go and tell your maſter that I am much better to day than I was yeſterday, and will certainly be with him about noon; but by God's help, I ſhall find means to avoid his ſnares. The treacherous *Kiehaia* comes and brings

brings his master, the Mufti's answer; at which the Vizir being highly pleased, and fansying he had already in his net the chief obstacle to his designs, prepares every thing for the tragedy. In the mean while, dinner-time was now come, and no Mufti appeared; so that the impatient *Daltaban* was sending the *Reis effendi* a second time to invite him, when the Mufti's *Talkishchi** comes and tells *Daltaban*, that his master was got into his litter to come to him, when he was sent for by the Sultan; and as he could not excuse himself upon any pretence, was gone thither; but would send his eldest son, *Nakyb effendi*, in his room, and therefore desired him to put off his feast till the next week; and he hoped at that very time to find an opportunity of having him confirmed in the Vizirship, and to contrive a way for the destruction of his enemies. Scarce had the *Talkbishchi** brought his message to the Vizir, when *Nakyb effendi* himself arrives, and uses the same excuse for his father. Though *Daltaban* was heartily vexed that the Mufti should thus escape out of his snares, yet, for fear of unseasonably discovering his designs, he receives *Nakyb effendi* with great honour and magnificence, and, contrary to custom, meets him as far as the *Arzoda*, saying, the son's presence was as acceptable to him as the father's; that the Sultan's orders were surely to be preferred to all private business; and the honour designed him was not lost, but delayed, since he had hopes of seeing the Mufti the next *Thursday*. In the mean time, whilst the son is feasting with *Daltaban*, the father goes to the Sultan with a mournful dress and face. After paying obeysance, he was bid to sit on the *ichrami*, or carpet; and the Sultan speaking first, asked him what was the matter that he came with such a sorrowful countenance, and as if he had been frighted? The Mufti taking occasion to speak, "I have, says he, "very great reason to be sorry, my most "gracious lord and master. A danger "hangs over all our heads, which, though "secret, is yet very great, and hardly to "be avoided, unless the threatning clouds "are dispersed by the breath of your ma-"jesty, before the lightning falls. What "lies heaviest upon my mind is, that I "have undesignedly contributed to increase "this storm. For hearing of the heroic "actions of our present Vizir, while his "absence or meanness caused his vices to "remain undiscovered, I your servant "thought none fitter than him to be en-"trusted with the administration of the "*Othman* government: and therefore ob-"serving that the negligence and drunken-"ness of *Huseim Pasha* rendered him unfit "to govern the state, I earnestly recom-"mended this man to you, and did not "cease to intreat you in his behalf till you "had adorned him with the ensigns of the "Vizirship. As soon as he was raised to "that sublime post, he discovered how art-"fully he had till then concealed the wick-"edness of his heart under a specious out-"side, and shewed himself a professed ene-"my to as many as he thought would ob-"struct his turbulent projects. I could "forgive him, if he had conspired only "against me; I should be silent, even "though he is, contrary to all divine and "human laws, endeavouring to strangle "me, if my death was to put an end to "the calamities he is endeavouring to "bring on the Empire. But I ought to "speak, when I see that ungrateful man "exciting the Janizaries to a rebellion, in-"viting with the same view the Chan of "*Tartary* into this city; publickly con-"demning the peace made with the ene-"mies, calling the makers of it infidels; "breaking treaties that have been confirm-"ed with an oath; and leaving no stone "unturned, at his entrance upon the ho-"nours you have conferred upon him, to "dethrone you, most gracious Emperor, "and to fill your whole dominions with "fresh troubles. Unless you quickly put "a stop to these mischiefs, I am afraid you "will too late repent of your ill-timed "clemency."

The Sultan, upon hearing the crafty *Feizullah Effendi*'s speech, moved with anger and fear, asks him how this evil could be prevented? The Mufti answered, there was no other cure for it, but to dispatch out of the way that villain, the author of all the troubles, and to put another Vizir in his room, who should be for maintaining the peace, and also more faithful and submissive to the Sultan; for the head being cut off, the rest of the members would soon be quiet, though in ever so great agitation: and finally, that *Rami Pasha*, of whose faithfulness and prudence he had sufficient experience, must be taken into the council. The Sultan readily complies with his late tutor's advice, and leaves the whole affair to his management. The Mufti, at his return home, sent word that very night to *Rami Pasha* to change his dress, and come to him, and concert measures with him about killing *Daltaban*. After some consultation, they resolve to surprize him in the following manner, namely, to persuade *Daltaban* to create *Rumi Pasha*, *Babadagly* Seraskier, and the Mufti to advise the Sultan to subscribe in the *Talchysh**, which the Vizir would send him for that purpose; that he had been thinking of the same thing, because he saw the people and the Janizaries were very much dissatisfied to see a man raised from a scribe to a Vizir: and therefore he judged it necessary to remove him

further from court, hoping thereby to put a ſtop to the murmurs of the people and ſoldiery. Purſuant to this reſolution, the Mufti ſends the next day his ſon *Nakyb Effendi* to the Vizir, with a ſecond excuſe for not having kept his promiſe, which was owing to the Sultan's ſending for him; and to let him know, that he thought God had thrown, by a ſingular Providence, that obſtacle in his way: for he had found an opportunity of perſuading the Sultan to remove *Rami* from court, by making him Seraskier of *Babadagby*; but that it was neceſſary he ſhould deſire the ſame by a *Talchyſh* of the Sultan, before he changed his mind, and, according to cuſtom, make in it an honourable mention of *Rami*, that he might not ſuſpect any fraud in the caſe; namely, that his faithful ſervices to the Empire rendered him worthy of that dignity, and that he knew none fitter than him to maintain the peace, and watch the motions of the *Giaurs*. When he had ſent this to *Daltaban*, he acquaints, by a *Deskiere*, or note, the Sultan, that ſuch a thing would be propoſed by the Vizir, and deſires he would not only give his conſent, but alſo ſend for the Vizir, under pretence of conſulting him about ſome inſtructions he wanted to give *Rami Paſha*. The ſcene is carried on as the Mufti directs. *Daltaban* ſends a *Talchyſh* to the Sultan, and the Sultan confirms it, by writing over it the uſual form (let it be done,) and orders him, by *Baltajilar Kiebaiaſi*, to come to him. The Vizir obeys, ignorant of the ſnares laid for him, (which had he known, he could not only have eaſily avoided them, but have raiſed the ſame ſedition as afterwards wreſted the ſcepter from the Sultan,) and with the uſual pomp goes to the Sultan. Whilſt *Kyzlaragaſi* is entering the room firſt, according to cuſtom, there comes out to him *Baltajilar Kiebaiaſi* from the Sultan, and tells him that the Sultan demanded the ſeal he was intruſted with. *Daltaban* being a man of an invincible reſolution and proof againſt all the various turns of fortune, refuſes to ſurrender the badge of his dignity till he had ſpoken three words with the Sultan; with which if he did not mollify him, he would freely loſe not only the ſeal, but even his head. What his deſign might be in deſiring ſo earneſtly to ſpeak with the Sultan, was variouſly conjectured at that time. Some thought he intended to kill the Sultan with a dagger he wore under his clothes; others declared him innocent of ſo deſperate a project, and imagined he had no other intention, than to repreſent to the Sultan the great danger he was in from the Mufti's and *Rami*'s attempts, and to propoſe, what he had often ſaid in private converſation, to recover to the *Otbman* Empire in one or two campains all that was loſt through thoſe mens treachery. But ſo infatuated was the Sultan, by the Mufti's artifices, that he not only refuſed to hear *Daltaban*'s advice, but alſo being informed of his deſire, he ordered him to be ſeized, ſtripped, bound as a thief, and immediately put to death at *Babi Humayun*, and his body thrown to the dogs in *Sirikmeidan*. The officers about the Sultan immediately execute his orders, ſeize *Daltaban*, bind him, and lead him to the place of execution. When he was going to loſe his head, *Baltajilar Kiebaiaſi* comes and aſks him in the Sultan's name what he had to ſay to him, adviſing him withal to take the *Abdeſt*, and repent of his faults, that he may not periſh both ſoul and body. *Daltaban* anſwers, that ever ſince he could remember, he had not once mounted his horſe without having firſt purified himſelf with the *Abdeſt*, nor ſuffered ſo much as one hour to paſs without repenting, therefore he did not deſpair of pardon with God and his prophet; nor would his ſoul periſh, though his body ſeemed to do ſo to infidels. As for what he had to ſay to the Sultan, he could impart it to none but him; nor ſhould he now behold without horror ſuch a Sultan's face, as put thoſe to death that faithfully ſerved him, and gave himſelf up wholly to *Kyzilbaſhi's* and wizards; that there remained but one remedy for thoſe corruptions, namely, the divine juſtice, which, he thought, would after his death teach the Sultan how much he was departed from a ſound mind, and from the *Muſulman* faith. When this was told the Sultan, it can hardly be expreſſed how it filled his mind with doubts. That it was a matter of great importance *Daltaban* deſired to communicate to him, he gueſſed, by the undaunted manner in which he ſubmitted to his puniſhment; but, on the other hand, his love to his old preceptor, the Mufti, and the confidence he repoſed in him, hindered him from attending to thoſe things. So, to have the more time to conſider what to do, he reprieved him, and ordered him to be confined in *Caparaſi*, or the court-priſon. When his enemies, the *Mufti*, and *Rami*, whom the Sultan had already appointed Vizir, came to know this, they were ſeized with freſh fears, leſt the Sultan ſhould be conquered by *Daltaban*'s firmneſs, and reſtore him to his former liberty. The next morning therefore early they both go to the Sultan, tell him, that the ſparks of ſedition ſpread by *Daltaban* were kindling into a flame; that confuſion and trouble every where aroſe; and there was no way of preventing a rebellion, but by putting *Daltaban*, the author, to death. The Sultan, terrified at the imminent danger, ordered the priſoner to be put that very hour to death. When *Daltaban* heard his ſentence, he called for the *Abdeſt*, and having

The *Venetians* have doubtful ſucceſs againſt the *Turks* at ſea.

LXXI. Not long after the *Venetians* ſend a fleet into the *Mediterranean*. *Kiel Mehemed Beg* (31), with his galleys, attempts *Tinos*; but being repulſed by *Bartolomeo Moro*, quits that iſland again. There are ſeveral other ſlight conflicts at ſea, but with doubtful ſucceſs. The *Turkiſh* fleet taking three pyrate-ſhips, carry them to *Conſtantinople*. On the other hand, as the *Turks*, after a ſhort diſpute, twice ſeemed to avoid a battle, the *Venetians* challenge two victories.

LXXII. Such were the events of this campain. The beginning of the next might be juſtly ſaid to confirm the *Turkiſh* proverb, "an enemy does never perfectly know the ſtate of his enemy." Sultan *Muſtapha*, after his return to *Conſtantinople*, makes all poſſible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill ſucceſs.

The ominous preſages of the people.

LXXIII. The *Turks*, who had before entered voluntarily into the ſervice, are now backward in obeying even the Sultan's command, and inflexible to entreaties or threats. The Sultan, whilſt he paſſes in diſguiſe through the aſſemblies of the people, frequently hears theſe words from the citizens and ſoldiers: "for "the *Othmans* to defeat the *Germans*, is a thing beyond our power. God has "publickly teſtified, he is on the ſide of the *Giaurs*; he has ſignified his decree "in that point by ſufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to ſhed ſuch torrents "of *Muſulman* blood, while we are to contend as well againſt God as man."

Both Princes anxious for the event.

LXXIV. The Sultan alſo knew how neceſſary peace was to recover the exhauſted ſtate of the Empire, and it was the object of his earneſt wiſhes: but he was prevented from propoſing it by his ſuperſtition and fear leſt the enemies ſhould become more elated, and the honour of the *Othman* Empire diminiſhed. The *German* Emperor likewiſe, on his part, was no leſs impatient for an end of the war; not that he deſpaired of victory againſt the *Turks*, but feared while he was engaged in that war, the King of *Spain* ſhould die, and the diſputes which would ariſe concerning his ſucceſſion, put a ſtop to the ſucceſsful progreſs of his arms: however, he thought it diſhonourable to deſire peace of a conquered enemy, and of his own accord to offer him the palm. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* ambaſſadors were preſent to mediate a peace, but their offers having been ſo often rejected, they choſe rather firſt to hear peace deſired, than to propoſe it.

The ſagacity of *Alexander Maurocordato*.

LXXV. The chief interpreter of the *Othman* court, *Alexander Maurocordato*, perceives the inclination of both parties; and as he was no leſs ſagacious and fond of glory, than devoted to the *Othman* Empire, reſolves to reſcue it from deſtruction, and at the ſame time to raiſe himſelf a great reputation through the whole Empire.

He is the firſt inſtrument of ſettling peace.

LXXVI. His hopes of this were chiefly grounded on the Vizir *Huſein Paſha*'s mild and peaceable diſpoſition. Accordingly, in a viſit to him, turning the converſation upon the ſubject of peace, he tells him, that though he had not heard it from any of the ambaſſadors, yet, by conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs in Chriſtendom, he could certainly affirm, the Emperor was very deſirous of

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ving repeated the uſual prayers, ſaid to the executioner: kill, O infidel *Muſulman*, him whom the infidel *Giaurs* could not kill. Nor would he ſuffer himſelf to be blinded, but with his eyes open, and with his uſual ſteddineſs, held out his neck, and received the fatal blow. Such was the end of *Daltaban*, the braveſt ſoldier the *Othman* Empire ever produced; and, a man highly renowned both in war and peace. How much concerned the people were at his death, plainly appeared by the troubles that followed ſoon after. Satyrical verſes were immediately thrown into the *Etki* and other *Jami*; all which, as it would be too tedious to tranſcribe, I ſhall only mention what follows? "Come then, my pen, let us fly "this dominion, for peace, honour, and "the law of God, and reſpect of the *Othman* "majeſty, have already taken their flight."

(31) *Kiel Mehemed Beg*] There are in the iſlands many *Begs*, who have one galley at leaſt, wherewith they trade in time of peace, and exerciſe piracy in time of war. The *Beg* here mentioned, was famous above all the reſt, both becauſe he was richer than ordinary, for he kept three galleys at his own charge, and alſo becauſe he was a *Phocenſian* pirate, very expert in his buſineſs. The name of *Kiel* was given him for having a bald and ſcurfy head. By the *Grecian* ſailors he was called κατίδα.

a peace

a peace with the *Turks*. The Vizir urges, it was not credible the Emperor, flushed with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered, much leſs deſire it. *Maurocordato* replies, it might ſeem ſo indeed, but if a week's ſpace were allowed him to found the ambaſſadors, he would aſſuredly promiſe to procure the Vizir not only the Emperor's conſent, but even his requeſt for a negotiation of peace.

His prudent method of proceeding with reſpect to the negotiation of peace.

LXXVII. Having eaſily obtained leave, *Maurocordato* waits upon the ambaſſadors of the Chriſtian Princes, and repreſents to them, that he had already received ſo many favours from the Emperor of *Germany*, that he ſhould deſerve to be thought highly ungrateful if he did not endeavour to make ſome return; that he had often ſought an occaſion to ſhow his readineſs to ſerve the Emperor, and demonſtrate the fidelity due from a Chriſtian, but had never met with ſo ample an opportunity as now; that he knew the Emperor, from his apprehenſions of a *French* war, was very deſirous of a peace; but would not diſcover it to the *Turks*, leſt he ſhould make them ſuſpect the true reaſon of it, and render them more haughty and aſſuming in their demands. But if they would confide in him, and grant a power to manage the affair as he thought proper, he would eſtabliſh a peace upon ſuch terms, as the Emperor might reaſonably deſire. In the mean time, it was neceſſary for them to ſwear upon the *Holy Goſpel* to conceal what he ſhould ſay to them; otherwiſe himſelf and his whole family would be expoſed to the utmoſt danger, ſince the cruelty of the *Turks* to thoſe who are ſuſpected of the leaſt unfaithfulneſs, was ſufficiently known to the whole *Chriſtian* world. The embaſſadors reply, that the Emperor would not perhaps reject honorable conditions of peace, yet he would never ask it of the *Turks*. But if the interpreter, in his own name, would propoſe the affair, he would lay a great obligation upon the Emperor. *Maurocordato* returning to the Vizir, gives him a very different repreſentation, and informs him, he had found by the ambaſſadors, that the Emperor was not only not averſe to peace, but extremely deſirous of it, and had requeſted them by any means to put an end to this deſtructive war. The Vizir ſeemed by this ſpeech to be raiſed from the dead, and embracing the artful framer of lies (32), ſays to him, "If you execute this di-
"vine work, and reſtore the wiſh'd-for tranquillity to our Empire, you may be
"aſſured, you will highly oblige the Sultan, and for ever endear the memory of
"your ſervices to the rulers of the *Othman* ſtate."

The mediators of the peace ſpeak of it in plainer terms.

LXXVIII. By theſe artifices of *Maurocordato*, both the *Turks* and *Chriſtians* are induced to ſpeak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and both parties think they may do it without the leaſt impeachment of their maſter's honour, becauſe each deceived by *Maurocordato*, imagines the firſt propoſal came from the enemy.

The *French* ambaſſador in vain attempts to break off the negotiation.

LXXIX. *Feriole* (33), the *French* embaſſador, hearing this affair publickly talked of, by various arts, bribes, and promiſes, endeavours to diſturb the approaching

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(32) framer of lies] *Alexander*, as a man that had as perfect a knowledge of the eaſtern languages and poetry, as of the *Othman* court, ſeems herein to have followed the inſtructions of the famous *Perſian* poet, *Sheïkh Saadi*; eſpecially in that paſſage in his *Giuluſtan*, where he ſays, "a lie,
"which does a [good] work, is better than
"truth, which breeds confuſion." And indeed he could not have performed any ſervice that would have more obliged both Empires, or procured him greater rewards; ſo that he may juſtly be ſaid, to have killed two birds with one ſtone.

(33) *Feriole*] While Monſieur *de Chateauneuf* was ambaſſador from *France* to *Conſtantinople*, this *Feriol* followed the *Turkiſh* camp, in order to maintain a private correſpondence between the *French* court and the Vizir's; and when *Chateauneuf* was recalled, he was appointed to ſucceed him, on account of his being ſuppoſed to have acquired, by long uſe, a perfect knowledge of the manners and cuſtoms of the *Othman* court. But he behaved in this poſt quite otherwiſe than his friends had expected; for, either through his haughtineſs and natural obſtinacy, or by the treacherous advice of ſome whom he took for his friends, he not only oppoſed the *Port* in many reſpects, but alſo demanded ſeveral things that never uſed before to be granted to any ambaſſador,

proaching calm, and introduce a new ſcene of blood, alledging, that his maſter had only made a ſhort truce under the name of a peace, and when it was expired, would

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ambaſſador, and were contrary to the uſages of the *Othman* court. In the very beginning of his embaſſy, when he was, according to cuſtom, to have his firſt audience of the Sultan, he came into the inner room with his ſword by his ſide. *Maurocordato*, who aſſiſted at that ceremony as chief interpreter of the court, friendly told him to take off his ſword; for it was an old cuſtom in the *Othman* court, not to ſuffer any one perſon armed to come to the Sultan: but he boldly anſwered, he had received his ſword from his King, and would not take it off for any man. The Sultan having notice of it, ſends *Feriole* orders to take off his ſword, and if he refuſed, commands he ſhould be thruſt out of doors. The *Capuji baſhi* execute this order, and rudely puſh back *Feriole* as he is endeavouring to enter. The ambaſſador, thus repulſed, in a very great paſſion makes his interpreters pull off the *Caſtans*, which, according to cuſtom, they had put on in the outer court, and, trampling upon them, goes out of the palace. When the Sultan heard of it, he ordered all the preſents the ambaſſador had brought, (and which alſo he demanded, affirming they had not been ſent by the King, his maſter, but were of his own purchaſing) to be reſtored to him; and would never after give him admittance, eſpecially as he conſtantly refuſed to come without a ſword. This affair highly offended the court, and yet the fault was not ſo much in *Feriole*, as in his predeceſſor, *Chateauneuf*; who having, at his firſt audience, worn a little dagger privately under his clothes, he ſet it down in the memoirs of his embaſſy, that he had audience of the Sultan with his ſword by his ſide. When he was recalled, he received orders from his court to deliver up all his memorials and papers to his ſucceſſor. *Feriole*, upon reading of them, aſked *Chateauneuf*, before his departure, whether that was true? and whether he muſt alſo appear himſelf before the Sultan with his ſword? He told him, yes; perhaps, becauſe he bore him a grudge. When this deceitful trick of *Chateauneuf* came to be known, *Feriole* might not only have recovered his reputation for prudence, but alſo have been reconciled to the *Port*, had he not ſoon after, by other as great outrages againſt the Sultan's authority, too openly diſcovered his wilful temper. The Sultan's barge has a tilt over it of purple ſilk, lined with cloth of gold, and ſupported with four gilt pillars, raiſed in the form of a throne, and adorned on the top with three gilt candleſticks placed in breadth. Theſe ornaments no perſon is allowed to bear, except the *Capudan Paſha*, or admiral, and only when he goes to ſea (for then he is reckoned as the *Deriyá Padiſhahi*, or Emperor of the ſea;) and the Vizir himſelf is permitted to uſe but a green tilt, ſupported by ivory pillars, and without candleſticks. But *Feriole*, inſiſting upon I know not what privileges and liberties of ambaſſadors, got a barge made like the Sultan's; and when his friends repreſented to him, that the Sultan would never ſuffer it, he ſwore a great oath, and ſaid, he would never come to *Conſtantinople* in any other barge. When it firſt appeared in the harbour at *Conſtantinople*, the *Boſtanji baſhi* followed it, thinking the Sultan had been ſomewhere, without his knowledge; when he came up to it, and found it was not the Sultan's, but the *French* ambaſſador's barge, he took the rowers out, and ordered the *Boſtanji* to break it in pieces on the water. Notwithſtanding this, *Feriole* ſtood to his word, and having a houſe at *Galata*, whenever any urgent buſineſs called him to *Conſtantinople*, he choſe rather to take a long and tedious journey by land, than to croſs over a much ſhorter way by water. The laſt diſturbance he raiſed at *Conſtantinople*, was in the Vizirſhip of *Calaily Ahmed Paſha*. He had obtained leave from his predeceſſor, *Silahdar Haſan Paſha*, to make rejoicings for the birth of the King his maſter's grandſon, by firing guns and making bonfires: and had accordingly got a ſumptuous entertainment ready, and made all other preparations for that ſolemnity. But the very day the rejoicings were to begin, *Silahdar Haſan Paſha* was depoſed, and *Calaily Ahmed Paſha* put in his room. *Feriole*, hearing of this change, ſends immediately his chief interpreter to the Vizir's houſe, to procure a confirmation of the former *Ferman*; and not being able to obtain it, by reaſon of the great concourſe of nobles about the new Vizir's door, and loth withal to have all his preparations come to nothing, he reſolves to keep the ſolemnity by virtue of the old *Ferman*. At night, when *Calaily Ahmed Paſha* ſees the light of the candles, ſurprized at ſuch an unuſual thing, done without his knowledge, he ſends, in the firſt heat of his paſſion, and without enquiring into the matter, the *Boſtanji baſhi* to the ambaſſador, to command him to put out the candles. *Feriole* refuſing to obey, the Vizir ſends the ſame perſon to him a ſecond time, to adviſe him in a friendly manner not to loſe his honour and his life, through his unſeaſonable obſtinacy; for he had

would in a few years invade *Germany* with a greater force than ever. But the *Othman* court having, by fatal experience, ſo often found the *French* promiſes of no effect, the ambaſſador's efforts prove in vain, and he is ordered to be quiet, and not diſturb the negotiation of peace.

However the Sultan diſpatches the Vizir with an army. H. 1109. A. C. 1698.

LXXX. But though the report of peace was very agreeable to the *Turks*, yet they omit nothing which could be deviſed in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, and ſecure their borders. The Sultan, at the end of the month *Zylcade*, of the year 1109, removes from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*, from whence, on the firſt of the next month, he orders the Vizir to march with the whole army to *Belgrade*, while he ſpends the ſummer in the village of *Akbunar*, near *Adrianople*, expecting the iſſue of the negotiation of peace.

But the *Turkiſh* and confederate armies, in hopes of peace, continue inactive.

LXXXI. In the mean time both armies, the Imperialiſts at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, in hopes of peace, continue without motion, and only guard their borders. The ſame is done by the *Ruſſians* and *Poles*. The *Venetians* have a ſlight engagement with the *Turkiſh* fleet near *Mitylene*, and the latter is put to flight, though not without ſome loſs. In *Dalmatia*, they at-

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had now a *Ferman* given him to quiet the troubles with his regiment, without further orders, and if the ambaſſador refuſed to obey, to extinguiſh the candles by force, and deſtroy all his preparations. To this *Feriole* replies, "If you will violently infringe the rights of the King, my maſter, and the privileges of ambaſſadors, I, who am bound to ſacrifice my own life for my maſter's honour, will blow up this houſe with gun-powder, and in it my ſelf and thoſe that come to offer any violence; and will leave the King, my maſter, to demand ſatisfaction for the injury done me." During this diſturbance, *Feriole*'s chief interpreter, one *La Fontaine*, a man well verſed in the affairs of the *Othman* court, privately puts out the candles that were lighted abroad; not in the order in which they ſtood, but ſome here, and others there, ſo that they might ſeem to have been blown out by the wind: and the gueſts perceiving the danger they were in, withdrew by degrees; ſo that *Feriole* was forced to do, for want of company, what he would not do for the Sultan's order, that is, put an end to his rejoicings. But, to ſay the truth, bating this obſtinacy, *Feriole* was a man endowed with many virtues, couragious, liberal, an agreeable companion, eaſy of acceſs, a very ſtrenuous aſſertor of the King, his maſter's honour, and above all ſincere, and a moſt conſtant friend both in proſperity and adverſity, of which I had a very ſingular proof while I lived at *Conſtantinople*. My perpetual and ſworn enemy, *Conſtantine Brancovan*, late Prince of *Walachia*, had bribed the Vizir, *Damad Haſan Paſha*, with large preſents, to baniſh me to *Chios*. Having been informed of it by my good friend, *Firari Haſan Paſha*, the *Teſtadar*, three days before the *Boſtanji baſhi*, who had received orders for that purpoſe, was to ſurround my houſe with his *Boſtanji* about the third watch of the night; I had fled for refuge into the *French* ambaſſador's houſe, and was very kindly received by *Feriole*. The Vizir hearing I was hid there, ſent one of his Aga's to the ambaſſador, to deſire him to deliver me up: but *Feriole* told him, "I have no *Bogdanbegzade* in "my houſe, and if I had, I would not "give him up, neither would I ſtain the "King, my maſter's honour, with ſo foul "a crime." But he gave a much ſharper anſwer to the Prince of *Walachia*'s *Capukiehaia*, that brought him *Brancovan*'s letter, in which he was required not to keep me, who was his enemy, in his houſe, and ſcreen me from the Vizir's juſt ſentence. He wondered (he ſaid) with what face *Brancovan* could ask ſuch a thing of him, when he knew that the houſe he lived in was not his own, but the King, his maſter's; who had ſo much kindneſs and compaſſion for the afflicted, eſpecially for Chriſtians, that he would make no ſcruple of concealing and protecting even him againſt the indignation of the Sultan and Vizirs, if ever he ſhould be turned out of his Principality; that therefore he acted very much againſt his own intereſt, in violating the rights and privileges of a houſe which might, one day, ſerve him for a ſanctuary. A few years after *Feriole* fell into a phrenzy, and was ſent to *France* chained; ſome, who pretend to be better acquainted with his ſecrets, affirm he was in his ſenſes when he returned home, and that his madneſs was not real, but feigned, by a peculiar order from the *French* court, becauſe they could find no better excuſe for all the diſturbance their ambaſſador cauſed at the *Othman Port*, than by ſaying he was mad: but I have many reaſons for not believing that account.

tempt to take *Stolaz* by ſtratagem, but are forced to retire without ſucceſs. The Seraskier, on the other hand, endeavours to make himſelf maſter of *Cing*, in the ſame province; but upon the approach of the *Venetians*, raiſes the ſiege.

The ambaſſadors of all the Princes meet at *Carlovitz*.

LXXXII. Having ſpoken enough of war, let us ſee what paſſed with regard to peace. Both ſides being, as I have ſaid, inclined to pacific meaſures, the preliminaries had now been ſettled at *Conſtantinople*; the place for the congreſs appointed, namely *Carlovitz*, between *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin*; and ambaſſadors appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* choſe *Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mahremi Eſrar* (34); the Emperor, Count *Pettingen* and Count *Schlik*, his privy-counſellors; the Czar of *Ruſſia*, *Procopius Bogdanowicz*, *Woznicini*; the *Poles*, *Staniſlaus Michelowski*, Weywode of *Poſnania*; the *Venetians* (35), *Ruzini*; and *Paget* and *Collier*, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ambaſſadors, were to act as mediators of the peace. They all meet about the end of the year 1110 at *Carlovitz*, and pitch their tents on both ſides the river *Carlovitz*.

H. 1110.

A. C. 1699.

At firſt there is a diſpute about precedency.

LXXXIII. At firſt there ariſes a diſpute concerning the place of conference, the ſeats of the ambaſſadors, precedency, and the order in which they were to viſit each other. The *Turks* inſiſted upon the firſt place, which was claimed by the Emperor's ambaſſadors, next to whom the *Poliſh* plenipotentiary demanded to ſit, which was refuſed by the *Ruſſian* and all the reſt, except the *Venetian*, who claimed the next ſeat to the *Engliſh*.

Which is very prudently adjuſted by *Maurocordatus*.

LXXXIV. This diſpute, though it ſeemed ſlight at firſt, grew ſo high, that all their labour and expence were like to be in vain, if *Maurocordatus*'s prudence had not invented a remedy by which the ambaſſadors, now incenſed againſt

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(34) *Mahremi Eſrar*] i. e. *to whom ſecrets are diſcovered*. *Maurocordatus* invented this new name for his office, which was never uſed before, nor has been ſince his death granted to any other. He rendered the ſame into *Greek*, and would fain have been called ὁ ἐξαπορρήτων; and long endeavoured to prevail upon the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, to give him the title of ὁ ἐκλαμπρότατος, *moſt illuſtrious*, in their letters, inſtead of the epithet ἐξοχότατος, or *moſt excellent*, which uſed to be given him, as the chief interpreter of the court; and which, in the patriarchate, and in thoſe princes courts, is not reckoned ſo honourable as ὁ ἐκλαμπρότατος.

(35) *Venetians*] It will not be improper to inſert in this place the famous ſaying of *Rami Reis Effendi*. For, finding the *Venetian* ambaſſador ſpoke ſomething boaſtingly, and proved harder and more difficult than the reſt in agreeing upon the articles of peace, he turned to him, and ſaid, "*Elchibeg* *, you ought not to be ſo unreaſonable, nor ſo full of your boaſts, eſpecially before ſuch an aſſembly of wiſe ambaſſadors as this, who all know how to make a compariſon between the condition and ſtrength of the Republick of *Venice*, and thoſe of the *Othman* Empire. For you could never have ſtretched your fingers, (which nature has made very ſhort) ſo far, had not the ſame thing happened, as one of our common ſtories ſays formerly befell two very ſtout and famous wreſtlers. They meet, and in order to contend with more ſtrength, pull off their clothes, and enter the liſts naked. While they were engaged, a *Yankieſiji*, (which is the name given to pickpockets, and ſuch pilfering rogues) creeping along the ground like a ſerpent, ſteals away the champion's clothes. At laſt, when the wreſtlers had exhauſted their ſtrength, and, according to cuſtom, given each other the kiſs of peace, they turned to their clothes, and perceiving they were ſtolen by a *Yankieſiji*, were forced to get other garments to cover their nakedneſs. Not long after, one of them found the thief dreſſed in a wreſtler's habit, walking in the market-place, and pretending to be a wreſtler, for fear the other ſhould diſcover his crime to the people; but the true wreſtler told him, the clothes thou haſt on are not thine, but mine; for while I was engaged with a ſtrong wreſtler, thou didſt come like a ſly fox and ſteal them away, and haſt not won them by wreſtling. However, ſome time or other we two may find an opportunity of encountring one another, and then thou ſhalt find what difference there is between a lion and a fox, a wreſtler and a thief; and I ſhall try whether thou haſt learned as well to fight as to ſteal; but I am afraid, beſides the clothes thou haſt taken from me, thou wilt leave thy ſkin too.

each other above meaſure, were mutually reconciled. He propoſes that a round building be run up for the place of conference, with as many doors as there are ambaſſadors, and each door look towards the country from whence the ambaſſadors ſeverally came; that the tents be placed in the ſame manner round the building, from whence, on the firſt day of the congreſs, each of them ſhould proceed with an equal pace, and enter the houſe at the ſame time, and, ſaluting each other at the entrance, take the ſeat next to them.

LXXXV. This being approved by all, they hold frequent conferences concerning the terms of peace; at laſt, after many diſputes, the peace wiſhed for by the whole world, except the *French*, is concluded on the 26th of the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1110, and the inſtruments ſigned by all the ambaſſadors. The wiſhed-for peace at laſt concluded. † *Jan.* 15. H. 1110. A. C. $1\frac{6}{7}\frac{9}{9}\frac{8}{8}$.

LXXXVI. The Emperor made a truce for five and twenty years upon theſe conditions: All *Tranſylvania* ſhould be reſigned to him, in the ſame extent in which it had been held by the laſt Prince, *Michael Apaffi*, and his predeceſſors. *Temeſwar* was to be left to the Sultan; and leſt that city ſhould be blocked up by the adjacent caſtles, and deprived of proviſions, *Lippa*, *Chonad*, *Caranſebes*, *Lugos*, *Herconiſia*, *Bech* *, *Bechkerek* *, and *Sabbia*, were to have their walls demoliſhed, and neither party allowed to rebuild them; that the navigation of the *Tibiſcus* and *Maros* ſhould be free to the ſubjects of both Empires, and the country between the *Danube* and the *Tibiſcus*, called *Bachkah* *, remain in the Emperor's hands; that the boundary of the eaſtern part of *Hungary*, belonging to the Emperor, ſhould be a right line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros*, through the banks of the *Tibiſcus* to the mouth of the *Boſſut*, where it falls into the *Save*; that towards the ſouth the *Save* ſhould part the *Turkiſh* from the Imperial boundaries till it receives the *Unna*; that no new caſtles, beſides *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin* ſhould be erected or fortified any where within theſe boundaries. The articles of the peace between the Sultan and the Emperor.

LXXXVII. The *Ruſſian* ambaſſador made a truce only for two years, upon the terms of each party poſſeſſing what they had taken. And the Czar.

LXXXVIII. The *Poles* made the ſame truce as the Emperor, upon theſe conditions; that they ſhould have *Caminiec*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, in the ſame extent as that kingdom had poſſeſſed before Sultan *Mahomet*'s firſt expedition into *Poland*, reſtored to them; and, on the other hand, reſign *Soczava*, *Nemoz*, and *Soroka*, in *Moldavia*, to the *Turks*. And the *Poles*.

LXXXIX. The *Venetians* obtained theſe conditions; that all the *Morea*, as far as *Hexamilos*, ſhould belong to them and the *Turkiſh Terra Firma*, with *Naupactum*, *Preveſa*, and the caſtle of *Romania*, which had been demoliſhed, ſhould be reſtored to the *Turks*; that the bay of *Corinth* ſhould be common to both, and the *Venetians* poſſeſs *Leucade*, with the adjacent iſlands. The yearly tribute which the ſeveral ſlands in the *Archipelago* had hitherto paid to the *Venetians*, was to be aboliſhed; and, on the other hand, the *Turks* were to declare *Zacynth* free from tribute. In *Dalmatia*, *Knin*, *Cing*, *Cyklut*, *Verlica*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be left to the *Venetians*, and fixed as the boundaries of the dominions of their Republick. The *Raguſians* were to continue free, and the *Venetians* were to retain the caſtles of *Caſtelnuovo* and *Riſano*, with what they poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood. Both parties were to be allowed to fortify their borders with new fortreſſes, or repair thoſe which were decayed, except *Naupactum*, *Preveſa*, and the caſtle of *Romania*. And the *Venetians*.

XC. Theſe articles being unanimouſly agreed upon, the *Turkiſh* ambaſſadors return to the Sultan at *Adrianople*, and, informing him of their proceedings, receive royal rewards for their ſervices. Having thus ſettled a peace with all his enemies, the Sultan diſbands his army, and that ſame ſummer departs from *Adrianople* to *Conſtantinople*, in order to regulate the diſordered ſtate of the Empire, and by a prudent adminiſtration, repair the loſſes it had ſuſtained. The articles of peace being agreed upon, the ambaſſadors return to *Adrianople*.

XCI. From

Ambaſſadors extraordinary are ſent by the Princes on both ſides.

XCI. From thence he ſends *Haznadar Ibrahim Paſha* (36), as ambaſſador extraordinary, with an *Ahd Name* to the Emperor of *Germany*, and receives from him in return, by the hands of Count *Toening*, the ratifications of peace ſigned by him. Having diſpatched theſe affairs, he commits the whole adminiſtration of the Empire to the Vizir, *Huſein Paſha*, and to relax his mind, removes with his court to *Karyſhtiran* (37), where he endeavours to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loſs of ſo many provinces.

The reſtleſs nation of the *Turks* murmur againſt the Sultan.

H. 1111.

A. C. 1699.

XCII. Upon this receſs after ſo many toils, the people, and eſpecially the ſoldiery, grew uneaſy, and imagined that the peace, ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, was granted them for no other end, but to watch narrowly and cenſure the words and actions of their Sultan. Hence they bluſhed not to ſay, in their aſſemblies, that the Sultan was diſpoſed to imitate his father in all things. For as his father, in the firſt years of his reign, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of affairs, and neglected nothing which he thought would enlarge the bounds of the Empire; ſo *Muſtapha*, in the firſt five years of his reign, had applied himſelf wholly to the ſtate, and diſcharged all the duties of a father of his country, and in this reſpect imitated the virtues of the other; but that now he was reſolved to imitate thoſe vices of which his father, in his advanced age, and after extending the Empire, was guilty, namely, the love of hunting and dogs, though he was yet young, and not ſo conſpicuous for his ſervices to the *Othman* Empire. For he had not recovered any thing from the enemy, nor during the whole courſe of the war done any action to deſerve the thanks of the publick, except in preventing the enemy from penetrating farther into the heart of the Empire. Since therefore his father, illuſtrious for ſo many victories, was depoſed on account of his exceſſive fondneſs for hunting, it was to be feared that an equal, if not a worſe fate, would attend his ſon, who was much inferior to him.

The Sultan removes to *Adrianople* to avoid the reproaches of the people.

XCIII. To avoid theſe reproaches, the Sultan takes a method, often uſed with ſucceſs by his predeceſſors, namely, to retire to *Adrianople*. For when he had ſent for the Vizir and all the great officers of the Empire to that city, and thereby removed all ſubject of calumny from the ſpies upon his conduct, the people are ſilent, and ceaſe from their uſual ſatyr againſt their governors.

The Chan of *Tartary* endeavours to diſturb the peace between the *Turks* and the Czar of *Ruſſia*.

† *December.*

H. 1111.

A. C. 1700.

XCIV. During his ſtay at *Adrianople*, in the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1111, the Sultan is informed by letters from the Chan of *Tartary*, that the Czar of *Ruſſia* having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country, (one of which points was true, the other falſe) had introduced thoſe of *Germany*, and raiſed a very large army out of his whole kingdom, diſciplined after the *German* manner; and though he had made a truce at *Carlovitz* for two years,

ANNOTATIONS.

(36) *Haznadar Ibrahim*] He was at firſt treaſurer and confident of the prime Vizir, *Cara Muſtapha Paſha*, and was on account of that office named *Haznadar*. After *Cara*'s death, having ſincerely diſcovered his pernicious deſigns to *Aineji Soliman Paſha*, he came to be highly in favour with him, and was advanced to very conſiderable poſts. At laſt, when a peace was concluded with the *Germans*, he was ſent to *Vienna* with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to confirm it, and at his return from thence was appointed governor of *Belgrade*. He was a prudent man, of a ſharp and quick wit, but full of moderation, and very fit to manage embaſſies, and other political affairs: undoubtedly he would have arrived to the higheſt poſts in the *Othman* government, had he not been ſuppoſed to have ſullied the honour of the *Mahometan* law, and the *Aliothman* Empire, by his immoderate love of wine, which he learned at *Vienna* to addict himſelf to. For, upon this account, Sultan *Muſtapha* would not ſuffer him to come to *Adrianople*, nor give him admittance, but ordered him to remain at his government of *Belgrade*; which ſat ſo heavy upon his mind, that in a few months it brought him into a conſumption, of which he died.

(37) *Karyſhtiran*] a town between *Chorlo* and *Burgaz*, near the road from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*. There is ſtill to be ſeen a very fine palace, built by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, for the conveniency of hunting: for the adjacent country is very pleaſant, and fit for hunting, being full of hares, famous for their great ſwiftneſs.

was

was preparing a fleet with utmoſt expedition, and building new cities and caſtles upon the *Tanais*, *Boryſthenes*, and other rivers; that theſe proceedings were no ſign of peace, but it was rather to be feared, that the latent flame would ſhortly break out with great fury and danger; that the Sultan therefore ought to take care, that while he put an end to the war with the *Germans* in the weſt, a new *Nemche* * *Giaur* from the north did not diſtreſs the *Othman* Empire, and bring it into great danger, ſince nothing could prevent the *Ruſſians* from over-running all *Crim-Tartary* in the firſt campain, before the *Turks* could come to its relief. It was neceſſary therefore either to have a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, leſt the enemy ſhould have time and opportunity to ſtrengthen themſelves. If the Sultan ſhould happen to doubt of the truth of this report, he ſhould ſend a truſty officer, who might be an eye-witneſs of what was tranſacted, and might inform the Sultan of all particulars.

The Sultan ſends a perſon to obſerve the deſigns of the Czar.

XCV. The Sultan, unknown to the Vizir, ſends his maſter of horſe, *Kybleli Ogli* (38), ſon to the Vizir's ſiſter, into *Crim-Tartary*, with orders ſtrictly to examine the conduct of the *Ruſſians*, and immediately return, without informing any perſon of the occaſion of his journey. *Kybleli Ogli*, having received this command, prepares for his journey; but before his departure, ſecretly goes to his uncle, and acquaints him with the Sultan's commiſſion. The Vizir, leſt this ſpark ſhould become a greater flame than what had been extinguiſhed, directs his kinſman, at his return, to come to him before he went to the Sultan, for inſtructions what to ſay. *Kybleli Ogli* obſerves his advice, and at his return, before he waits upon the Sultan, goes to the Vizir in diſguiſe, and acquaints him, that the *Ruſſians* had built a large fleet at two places, namely, at *Voroneſby* and *Azac*, and were every day increaſing it; that they had fortified *Taganorok* in a ſurprizing manner, and that above twenty thouſand workmen were perpetually employed in building new fortifications; that the works at *Camenzaton*, above the *Boryſthenes*, were already finiſhed, and the cataracts of that river opened, and made fit for navigation; that the *Tartars* had nothing left ſecure beyond the *Cherſonenſus*, and were perpetually annoyed by the incurſions of the *Coſaks*; with many other particulars of the like nature, which were true; and withal, ſeemed to demonſtrate the diſinclination of the *Ruſſians* to peace.

The Vizir, by falſe repreſentations, endeavours to avoid a war with *Ruſſia*.

XCVI. The Vizir conſidering, that if theſe things were related to the Sultan, they would occaſion a more dreadful war than the former, deſires his kinſman to conceal them, and perſuade the Sultan, that the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*'s account was entirely groundleſs, and a mere fiction, aggravated according to the uſual way of the *Tartars*; for they know they are never regarded by the *Othmans*, except in time of war, and are ſo accuſtomed to plunder, that they think they can hardly ſubſiſt without it; that the *Ruſſians* had indeed, during the war, begun ſeveral caſtles; but had now diſcontinued their works, and were deſirous of nothing ſo much as preſerving the peace inviolate, and the commerce free between themſelves and the *Turks*, for which purpoſe they would ſoon ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary to the reſplendent *Port*.

The Chan being accuſed of a falſity, clears himſelf to the Sultan.

XCVII. *Kybleli Ogli*, furniſhed with this fictitious ſtory, the next day pretending to be juſt come from his journey, without having ſpoken to any perſon, goes directly to the Sultan, and tells him exactly what he had been taught. The Sultan, not ſuſpecting his fidelity, is extremely incenſed againſt the Chan, and in a letter ſeverely reprimands him for his falſe and injurious account. The Chan, perceiving by this that the Sultan had been deceived by the artifice of *Kybleli Ogli*, anſwers by letter, that he never durſt preſume to offer falſities to his majeſty; but thought that *Kybleli Ogli*, bribed by the enemy, had

ANNOTATIONS.

(38) *Kybleli Ogli*] He was ſiſter's ſon to the Vizir *Amucje Ogli Huſein Paſha*, who loved him ſo entirely, that, though he was young, he never ceaſed to importune the Sultan till he had made him *Buyuk imrahor*. I have already given a larger account of him in the body of the hiſtory.

not informed him of what he had ſeen and heard in *Crim-Tartary*, and perhaps had accuſed him of falſhood, becauſe he had not received ſuch rich preſents from him as he expected; for that the account which he had given his majeſty in his former letters was as clear and evident as the light of the ſun; that *Kybleli Ogli* would not deny what he had ſeen, if he ſhould be more ſtrictly and ſeverely examined.

Kybleli Ogli's fraud being detected, he is put to death, and the Vizir deprived of his poſt.

XCVIII. This anſwer of the Chan being delivered by unknown perſons to the Sultan, as he was coming out of the *Jami*, he immediately ſends for *Kybleli Ogli*, threatning him with death, if he did not frankly confeſs the truth. *Kybleli*, in this dangerous ſituation, acknowledges that every thing related by the Chan in his former letters was true; but that he had amuſed his majeſty with a different ſtory, by the perſuaſion of the Vizir, whoſe commands he could not refuſe on account of the authority of his poſt, and his relation to him, and humbly begs pardon of his fault. The impoſture of both being thus detected, the Sultan at firſt deprives *Kybleli Ogli* of his poſt, and baniſhes him from *Conſtantinople*; but ſoon after ſending *Haſeki Aga* with a *Chatiſheriſ*, orders him to be put to death. At the ſame time he removes *Huſein Paſha* from the office of Vizir, and baniſhed him to a village near *Syllebria*, reducing him to a private ſtation, though without meddling with his eſtate.

H. 1113.
A. C. 1731.

The Vizirſhip vacant.

XCXIX. After his removal, the Vizirſhip, by a very rare example, was vacant forty days, till the arrival of *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha* governor of *Babylon*, whom the Sultan had reſolved to advance to that office, on account of his ſubduing the *Arabs*. During this interval, *Silahdar Huſan Paſha*, under the title of *Vekil*, had the adminiſtration of affairs.

Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha made Vizir.

C. When the new Vizir, *Daltaban Muſtapha Paſha* was come, he takes upon him the poſt deſigned for him, and immediately demands a liſt of all the caſtles which the *Othman* Empire was poſſeſſed of before and after the laſt war with the *Germans*.

He is extremely incenſed againſt the ambaſſadors who made the peace.

CI. Finding by this liſt, that a great many towns beyond the *Save*, which he had taken from the *Germans* while he was Baſha of *Boſnia*, were reſtored to them by the peace, he is extremely provoked, declaring thoſe who had made the peace were no leſs *Giaurs* than the *Germans* themſelves, ſince they had given up, without any neceſſity, ſo many places reduced to the *Othman* obedience by his own blood, and had given *Cameniec*, a city deſigned by Sultan *Mahomet* for the bulwark of the whole Empire, and for a noble monument of the *Mahometan* religion by the erection of a magnificent *Jami*, in exchange for three towns of *Moldavia* filled with Chriſtians.

He deſigns to make war upon the *Poles*.

CII. Not content with reproaching the peace-makers, he reſolves to break it, and particularly to declare war againſt the *Poles*. He was in great hopes of better ſucceſs than before, as well from the weakneſs of that kingdom, which he had ſufficiently obſerved while Seraskier againſt them, as from the confuſed ſtate of *Europe* upon the death of the King of *Spain*, on which account neither the Emperor nor any other of the Chriſtian Princes could aſſiſt them.

He ſeeks an occaſion of breaking the peace.

CIII. But leſt the ſuperſtitious people ſhould think the truce violated by the *Othman* court, and for that reaſon fear the event, he carefully examines whether any thing had been done by the *Germans* which might give a colour to declare war.

He threatens the ambaſſadors, under pretence that the peace was contrary to the precept of the *Koran*.

CIV. But finding no pretence to accuſe the enemy of a breach of the peace, he declares that the ambaſſadors of the *Othman* court had acted contrary to the *Koran* and the Sultan's command, and given more to the enemy than their orders would juſtify; and for that reaſon he reſolves to put them to death.

He reſolves to put the Muſti to death.

CV. But perceiving the Mufti's authority would be a great obſtacle in this affair, who had not only approved of the peace by his *Fetvah*, but likewiſe was a ſingular patron of the ambaſſadors, he determines to diſpatch him privately, becauſe he could not publickly do it out of reverence to his office. For this purpoſe, he pretends a ſtrict friendſhip with him, often viſiting him in a familiar manner, and diſcourſing with him concerning the ſtate of the publick affairs;

at

at laſt he invites him to a ſplendid entertainment, ſecretly directing ſome of his chamberlains, that when the water was pouring out for the Mufti to waſh his hands, they ſhould of a ſudden ſtrangle him with a cord.

CVI. But the very thing which the Vizir had contrived for the deſtruction of the Mufti, by his imprudence, turns to his own ruin. For having diſcovered the ſecret to his *Kiehaia, Ibrahim Aga* (39), the latter, to ingratiate himſelf with the Mufti, immediately goes with the *Caſab baſhi* (40), *Cara Mehemed Aga* (41), and informs him of the danger to which he was expoſed. Upon this the Mufti pretending ſickneſs, throws himſelf upon his bed, and in a faint voice anſwers the Vizir, who was come (42) to invite him to the feaſt, that he was extremely ſorry his ſudden indiſpoſition ſhould prevent his coming; but he would ſend his ſon, *Nakyb Effendi*, to ſupply the place of his ſick father. His deſign being diſcovered, the Mufti eſcapes the danger.

CVII. When the Vizir was gone, the Mufti ſends for the *Reis Effendi, Rumi, Mehemmed Paſha* (43), and *Maurycordatus*, and acquaints them with the Vizir's deſign The Mufti accuſes the Vizir to the Sultan of rebellion.

ANNOTATIONS.

(39) *Ibrahim Aga*] After this treachery to his maſter, and his death, he was, through the Mufti's application, made Baſha of *Theſſalonica*; and, on account of his lameneſs, named *Topal Ibrahim Paſha*, i. e. *Ibrahim Paſha the Lame*. But he did not long enjoy the reward of his perfidiouſneſs; for, a few months after, he fell ill at *Theſſalonica*, and, as 'tis ſaid, in the midſt of horrible torments, perpetually calling upon the name of his maſter, and bellowing like a bull, he diſmiſſed his ſoul to the manſions prepared by *Mahomet*.

(40) *Caſab baſhi*] The chief butcher, whoſe buſineſs it is to take care that none but ſound and freſh meat be brought into the ſhops, and not be ſold above the ſtated price. There is another of the ſame name employed in time of war to buy cattle for the army, of whom an account has been given in a former note.

(41) *Cara Mehemed Aga*] He was named *Cara* on account of the blackneſs of his complexion, which I have ſeveral times obſerved to be a name common among the *Turks*. He was the richeſt *Turk* in his time, ſo that he often could lend five hundred or a thouſand purſes, at three days notice, to *Conſtantine Brancovan*, whoſe great dependant he was whenever he had occaſion. He met with the ſame end, as generally attends all thoſe that have enriched themſelves in the *Turks* ſervice: for under *Damad Haſan Paſha*, being falſely accuſed, he was turned out of his place, thrown into priſon, and ſtripped of all the riches and treaſures he had amaſſed.

(42) was come] As the Vizir and Mufti both hold the higheſt degree in their reſpective orders, they never meet without great previous ceremonies; for the Mufti, before he goes to viſit the Vizir, ſends his *Talkbyſhchi* *, which he has peculiar to himſelf, as well as the Vizir, to enquire whether he is at home? and to let him know he intends to viſit him. The Vizir, on the other hand, ſends with his *Talkbyſhchi* * the *Reis Effendi*, to meet the Mufti as far as his houſe, who going before, the Mufti follows in his chariot; (for he never rides on horſeback in the city, and but ſeldom in the country.) When he arrives at the Vizir's palace, the *Kietchullubeg* and *Chauſh* * *baſhi* meet him at the gate, and lead him under the arms as far as the ſtair-caſe. The Vizir himſelf meets him upon the firſt ſtep, and after the uſual ſalutations, they both go up ſtairs, the Vizir going firſt. The Mufti, in the mean time, with a grave countenance, and with both his hands upon his breaſt, bleſſes the people on both ſides with the cuſtomary form uſed among the *Mahometans*, *Selamun aleikum*, i. e. *Peace be with you*; at which they bow the head. When they come into the room, they both ſit down, the Vizir on the left hand, as the moſt honourable place, and the Mufti on the right, and conclude the viſit with the ſame ceremonies.

(43) *Rami Mehemed*] He was born at *Conſtantinople*, in the ſuburbs of *Eyub*, of parents of mean condition, and there applying himſelf to learning and poetry, he had the name of *Rami* conferred upon him by the academy of poetry: for it is cuſtomary among the maſters of that art, as ſoon as their ſcholars are able to make verſes, to give them new names, which they retain to their death. When he had finiſhed the courſe of his ſtudies, fortune having denied him means of riſing higher, he frequented taverns; and as he was very handſom, and had a harmonious voice, and beſides underſtood muſick, he got a pretty good livelyhood there, conſidering his condition. He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet, *Nabi Effendi*, ſecretary to the *Muſahib* Divan, by whoſe good inſtructions he ſo improved, that though he had no place at court, becauſe all his friends were dead, yet he paſſed among the great men for a good writer. At laſt, *Elmas Mehemed Paſha* made him *Mukabeleji*, and *Huſein Paſha* appointed him *Reis Effendi*, in which office he diſplayed his abilities, while he had jointly

design against them. Having maturely considered the affair, this triumvirate resolve to go to the Sultan, and by a feigned or real accusation of the Vizir, procure him to be removed from his post, and, if possible, put to death. The Mufti undertakes this province, and the next day waits upon the Sultan, informing him, that the Vizir was engaged in some new designs destructive to the whole *Othman* Empire; that he had secretly listed a very numerous army, made his dependants officers in it, and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand publickly the rupture of the peace, and depose the Sultan, if he would not gratify the army's desires.

The credulous Sultan puts the Vizir to death without examining his cause; *Rami Pasha* advanced in his room.

CVIII. The Sultan readily believing what the Mufti, for whom he had a great esteem, had falsely charged upon the Vizir, and being extremely incensed against him, orders him to be sent for by *Baltajilar Kiehajasi*, and severely reproaches him; and when he attempted to excuse himself, commands him to be put to death, advancing in his room *Rami Mehemed Pasha*, who, from *Reis Effendi*, a few days before, had been made *Cubbe Vizir*.

The Vizir's death the occasion of a dreadful rebellion.

CIX. But from the Vizir's blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human blood flowed. The *Ulema*, citizens and soldiers at *Constantinople*, hearing what had happened at *Adrianople*, begin to complain openly as well as privately of the present administration, declaring that all things were now managed with confusion; that the new Vizir, the Mufti, and other great officers, were traytors; and that their whole conduct tended to the ruin of the Empire; that for this purpose, they had persuaded the Sultan to put to death *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*, one of the greatest heroes of the age, who, supposing he had been guilty of some misconduct, should rather have been banished, that he might on occasion, like a cooped lion, be let loose upon an enemy. But that they being jealous of this, would not suffer him to live, who had twice signalized his warlike abilities against the *Germans* and *Arabs*; and by their management, had raised *Rami Mehemed Pasha* to the Vizirship, a good scribe indeed, and a man of great learning, but unfit for that office; that this was the very reason of persuading the Sultan to leave his capital, the great bulwark of the Empire, reside at *Adrianople*, and wander in the woods; that *Constantinople* was drained, and *Adrianople* rendered famous; and whilst the inhabitants of the former, by the absence of the court and the tyranny of the governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty; the *Adrianopolitans*, now grown rich and haughty, looked with contempt upon the posterity of so

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jointly, with *Maurocordatus*, the management of the peace. At his return from that embassy, he came to be in great esteem with the Sultan, and had the commendation from him of having well and skilfully discharged his commission. When *Daltaban* endeavoured to put him to death, he not only secured himself by his own and the Mufti's artifices, but also much bettered his condition with the spoils of his enemy. Being a second time sentenced to punishment by the rebels, he saved himself by running away, and lay concealed some time at *Constantinople* among the women. The rebellion being quelled, he appeared again in public under the Vizirship of *Hasan Pasha*, and was first made Basha of *Egypt*, the richest Pashalic in the whole *Othman* Empire, and from thence removed to the government of *Cyprus*, where those persons are commonly sent whom the court has a mind to send out of the way without blood: but the goodness of his constitution being proof too long against the badness of the air, the *Capuji bashi* was sent with a *Chatisherif* to put him to death. However, it was not his fate to die a violent death; for after he had taken the *Abdest*, he expired as he was repeating the prayers commonly said among the *Turks*, by persons condemned to death. The superstitious people, who were of his party, believe that an angel was sent from heaven to receive his soul, and had prevented the injustice of his enemies: but it seems more probable, that he was overpowered and suffocated with fear, and died of a palpitation of heart; for though he outdid all the *Turkish* writers in quickness of wit and elegance of expression, yet he was thought to be weak, fearful, and of an effeminate mind. It has been observed, that he was but a mere tool to *Maurocordatus*, by whose secret persuasion and advice he did many things; which *Maurocordatus*, as being a Christian, could not propose in publick: and therefore many things are falsely ascribed to his skill and penetration, which none but a man of *Maurocordatus*'s discernment and capacity could have invented.

many *Othman* heroes; that to diſgrace the city of *Conſtantinople* the more, there was appointed for *Caimacan*, *Kioprili Abdullah Paſha* (44), a youth of eighteen years, who, except the glory of his father, had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the Mufti's daughter, as if no bounds could be fixed to the Mufti's will, who had already exceeded the limits of his office, and wanted but little of engroſſing, with his family, the whole *Othman* Empire; that all the beſt and nobleſt *Mollahſhips* were filled by his young ſons, or by thoſe who could purchaſe them; for his houſe was become the office of avarice, where juſtice and eccleſiaſtical dignities were ſold to the rich, and not diſpoſed of to men of integrity and learning. Theſe, and other things, they uttered publickly with great aſſurance, and gave ſufficient marks of their readineſs to revolt; but a leader and a proper occaſion were wanting: the laſt is ſoon given them by the *Caimacan*, *Kioprili Abdullah Paſha* himſelf.

CX. For when he, about the end of the month *Muharem*, of the year 1114, with the *Tefterdar* of *Iſtambol*, diſtributed the pay to the Janizaries, the *Jebeji*, who are next in order to the Janizaries, go three or four times to the gates of the *Caimacan* and *Tefterdar*, deſiring alſo to be paid; but the *Caimacan* putting them off from day to day, they ſend about forty of their companions to him, as he is hearing the complaints of the people in the *Divan*, and by an *Arzuhal*, humbly beſeech him to grant them their pay in their turn. Having read this petition, his youthful blood is fired, and reproaching the *Jebeji* in very ſevere and diſhonourable terms, bids them wait, becauſe there was no money in the treaſury. They, provoked at this treatment, go out of the *Divan*; but upon the very ſtairs return the *Caimacan's* reproaches with greater ſharpneſs, and ſo loud, that the by-ſtanders could hear almoſt every word. The *Caimacan*, informed of this, commands the *Muhzuri* (45), immediately to follow and ſeize them, and carry them to their chief officer, that they might be put to death: for it is capital among the *Turks* to contradict or uſe reproachful terms to any judge, eſpecially to the *Caimacan*, who is ſuppoſed to be the Sultan's vicegerent. The *Muhzurs* uſing force, are reſiſted by the *Jebeji*, who raiſe a tumult in the ſtreet, and finding themſelves over-powered by numbers, in the uſual phraſe of the ſoldiers, [*yoldaſh yokmidur?* are no companions at hand?] call out for aſſiſtance.

The ſedition, long concealed, at laſt breaks out into open rebellion. H. 1114. A. C. 1702.

CXI. The *Jebeji*, at this cry, flock together from all parts; reſcue their fellows from the *Muhzurs*, drive away the officers of juſtice, and return triumphantly to their quarters. There they give a particular account to the reſt of their body of what they had done, heard, ſaid, and ſuffered; adding, it was in vain to wait for their pay, while the diſtribution was in the hands of a youth, whoſe brains were turned by his high and undeſerved dignity.

The *Jebeji* firſt raiſed the ſedition.

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(44) *Kioprili Abdullah*] The ſon of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, who was ſlain at the battle of *Salancamen* in 1691. Having married the Mufti's daughter, he was raiſed before the uſual time to the office of *Cubbe Vizir*, and afterwards to that of *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, which, next to the Prime-Vizir, is accounted one of the higheſt dignities in the *Othman* Empire: but, by his youthful raſhneſs, he did many things amiſs, and behaved haughtily, which proved the cauſe, or at leaſt the occaſion, of Sultan *Muſtapha's* being depoſed. But afterwards, growing wiſer with age, he acted with more moderation, and thereby obtained not only pardon for his paſt faults, but alſo was promoted by the preſent Sultan to the Paſhalic of *Sebaſtia*, after having quelled a rebellion.

(45) *Muhzur*] Their name is derived from *ibzar*, to *bring*, becauſe their buſineſs is to guard the Vizir's palace; to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next *Divan*. No certain *Oda* of the Janizaries is ſet apart for that buſineſs, but if any *Chorbaji** is raiſed to *Muhzur agalyk*, the regiment he commands does the office of the *Muhzuri*: but if he is made *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople* in the Sultan's abſence, another *Oda* of Janizaries is choſen for that buſineſs. To put malefactors to death, there is a ſelect body taken out of the *Muhzuri*, who, from the *Falanga*, or inſtrument they uſe in beheading, are called *Falangaji*.

Carakaſh, at the head of the rebels, attacks the *Caimacan.*

CXII. Their report is confirmed by *Carakaſh Mehemed*, a man of great boldneſs, and fond of changes in the government, and the whole aſſembly excited by him to revenge the injury upon the *Caimacan.* This is readily agreed to by the reſt of the *Jebeji*, who immediately take arms, and run to the *Caimacan's* palace. The *Caimacan*, informed of this affair, eſcapes through a back-door, and ſo ſaves himſelf, but not the Sultan, nor the Empire, from the danger.

The *Jebeji* joined by the Janizaries and *Ulema.*

CXIII. For after his eſcape, the *Jebeji* running every where in parties, rouſe the Janizaries and *Ulema* with the repetition of their former complaints of the ill adminiſtration of affairs. The city being filled with tumults, the next day the leaders of the ſedition meet in the *Atmeidan* (46), and reſolve either to periſh, or deſtroy the Vizir, Mufti, and other oppreſſors of the people, confirming their reſolution by an oath.

Haſan Paſha made *Caimacan* by the conſpirators, who declare their own Mufti and Vizir.

CXIV. In this aſſembly, *Firari Huſan Paſha* offers to be their leader, and upon the removal of *Kioprili Abdullah Paſha*, is appointed *Caimacan* by the conſpirators. The *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (47), aſſumes the office of Mufti, and under that title gives the *Fetvah.* Another perſon of no note, *Dorojan Ahmed Paſha*, who having been recalled from his Paſhalic, lived privately at *Conſtantinople*, is made Vizir by the rebels. *Kulkiehaia Chalyk* Ahmed Aga*, is appointed *Janizar Agaſi*, and *Diw Ali Aga* (48), who had been deprived of the poſt of *Kulkiehaia*, is reſtored to that office.

They order the gates of the city to be ſhut.

CXV. By their advice, the conſpirators ſhut the gates of *Conſtantinople*, to prevent any perſon from informing the Sultan of their deſigns, ſuffer no man to go out of the city, unleſs ſent by themſelves; plunder the magazines of arms kept there, to be employed in war, and arm themſelves againſt the Empire.

The Sultan ſends an ambaſſador to the rebels.

CXVI. The Sultan hearing of this, ſends *Muſtapha Effendi* (49), the chief ſecretary, as ambaſſador to the people of *Conſtantinople*, to enquire the reaſon of ſo great a rebellion in the royal city, and to promiſe that the Sultan would grant all their deſires.

He is ill treated by the rebels.

CXVII. But when he came to the city on the eighth day of the ſedition, the guard at the gate force him from his horſe, and carry him bound to the *Atmeidan*, where the chiefs of the rebels had pitched their tents. The people immediately cry out, he is come as a ſpy, and ruſhing upon him before their leaders could examine him, or reſtrain their violence, beat him almoſt to death, and endeavour, by torture, to oblige him to confeſs what the Sultan was doing at *Adrianople.* But their outrage, and his own fears, had ſo taken away his ſenſes

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(46) *Atmeidan*] The *Hippodrome*, built by the Emperor *Juſtinian*, near St. *Sophia*, and running along the court of the *Jami Sultan Ahmed.* It is at this day put to its original uſe, that is, to air and exerciſe the Sultan's horſes: but ſometimes it ſerves for a rendezvous to rebels.

(47) *Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi*] He was of the race of the *Emirs*, and had formerly, under Sultan *Mahomet* IV, been raiſed to the dignity of Mufti. The name of *Kiazibi*, that is, *Lyar*, was given him, becauſe he was thought to be much given to lying; for it is uſual among the learned in *Turkey*, (as they have no family-name, and many of them have frequently the ſame name) to diſtinguiſh one another by ſuch epithets. Thus there was at the ſame time another *Sadik Mehemed Effendi*, i. e. *Mehemed Effendi the juſt*, who was raiſed in his old age by the preſent Sultan to the dignity of Mufti, but was ſoon after depoſed, becauſe at the burial of the Sultan's ſon, inſtead of *Jenaaza Namazi*, or the burial-prayers, he had read *Beiram Namaz.*

(48) *Diw Ali Aga*] From a common Janizary, he paſſed through the ſeveral degrees to the dignity of *Kulkiehaiaſi*; but being afterwards turned out, he lived a private life at *Conſtantinople.* When the ſedition was appeaſed, Sultan *Ahmed* purſuing all the offenders, he was the only one that eſcaped, and fled, as was reported, to *Jezairi*, (the *Algiers* of the *Europeans*;) ſo that he could never be found.

(49) *Muſtapha Effendi*] He was at firſt, under *Amucje Ogli Huſein Paſha*, the *Kiuchiuk* Teſhkiereji*, and afterwards the *Buyuk Teſhkiereji.* After the rebellion was quelled, he was ſent with *Taixadin*, or the preſent Sultan's nurſe, to *Mecca*; but periſhed by ſhipwreck before he arrived at *Alexandria.*

and ſpeech, that he could not explain what he was commanded to diſcover; and being ready to expire, was obliged to be carried to a neighbouring houſe.

CXVIII. This incenſing them more againſt the Sultan, they prepare an army with great eagerneſs, and aſſembling above fifty thouſand ſoldiers on the nineteenth day, leave the city, and encamp firſt near *Daud Paſha*, reſolving, if the Muſulmans at *Adrianople* ſhould dare to oppoſe them, utterly to deſtroy that city, as the rival of the capital. With this reſolution, the ſixth day after their departure from *Conſtantinople* they come to *Hapſa*, a town not far from *Adrianople*, and from thence inform the Sultan, that they had not conſpired againſt him, but the evil miniſters of the publick affairs, nor taken arms to fight againſt Muſulmans, but merely to oblige thoſe who, with an infidel mind, had ſold the ſecurity of the Empire to the enemies, to ſubmit to tryal before the ſacred and divine judgment of the *Koran*. But if the Sultan would uſe the ſword in an affair which ought to be tried in a judicial way, they would repell force with force, and he would be accountable to God for the needleſs effuſion of Muſulman blood. They likewiſe privately warn the inhabitants of *Adrianople*, not to appear in arms, if they would ſave themſelves from being plundered, ſince they were not come to fight with their brethren, but to judge the betrayers and oppreſſors of the *Othman* Empire according to the law of the *Koran*, and puniſh them according to their deſerts.

The rebels march from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*.

CXIX. The Sultan, informed of this by his *Chauſh**, aſſembles his *European* troops with the utmoſt expedition, and orders them to march under the conduct of the Vizir, *Rami Mehemed Paſha*, againſt the rebels. For their greater encouragement the Mufti, *Feizullah Effendi* (50), by his *Fetwah*, declares the ſeditious

The Sultan marches with his troops againſt the rebels.

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(50) *Feizullah Effendi*] He was born at *Van*, on the confines of *Perſia*, and deſcended of the *Emir* race. In the time of Sultan *Mahomet* IV, when *Muderis*, or maſter of the *Suleimanie*-ſchool, he was appointed *Shehzade Hoje*, or preceptor to *Muſtapha* and *Ahmed*, the Sultan's ſons; and after having often changed, contrary to cuſtom, his eccleſiaſtical employments, was raiſed to the dignity of *Mufti*, in which he continued ſeven years; a thing undeard-of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wiſe. He had ſuch an aſcendant over the Sultan, which ſome imputed to magic, that the Sultan would neither do nor undertake any thing without firſt conſulting him, and could refuſe him nothing. He uſed in his ſpeech the *Perſian* pronunciation, which made the people give him the name of *Kyzyl baſhi*. So covetous was he, that he not only took preſents with both hands, and if none were given him, would ask for ſome; but alſo did, for money, give any *Fetwah* that was deſired, right or wrong. He had four ſons, who relying on their father's power, committed all kinds of diſorders: the eldeſt, whom he had by the famous *Vanli Effendi*'s daughter, he conſtituted *Nakyb*. On the other three, though they were but young, he conferred very honourable as well as profitable *Mollahſhips*; and, by his too great indulgence to them, drew upon himſelf the indignation not only of the *Ulema*, but alſo of the whole people. One of theſe, who was *Mollah* of *Kudiſherif*, or *Jeruſalem*, did, by his arrogance, cauſe ſo much uneaſineſs to *Cherkies** *Mehemed*, governor of that city, that he was forced to leave *Jeruſalem*, and retire to *Gaza*. After his departure, the *Mollah* being diſturbed in the night with the howling of dogs, and in the day with the buzzing of flies, he ordered the inhabitants to kill all their dogs, and to bring him daily a certain number of dead flies to the court. This being both diſagreeable to the people, and alſo contrary to the law of the *Koran*, which forbids the killing of dogs, and other domeſtic creatures, except ſuch as are fit for food, they privately ſent a deputation to *Gaza* with an *Arzmahzar* to their Paſha, to let him know what burdens were impoſed upon them. *Cherkies** *Mehemed*, who certainly excelled all the Barbarians in juſtice and piety, (if any ſuch thing can be ſaid of *Mahometans*) not being able to believe that ſo great a crime ſhould be committed by a *Mollah*, ſends a truſty perſon to *Jeruſalem* to ſee whether it was true. When the man came there, he found the whole city in an uproar, and all the inhabitants, having left their employments, were buſy in catching flies, and ſtringing them on a long thread, that they might be told with more eaſe: ſo, going back, he gives his maſter a faithful account of what he had ſeen and heard. The thing therefore being unqueſtionably true, *Cherkies**, in order to try firſt to accommodate the matter in an amicable way, exhorts the *Mollah* by letter not to lay ſuch heavy and uſeleſs burdens on the Sultan's ſubjects;

tious *Infidels* and *Giaurs*, and promiſes thoſe who ſhould die fighting valiantly againſt them the crown of martyrdom.

The Sultan's troops ſeeing the *Koran*, join the rebels.

CXX. But when both armies were in ſight, *Nakyb Effendi*, who acted as Mufti among the conſpirators, holds up the great volume of the *Koran* to the Sultan's forces, and deſires them to conſider, "that they are brethren of the "ſame religion, the ſame blood, and ſubjects of the ſame Empire; that the "people of *Conſtantinople* have not taken arms to overturn the Empire, or at- "tempt any thing contrary to the ſacred law of the *Koran*, but to puniſh infi- "dels and contemners of the law agreeably to its precepts. And if they endea- "vour to oppoſe ſo pious a deſign, they will draw upon themſelves not only "the indignation of God, but likewiſe the ſevereſt puniſhments." The ardor of the Sultan's troops is abated by this ſpeech, which ſo affects them, that, abandoning the Vizir, they all join the rebels, and ſalute them as brethren.

The Vizir, abandoned by his troops, eſcapes in diſguiſe.

CXXI. The Vizir, in this deſperate ſtate, flies with two ſervants in diſguiſe to *Varna*, and from thence concealing himſelf, (as ſome ſay) among the wo-

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ſubjects; not to diſgrace, by ſo great a crime, the prophet's laws, for the maintenance whereof he reſided at *Jeruſalem*; nor expoſe both his own and his father's honour to contempt; that he was afraid, if the complaints of the inhabitants came to the Sultan's ears, he would incur his utmoſt indignation. The *Mollah* anſwered, he might indeed alledge the law of the *Koran*, and lay down moral precepts whilſt he lived at *Gaza*, where he was free from flies, and enjoyed profound quiet whenever he pleaſed; but if he was to live at *Jeruſalem*, where the dogs would break his reſt in the night, and the flies hinder him in the day, from hearing in court the complaints of the parties, he would be of another mind. *Cherkies* Mehemed Paſha*, upon the receipt of this anſwer, perceiving the man was incorrigible, and not daring, on account of his father's power, to oppoſe him, he ſends the Mufti an account of the whole matter, with petitions from the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* and himſelf, and the *Mollah*'s letters, and deſires him, by his paternal authority, to reſtrain his ſon's outragious proceedings. But the means by which he ſought another's reformation, had like to prove his own ruin. For the Mufti, who, by reaſon of his unheard-of indulgence to his ſons, may juſtly be called the *Turkiſh Eli*, as ſoon as he had received the letters, falls into a violent paſſion, not with his ſon, but with *Cherkies* Mehemed*, and going directly to the Sultan, loads the innocent governor of *Jeruſalem* with ſo many calumnies, that the Sultan immediately diſpatched a *Capuji baſhi* with a *Chatiſherif* to bring his head. But the *Capuji baſhi* being a prudent man, and a ſecret friend to the Baſha, pretends to go, but returns privately to *Conſtantinople*, and going to the Vizir, namely, *Amucje Ogli Huſein Paſha*, communicates to him the order he had received, and asks him what he muſt do? *Huſein Paſha*, who had already heard ſomething of *Kudſheriff Mollah*'s ill behaviour, eaſily gueſſed by whoſe contrivance that attempt was made upon the life of *Cherkies* Mehemed*, and ſo goes without delay to Sultan *Muſtapha*, tells him he had heard of ſuch an order againſt *Cherkies* Mehemed*, and that he wondered at it, becauſe he knew him to be a very faithful and honeſt man. The Sultan thereupon lets the Vizir know what the Mufti had told him, and that, ſays he, is the reaſon why I have ſent a *Chatiſherif* to put him to death. The Vizir refuted all the Mufti's calumnies, and gave the Sultan a true account of his ſon's whole conduct at *Jeruſalem*; whereupon the Sultan ſaid he was ſorry he had been drawn in by the miſrepreſentations of others, to order ſo good a man to be put to death without cauſe; but he ſaw no way of recalling the order, becauſe he thought the *Capuji baſhi* was now gone ſo far, that no meſſenger could overtake him. We muſt try ſome way or other, ſays the Vizir, leſt through our negligence the guilt of innocent blood fall upon our heads; for I believe that Providence will ſtop the *Capuji baſhi* in the way, and afford us an opportunity of recalling him. Having, by this diſcourſe, obtained leave from the Sultan to recall the *Chatiſherif*, he returns home, and orders the *Capuji baſhi* to paſs over in the night-time into *Aſia*, and begin his journey, that he might at leaſt appear to have complied with the Sultan's command. The next day he diſpatches another *Capuji baſhi* with a *Ferman* to overtake the other, and bring him back. And thus the Vizir ſaved the man by a commendable ſubtilty, whom the Mufti by a horrible wickedneſs was reſolved to deſtroy. Many other ſuch villanies were committed by the Mufti's ſons, which to relate would be tedious perhaps as well to the reader, as to my ſelf.

men of a certain *Araijizade*, goes to *Conſtantinople*, and conceals himſelf for ſome time in the ſuburb of *Eyub*, where he had built himſelf an houſe.

CXXII. The rebels, on the other hand, having ſurmounted this obſtacle, encamp under the city, at a place called *Solakcheſhmeſi* * (51), and from thence ſend meſſengers to the Sultan to demand the Vizir, the Mufti, with his ſons, and *Maurocordatus*. The rebels demand of the Sultan two Muſulmans and one Chriſtian to be put to death.

CXXIII. The Sultan, who had foreſeen this, had given the Mufti, for whom he had a great eſteem, an opportunity two days before of eſcaping; but ſent ſeveral *Boſtanji's* to attend him, with deſign to ſtop his flight, if the danger increaſed. Finding therefore the rebels more obſtinate in their demands, he immediately brings him back to *Adrianople* by means of the *Boſtanji's*, and delivers him up with his two ſons. The Sultan delivers up the Mufti.

CXXIV. The rebels, as ſoon as they had him in their power, put him to the moſt exquiſite torture; fix nails into his knees, and, by other horrid cruelties, endeavour to make him diſcover the immenſe treaſures he was reported to have amaſſed. Being a man of great ſpirit, he bears all with ſingular patience, and does not utter one word, except in deſiring vengeance from God upon ſo impious and ungrateful a people. Exhauſted with ſo many torments, he is at laſt put to death, and his body (52) thrown into the river, as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial. The rebels put him to a cruel death.

CXXV. The Sultan perceiving from theſe circumſtances, that the people were more exaſperated againſt him than he had imagined, ſends to *Dorojan, Ahmed Paſha* (53), appointed Vizir by the rebels, the ſeal of the Vizirſhip, and confirms the other officers choſen by them in their poſts, promiſing to grant all their demands. He informs them, that the Vizir and *Maurocordatus* were fled, and aſſures them he would deliver them up as ſoon as they were taken. The Sultan confirms the rebel Vizir in his poſt.

CXXVI. But they growing more preſumptuous by the Sultan's indulgence, concert meaſures to depoſe him; for which purpoſe they ſend a letter to Sultan *Ahmed*, brother of *Muſtapha*, deſiring him, if poſſible, to come to the army. They ſend for *Ahmed*, the Sultan's brother.

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(51) *Solakcheſhmeſi* *] The fountain of *Solak*, in the middle of a field, an *Italian* mile from *Adrianople*, on the road to *Conſtantinople*; ſo called, either becauſe the builder of it was of the order of the *Solaki*, or elſe becauſe he had loſt a hand.

(52) his body] As the laws of the *Koran*, and the conſtitutions of the *Othman* Empire, forbid the putting any *Mollah*, much leſs a Mufti, to death (for the higheſt puniſhment of the whole order of the *Ulema*, and of the *Cadi's*, is baniſhment) the rebels could never have excuſed the Mufti's death, but by declaring he was a *Giaur*, that is, an *Infidel*. And to render that pretence the more probable among the people, they would not ſuffer him to be buried with the reſt of the Muſulmans, after the *Mahometan* manner, but procured a *Greek* prieſt to put him into the ground. This man got ſome perſons to drag him along, whilſt himſelf walked before, ſinging, inſtead of the burial hymn, theſe words; σκατὰ εἰς τὴν ψυχήν σου, *ordure be upon thy ſoul*; and at laſt flung it into the river. But before he committed his body to the water, he is reported to have perfumed it with frankincenſe, repeating theſe two *Turkiſh* verſes:

Ne Sizinder, ne bizinder,
Doſdógru jehennem inder,
i. e.
Neither yours nor ours,
He is gone directly to hell.

Which ſaying ſo pleaſed the *Turks*, that they not only praiſed the man's ingenuity, but alſo rewarded him for it.

(53) *Dorojan Ahmed*] He was formerly called *Damad* (ſon-in-law) *Ahmed Paſha*, becauſe he had married the ſiſter of the Vizir, *Amucje Ogli Huſein Paſha*, and granddaughter of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, the handſomeſt woman in her time, but ſo laſcivious, that ſhe always kept many gallants, eſpecially *Franks*. But he was afterwards called *Dorojan* by the rebels, becauſe he was like *Doroſhenſko*, Hetman of the *Coſacs*, whoſe hiſtory I have related: for that Hetman was commonly named *Doroſhan* by the *Turks*. Under the Vizirſhip of *Huſein Paſha*, he was governor of *Ainebacht*, or *Naupactum*; but being turned out by *Daltaban*, he lived a private life at *Conſtantinople*. He was afterwards baniſhed to *Naupactum*, where he died of grief in a few months. He left but one young ſon, who, as he was one day playing alone in his garden, fell into a well, and was drowned.

ſince the conſpirators ſcrupled to enter the Imperial palace with an armed force; and if he could come out either with or without his brother's leave, the army would immediately proclaim him Emperor. Sultan *Muſtapha* intercepting this meſſage, continues long in ſuſpence whether he ſhould kill his brother, or voluntarily reſign the throne to him. Many of his domeſtic officers adviſe the fratricide, alledging the conſpirators would be obliged to confirm him in the throne, if there were no other heirs to the Empire: but the Sultan abhors ſuch a deed, and reſolves to commit himſelf to the divine Providence.

Ahmed firſt ſaluted Sultan by his brother, an unuſual inſtance.

CXXVII. He goes therefore to his brother, and, embracing him with great affection, informs him that he was univerſally deſired to fill the throne, and firſt ſalutes him Sultan. At his departure, he ſpeaks to him as follows: "Remember, brother, that while I was on the throne, you enjoyed the utmoſt liberty; I deſire you will allow me the ſame. Moreover, think that you juſtly indeed aſcend this throne, as having been poſſeſſed by your father and brother; but that the inſtruments of your advancement are treacherous rebels, whom, if you ſuffer to eſcape with impunity, they will quickly treat you as they do me at preſent."

Sultan *Muſtapha* depoſed.

CXXVIII. Having ſaid this, he retires to the ſame chamber in which he had kept his brother, where, ſix months after his depoſition, having contracted a diſtemper through melancholy, he departs to the eternal palaces prepared for him by *Mahomet*. He reigned eight years and ſome months.

His character and perſon.

CXXIX. He was a Sultan of great expectations in the beginning of his reign; but fortune afterwards blaſted them. He was happier in the firſt years of his Empire than in the latter. He had greater advantages from nature than both his predeceſſors; for he was of a mature judgment, great application and ſobriety; neither prodigal nor avaritious in collecting and diſtributing the publick monies; juſt, a good archer and horſeman, and very devout in his religion. He gained great reputation by the peace of *Carlowitz*, which having been in vain wiſhed and attempted by his father and uncles, he ſettled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties. He was of a moderate ſize, his face round, and beautified with red and white; his beard red, thin, and not long; his noſe ſhort, and a little turned up; his eyes blue, and his eye-brows thin and yellow. In the ſpring he uſed to have ſpots break out in his face, which diſappeared again in the winter. He left no ſon alive, though he had been father of ſeveral. He was particularly fond of *Ibrahim* (54), ſon of his uncle *Ahmed*, whom he always carried with him, and was ſaid to deſign for his ſucceſſor, in caſe he died without iſſue.

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(54) *Ibrahim*] He was a hopeful and good-natured Prince. After I left *Conſtantinople*, I heard he died there.

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The REIGN of *AHMED* III, Son of MAHOMET IV. Twenty-third EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. V.

I. SULTAN *Muſtapha* being depoſed, his brother *Ahmed* aſcends the throne, who confirms in their poſts the Vizir, *Dorojan Ahmed Paſha*, the *Caimacan*, *Firari Haſan Paſha*, the Janizar-Aga (1) *Chalyk* Ahmed*, and the reſt upon whom the ſeditious had conferred offices; appoints the *Nakyb*, whom the rebels had brought with them, *Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi*, Mufti; and by this means cauſes the conſpirators to lay aſide all ſuſpicion of him, and even to imagine, that by their rebellion they had gained great favour with the new Sultan.

Sultan *Ahmed* aſcends the throne, and confirms the conſpirators in their offices.

II. And that he might amuſe them the more, and ſeem to do every thing agreeably to their will, after he had ſtaid at *Adrianople* but twenty days, he returns in *September* to *Conſtantinople*, where he amply diſtributes the *Bachſhiſh* which is wont to be given to the ſoldiers in the beginning of a reign. Having thus appeaſed the fury of the rebels, he concerts meaſures for puniſhing them with *Silahdar Haſan Paſha* (2), his ſiſter's husband, whom, upon the advancement

He concerts meaſures for puniſhing them.

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(1) *Chalyk* Ahmed*] From a common Janizary in the reign of Sultan *Muſtapha*, he had paſſed through all the degrees of that military order, and had been made *Kulkiehaiaſi*; but being afterwards turned out, he lived in a private manner at *Conſtantinople*. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, being choſen *Janizar-agaſi* by the conſpirators, he took great care to provide for the ſafety of the inhabitants, by a laudable, or rather an admirable prudence. For during the nineteen days *Conſtantinople* was ſhut up, not one of the inhabitants received the leaſt damage from ſo great a rabble of deſperate and outragious fellows. The third day after the beginning of the troubles, obſerving that the merchants and tradeſmen, remembring the great loſſes they had ſuffered in former rebellions, kept within-doors, and durſt not come into the market, he ſtrictly commanded, upon ſevere penalties, that no one ſhould be afraid, but all keep in their ſhops, and merchandize as before; and that he would be anſwerable for it, that not a man ſhould loſe ſo much as the value of an egg. He punctually performed what he had promiſed, and preſerved the inhabitants in ſuch ſafety, that among ſo many furious ſoldiers, that breathed nothing but blood and ſlaughter, they walked about ſafely, as if the ſeditious had been in another, and not in their own city. He did alſo ſomething much more wonderful in his march to *Adrianople*, for he kept the confuſed mob he headed under ſuch a ſtrict diſcipline, that no perſon could complain of having had even a fowl ſtolen, or taken by force, by any of the ſoldiers; and whether ſuch a thing can eaſily be effected, even in a regular and well-diſciplined army, let knowing perſons judge. Upon theſe accounts, when he was, by the Sultan's order, thrown into the ſea of *Marmora*, almoſt all *Conſtantinople* bewailed his ſad fate.

(2) *Silahdar Haſan*] A native of *Morea*, who being in his youth taken into the Sultan's

ment of *Firari Haſan Paſha* to the poſt of *Tefterdar*, he had made *Caimacan*. But becauſe it appeared very hazardous to ſeize them all at once, now aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*, and ſo drag them to puniſhment, he reſolves, upon various pretences, to diſperſe them into the ſeveral provinces of the Empire.

By various arts and pretences he at laſt puts them all to death.

III. He therefore firſt diſpatches the leader of the whole rebellion, *Carakaſh Mehemed*, to *Kiabe Sherif* with a *Caftan* and ſword, the uſual preſents of a new Sultan; but orders, that when he is come to *Aleppo*, he ſhould be put to death by another *Capuji baſhi*. He grants *Chalyk* Ahmed*, Aga of the Janizaries, the honour of three horſe-tails, and on the third day after, under pretence of delivering him the ſeal of the Vizirſhip, ſends for him in great pomp to the palace, from whence, being expected by all to return with the office of Vizir, he is conveyed through another gate towards the ſea, put on board a galley, and ordered to be thrown into the *Propontis*. A few days after, he deprives the Vizir, *Dorajan Ahmed Paſha*, of his poſt; but it being univerſally known, that he had not ſought that dignity, but been obliged by the rebels to take it upon him, his life is ſpared, and he is baniſhed to *Enibacht*.

Haſan Paſha ſucceeds to the poſt of Vizir.

IV. He is ſucceeded about the end of *October* by the *Caimacan*, *Silahdar Haſan Paſha*, by whoſe command, within five months, above fourteen thouſand private ſoldiers, who had been privy to and agents in the rebellion, beſides Baſhas and other officers of the army, are drowned by night in the *Boſphorus*. Only two perſons have the good fortune to eſcape, *Diw Aliaga*, the *Kulkiehaia*, and *Firari Haſan Paſha*. The former, foreſeeing the danger, flies in diſguiſe from *Conſtantinople*, and never after could be diſcovered, though carefully ſought for. As to the latter, becauſe from his intereſt with the people, ſome commotions might ariſe, if he ſhould be treated with ſeverity, the Sultan ſends him out of the city, under the character of Seraskier of *Babadaghy*; but orders him, in his journey, to go to *Sophia* with the poſt of *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*; and ſome years after, when the ſeeds of ſedition were extinguiſhed, having drawn him to *Conſtantinople* in the Vizirſhip of *Choryli* Ali Paſha*, by the promiſe of conferring upon him that dignity, the Sultan commands him to be put on board a galley, and thrown into the *Propontis*.

Othman Capudan Paſha ſent with a fleet into the *Palus Mæotis*.

V. In the mean time *Haſan Paſha* prefers his clients to the places of thoſe who had been put to death, and appoints *Abaza Oſman Paſha* (3), admiral, commanding

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Sultan's palace in Sultan *Mahomet*'s reign, was at length made *Silahdar*, which title he afterwards retained. Being diſmiſſed from that office with three *Tugs*, after the death of *Muſahib Paſha*, he married his widow, the famous *Chatije*, Sultan *Muſtapha*'s ſiſter, who, through her intereſt with her brothers, Sultan *Muſtapha* and Sultan *Ahmed*, obtained not only that he ſhould continue almoſt always in the *Rekiab Caimacanſhip*, or ſome other *Paſhalic* near *Conſtantinople*, but alſo ſhould be daily loaded with new favours. She had ſo much intereſt with her brothers, that when her husband was ſent to *Nicomedia*, ſhe got leave to accompany him thither, though it had never been known before, that a Sultan's daughter or ſiſter went ſo much as half a mile along with her husband out of the city. When he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, which was not for any crime but only occaſioned by the clamours of the people, who required that *Calaily Ahmed Paſha* ſhould be made Vizir, he was ſent to the Paſhalic of *Egypt*, as the richeſt in the whole *Othman* Empire; from whence being ſome years after removed to the government of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, he died there.

(3) *Abaza Oſman*] a man of great learning and prudence among the *Turks*. Being taken into the palace in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet* IV, and from thence riſing through the ſeveral degrees to the dignity of *Silahdar*, he was diſmiſſed by Sultan *Ahmed* III, with three *Tugs*, and honoured firſt with the poſt of *Rekiub Caimacan*, and afterwards with other Paſhalics and offices. Some ſay, in order to diſparage him, he was born in *Georgia*; but they are miſtaken: for he was of *Abaza*, a nation near the *Chercaſſians**, and, next to theſe, the moſt honorable among the *Turks*. Upon that account, *Cherkies* Ahmed Paſha*, ſo often mentioned, viſiting him when he had a ſlight fever, and was complaining of the weakneſs of his ſtomach, and want of appetite, told him in a jeſt, that phyſick ſhould be left to thoſe who were born and bred where it is uſed,

commanding him to ſail with the whole fleet to the *Palus Mæotis*, and fortify the ſtreights with new caſtles *Gierch* * and *Taman*. He executes the orders with the utmoſt diligence, but in his return loſt nine galleys, and the reſt, very much damaged, are brought back with great difficulty to *Conſtantinople*.

VI. At laſt *Silahdar Haſan Paſha*, in the tenth month of his Vizirſhip, is removed on account of the people's complaints, and *September* 14 ſucceeded by *Calaily Ahmed Paſha* (4) a man remarkable for nothing but his luxury and cruelty to the Chriſtian ſubjects of the *Othman* Empire.

Haſan Paſha being removed, is ſucceeded by *Calaily Ahmed*. H. 1115. A. C. 1703.

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and that he ought to take nothing but *Paſta*, which is a very wholſome food made by the *Abaza* with pounded millet, cleared of the huſks.

(4) *Calaily Ahmed Paſha*] He was born at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Armenian* parents, who were Chriſtians; but being in his youth brought to *Conſtantinople*, and abjuring the Chriſtian Religion, he was admitted into the order of the *Baltaji*; where, concealing his natural vicious inclinations under a virtuous outſide, he was made *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi*, and from that office was ſent with two *Tugs* to the Paſhalic of *Jita*, which is the laſt the *Turks* have on the *Red Sea*. After that, he obtained the dignity of *Capudan Paſha*, then was *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, and had other Paſhalics in the *Othman* Empire. Though he ſo behaved in all theſe employments, as to paſs with all wiſe men for a fooliſh and ridiculous perſon, yet becauſe he pretended a mighty zeal againſt the Chriſtians, and ſeemed beſides to be an obſerver of juſtice and equity, he gained among the ignorant and ſuperſtitious mob the reputation of a *true Muſulman*. To cauſe the Chriſtians to be univerſally abhorred, he ordered, whilſt *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, that they ſhould all have their cloaths made of a very coarſe black cloth; that in the baths they ſhould not wear wooden ſhoes, as is cuſtomary to guard the feet againſt the heat of the marble; and that they ſhould have little bells faſtned to one of their arms, that by the ſound of them the *Muſulmans* might be diſtinguiſhed from the *Giaurs*; and ſome other the like things. But this proving very detrimental to the *Jami's*, whoſe *Vaſt* moſt of the baths are, becauſe, on account of this ignominious diſtinction, none of the Chriſtians would waſh publickly, complaints were immediately carried to the Sultan; by which indeed was obtained the removal of *Calaily Ahmed Paſha*, and a revocation of his orders, but they could not hinder the voice of the people, who deſired to have him for Vizir. It happened ſhortly after, as the Sultan was walking in the market-place in diſguiſe, he heard the repeated ſighs of the people, lamenting the corruption of manners, and ſaying, there would be no reformation unleſs *Calaily Ahmed* were made Vizir. The Sultan, who knew not the man, gueſſed, from the peoples commendations, that he was a valuable perſon; and fearing the ſedition which had broke out the year before, and was hardly yet extinguiſhed, ſhould from this ſpark be re-kindled into a flame, he reſolved to yield to the people; and ſo turning out *Haſſan Paſha* without any cauſe, under pretence that his *Kiehaia Iſmail aga* had committed ſome fault, he ſends for this *Calaily* out of *Crete*, where he was then Baſha, and makes him Vizir. When he came to be placed in this exalted ſtation, he could no longer conceal his failings which he had hitherto diſguiſed with ſo much art, but ſuffered them to break out in a torrent. The firſt day of his Vizirſhip, when he came to his palace with the Vizir's ſeal, all perſons waiting to know what he ſhould firſt order, (for by that, as much as by the Sultan's firſt words, do the *Turks* judge of a Vizir's future adminiſtration) he ſends for a taylor. When he comes, he bids him make him an under-garment, called *Enteri*, of cloth of gold, which is not only unuſual among the *Turks*, but alſo, as I have elſewhere obſerved, contrary to the laws of the *Koran*. It being brought him the ſame day in the evening, he puts it on, and goes to ſhow himſelf to his wives and concubines, viewing himſelf on every ſide, to ſee whether his new garment became him. The women, to pleaſe their husband and maſter, praiſing the handſomneſs of the garment, he reſolves to go to the *Galibe Divan*, and preſent himſelf in it before the Sultan. Moreover, that he might, by ſome new invention, increaſe the marks of honour uſed by the Vizirs, and render them more conſpicuous, he invented ſome new ornaments about the *Tiara*, which, as I have before obſerved, the Vizirs are wont to wear, ordering the ſilk which is folded round it, and the golden plate, to be doubled, and drawn in the form of a croſs. Thus, dreſſed like a buffoon, he calls the *Chauſh* * *baſhi*, and aſks him whether every thing requiſite for the proceſſion was ready. He replies, all is ready *without*, but many things are ſtill wanting *within*: The Vizir aſking him the reaſon of ſo unexpected an anſwer, he adds, your magnitude has dreſſed its ſelf in ſo ridiculous a manner, that if it appears ſo before the Sultan, it will not only be deprived of its

He being likewise deprived of his post, *Baltaji Mehemed* is appointed Vizir.

VII. The Sultan having endured his ill conduct three months, and shown the people the real character of the man whom they had so earnestly desired for Vizir, he removes and banishes him to the isle of *Coos*, advancing *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha* (5) at the end of the year to that post. But sixteen months after, by the arts

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dignity, but also the honour of us all be in the utmost danger. For you know your self, without my saying it, what a hard matter it is to introduce new customs into the court, and how pernicious they generally prove to the authors: but I would have you know, that unless you change your clothes a little, I, nor the rest of your officers will wait upon you to the Sultan. The Vizir stands out a good while, and endeavours to defend the novelty by the authority of his office; but at last, being overcome by the *Chaush-bashi*'s firmness, he yields to sound advice, and so goes to the Sultan. The next week after he invites the Sultan to a feast, as is usual for the Vizirs. When the Sultan comes among the officers, standing in two rows according to custom to do him honour, he observes a one-eyed man near the *Tefterdar*, with a haughty look; and asks the Vizir who he was? What, says the Vizir with some surprize, doth not your majesty know this man? The Sultan answers, it is impossible for him to know every particular person. But, replies he, this is no Plebeian, but *Kior Ali aga*, who has a fine *Obisthyk*, (*i. e.* Farm) near *Constantinople*, which yields him so many geese, chickens and turkeys every year, that he has not only enough for his own table, but has as many to spare as may be sold for a great sum; as to his office, he is *Bashbakkulu* (which is a place of no great consideration in the *Tefterdar*'s court.) The Sultan took then no notice of the man's illness, but when he was gone out of the room to give directions about the feast, turning to *Kyssar agasi*, "Have you, *Ismail* "says he, heard what this monster has told "me of this *Kior Ali aga*? For my part, I "discovered his folly three days after I "made him Vizir; but, that they who so "earnestly desired his promotion to that "dignity, may also be sensible of it, I "will let him wear the badge of the Vizirship for some months, especially as every "thing is now quiet, and he can by his imprudence do no considerable damage to the "public affairs." He was an implacable enemy to the Christians, and not only renewed, after he was Vizir, the edict about their wearing of black clothes, which he had made whilst he was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, but daily invented new ways of vexing them; and omitted no kind of cruelty towards such of them as were guilty of any crime: sometimes however he was kind to some one of them, but it was only out of hatred to some other, or else it proceeded from his wonted fickleness. *Abaza Othman Pasha*, (whom he extremely hated, with all those that were wiser than himself, but could not hurt, because they were protected by the Sultan) being *Capudan Pasha*, or admiral, had taken in the *Euxine Sea*, and condemned to the gallies, a *Raguzæan* merchant, who, after having turned bankrupt, had engaged in the service of the Emperor of *Russia*, and was hiring some *Grecian* sailors, whom he intended to conduct to *Azac*. *Calaily*, in the first days of his Vizirship, visiting, according to the Vizirs custom, the *Tersana*, or Admiralty, where the Sultan's *Paizans* are kept, when he came to this man, asked him what was the reason of his being condemned to that punishment? The *Tersana Kiehaia* answered, that he was taken by *Othman Pasha*, with some sailors, whom he had assembled for the service of the *Russians*, and condemned as a spy to the gallies. *Calaily* hearing this; "Ah, (says he) how "miserably have those inconsiderate rascals, "that deserve imprisonment and the most "shameful punishments, prostituted the "honour of the *Othman* Empire. They "have taken a poor wretched *Greek* for a "spy, and sent him to the gallies, as if "the safety of the whole Empire depended "upon the informations such men can give "the enemies. Take off his chains quick-"ly, that with them may perish the re-"membrance of this infamy." Then turning to the galley-slave, "Go, says he to "him, all over *Constantinople*, examine "every thing, and give an account of it to "whomsoever thou will." And so the poor wretch of a merchant obtained his liberty and life, which he would probably have ended in the *Tersana*, had he not met with a senseless master. At last, when the people began to perceive this Vizir's folly, and publickly to call him fool, he was deposed by the Sultan; and because his faults had not proceeded from malice, but want of understanding, his life was not touched, but he was banished to *Istankoi*, (which I have before observed to be the *Coos* of the ancients, and the native place of *Hippocrates*) with an allowance of three hundred *Aspers* a-day, and there he died of grief.

(5) *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha*] He was in his youth inrolled among the *Baltaji*, and, for the sweetness of his voice, was surnamed *Pakche Muezin*, or the *Sweet-singer*. Afterwards, in

arts of his wife, with whom the Sultan was said to be deeply in love, he is also removed; but sent however with honour to be Bassa of *Aleppo*.

VIII. He

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in the reign of Sultan *Mustapha* II, being arrived to the degree of *Bichakchi* * *Baltaji*, or senior *Baltaji*, he was made page to the Sultan's brother, *Ahmed*, who now sways the *Othman* scepter; and from that post was, by a notable accident, raised to the highest honours in the *Othman* Empire. The *Valide Sultana*, mother to *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, had for her *Cutuji*, or treasurer, a *Circassian* virgin of singular beauty, and of an excellent wit. As *Ahmed* had liberty to walk about the palace, he happens to see her, and immediately falling in love with her, bribed his mother's *Bash aga*, and by letters gained her affection. The *Valide Sultana* discovering it, sends for the *Cutuji*, chides her severely, and threatens her with terrible punishments; she, on the other hand, excuses herself with great resolution, and without blushing denies she was in love with *Shehzade Effendi*, or that she had ever talked with him upon unlawful subjects: if he happened to love her, it was not her fault, but the Prince's; and if she was so ordered, she would avoid even the very sight of him. The *Valide Sultana*, thus repulsed, sends for her son, and advises him mildly to acknowledge his brother's goodness, in granting him his liberty contrary to the custom of his ancestors; and not to deprive himself of that privilege, by falling in love, contrary to the constitutions of the *Seraglio*, before he came to the throne: but if ever he should succeed his brother, she would give him not only that virgin, but also many others for this pleasure. *Ahmed* ingenuously owns his passion to his mother, but says, whatever might be the event, he could not conquer it. The mother, concerned for her son's safety, and perceiving him to be incorrigible, resolves to deprive his flame of its fuel, by marrying the virgin, and putting her out of the Seraglio. For that purpose, she sends for her chief physician, *Nub Effendi*, and after having discoursed with him about several things, at last tells him, that having experienced his faithfulness, she was determined, as a reward of his services, to give her treasurer in marriage to his son. *Nub Effendi* returns the Sultana thanks for so great a favour, (for the *Valide Sultana*'s *Cutuji* are generally married to Vizirs with three *Horse-tails*, or to persons of the like dignity) and upon his return home makes preparations for the wedding. At night the *Cutuji* is sent from the Seraglio to the bridegroom's house with her portion. The *Valide Sultana*'s *Bash aga*, whom I observed before to have been a pimp, as soon as he saw the preparations for her dismission, runs to *Ahmed*, tells him that the *Chertassian* * was going to be sent away, but he knew not whither. *Ahmed*, full of concern, orders his *Baltaji Mehemed aga* to watch where she went. He punctually obeys the order, and perceiving she went into the chief physician's house, he comes running to his master, and tells him what he had seen. Upon that *Ahmed* writes a letter to *Nub Effendi*, to this purpose: "Know that the virgin which is come to "your house has touched my heart. Keep "her safe, and let none belonging to you "meddle with her, if you do otherwise, "you shall not escape the fatal destiny that "will overtake you and your family in "time." Upon the receipt of this letter *Nub Effendi* thought himself between the anvil and hammer. To disobey the *Valide Sultana*'s orders, was to expose himself to certain ruin, if he complied with them, the Prince's letter threatned him with the utmost danger, though at a distance. To extricate himself out of both these perils, being of a *Grecian* extraction and wit, for he was a native of *Crete*, he invented this contrivance to please at once the *Sultana* and the Prince. Having assembled the guests that were invited to the wedding, he causes the *Nikah*, or *marriage-ceremony*, to be solemnly performed by the *Imam*. That being over, when the new-married couple were to be led into the nuptial chamber, he spoke to his son to this purpose. "My son, we "are in great danger, though unknown to "all. *Shehzade Effendi* is in love with the "virgin which the *Valide Sultana* has given "you for wife, and how great is the vio"lence of his passion you may guess by "this letter. If therefore you desire your "father's blessing, and the prosperity of "our house, abstain from that forbidden "fruit, and taste not of a dish which is re"served for a Prince's table. Fancy that "you have a sister given you, and not a "wife; kiss her in private as your sister, "in publick call her your wife, but never "use her as such. In case lust excites you "to disregard my admonitions, know, that "you will utterly ruin our family, and "bring my curse upon yourself." The son promises to obey, and the bride giving also her consent, she was left in that room, and the bridegroom went and lay in another. All this was done so privately in the women's apartment, that neither the domesticks, much less *Ahmed*, could have any knowledge of it. Some days after the wedding, the bridegroom was appointed *Mollah* of *Smyrna*; whereupon the wives of the Vizir and other Bashas came to wish his wife joy.

Ahmed

Ahmed is told of it, and thinking his miſtreſs was now in another's arms, full of deſpair, he fell into a deep melancholy, and threatned to be ſeverely revenged on the authors of that contrivance. Not long after the ſedition related in the hiſtory, breaking out at *Conſtantinople*, Sultan *Muſtapha* is depoſed, and *Ahmed* appointed his ſucceſſor. Hardly was he on the throne, but he immediately ſends for *Nub Effendi*, and orders him to be put to death, without allowing him time to make his defence. The chief phyſician gueſſing at the cauſe of the Sultan's anger, ſaid he was ready to die, provided he might have leave to ſay one word to the Sultan in private concerning his defence. Having obtained leave, he is brought into the Sultan's inner chamber, and gives him an account of the whole matter; adding, he would not refuſe to be put to death with his ſons, if ſhe was not as good a virgin as when ſhe came out of the Seraglio. Sultan *Ahmed*, overjoyed at ſo unexpected a thing, orders the matter to be immediately examined by ſome eunuchs, and finding her untouched, confers great honours upon the chief phyſician, and deſires him to keep her in the ſame name, and with the ſame care as before, till further orders; for he was reſolved to take her into the Seraglio, and uſe her as his wife. But his mother being very much againſt it, and adviſing him not to act, in the beginning of his reign, (while there ſtill remained in ſeveral parts of the Empire many of his brother's adherents) contrary to the laws of the Seraglio, whereby it is expreſsly enjoined, that a virgin, once diſmiſſed out of that place, be not re-admitted, he deſiſted from his reſolution, and gave his miſtreſs in marriage to this *Baltaji Mehemed aga*, whom he had already created maſter of the horſe: but, notwithſtanding this, he very frequently went privately to her; and, what was very unuſual, and never known before, had her often brought with great pomp into the Seraglio: and this woman was the cauſe of *Mehemed*'s whole fortune. For, ſhortly after, ſhe deſired the Sultan to honour her husband with three *Tugs*, and give him a place that ſhould not require his being far from *Conſtantinople*; for it ſeemed unbecoming for her, that was the miſtreſs of ſo great an Emperor, to be the wife of an *Emirabor*. To which the Sultan replied, you conſult indeed your conveniency, but not mine: however, that I may act with you as a juſt judge, I will divide the year with him equally; and give him a place that will oblige him to be ſix months out of *Conſtantinople*, and ſix months in it, namely, the office of admiral, (for among the *Turks* both the Janizaries and ſailors are obliged to ſerve but ſix months.) So within a few days he made him *Capudan Paſha*, and ſhortly after, upon the ſame woman's entreaties, raiſed him to the dignity of Prime Vizir: but being diſmiſſed, he was, upon account of the Sultan's love for his wife, ſent firſt to the Paſhalic of *Erzerum*, and then to that of *Aleppo*. From this laſt he was recalled, to be inveſted a ſecond time with the Vizirſhip, and was General of the *Turks* in the expedition againſt the *Ruſſians*; when, perceiving he could not break into their camp, he made a peace with them upon terms very advantagious to the *Othman* Empire. But this very thing, by which he thought to have highly merited the Sultan's favour, proved the cauſe of his ruin. For the Sultan hearing what great want of proviſions the *Ruſſian* army laboured under, thought they might have been reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that the *Ruſſian* Emperor himſelf, with his whole camp, might have been forced to ſurrender to the *Othman* troops; and therefore he imagined that the Vizir, by granting him an unſeaſonable, though advantagious peace, had been bribed by the enemy. The Vizir, on the other hand, being informed by his friends that his proceedings at the *Hieraſns* were diſpleaſing to the Sultan, he ſtayed with the army at *Adrianople*, putting off, under various pretences, his return to *Conſtantinople*, though the Sultan earneſtly deſired it, till the Sultan's anger might be in ſome meaſure appeaſed by the Mufti's *Silahdar*, *Ali Paſha*, the ſame who was afterwards Vizir, and in 1716 was ſlain in a battle near *Peterwaradin*: but this rather increaſed the Sultan's anger and ſuſpicions againſt him. For he was afraid leſt the Vizir, if he perceived he could not return to *Conſtantinople* without fear of puniſhment, might raiſe commotions, eſpecially as he had the *Sanjak Sherif*, and the whole army's affections at command. For that reaſon, thinking there was no time to loſe, in order to prevent all ſeditions, he privately diſpatches *Haſeki aga* to the commander of the Janizaries, *Yuſuf aga*, with a *Chatiſherif*, wherein he was ordered to take with him the *Ojak* of the Janizaries, and beſet the Vizir's houſe, and then go in and demand the imperial ſeal of him, and keep it till further orders; but to ſend, without a moment's delay, the Vizir to *Conſtantinople*. *Yuſuf aga* having read this order, places the Janizaries round the houſe, but at ſuch a convenient diſtance, as not to give room for ſuſpicion: then he goes in himſelf, and finds the Vizir playing at cheſs with *Effendi Omer*. The Vizir, turning to him, ſalutes him, and deſires him to ſtay till the game is over, which is ſo difficult, that he muſt own he had never ſeen the like. When it is over, the *Janizar-aga* comes to him, and, after ſome excuſes, diſcovers to him the Sultan's order: to which the Vizir ſubmits, and only conjures *Haſeki aga* to tell

VIII. He is ſucceeded *April* 3, 1705, by *Chorluly* Ali Paſha* (6), a man of mean birth, but moſt acute genius, and very ſollicitous to maintain peace.

Mehemed being removed, is ſucceeded During by *Chorluly* Ali Paſha.* H. 1117. A. C. 1703.

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the Sultan many things that tended to his juſtification. Thus the Vizir, deprived a ſecond time of his dignity, was baniſhed firſt to *Lemnos*, and then to *Rhodes*, where, as was commonly reported, he died a natural death. Many, however, ſay he was privately put to death there by the Sultan's order; and that the report of his dying a natural death was ſpread about for this reaſon, becauſe he was extremely beloved by the people and ſoldiery for his great humanity.

(6) *Chorluly* Ali Paſha*] born in *Chorlo**, a town of *Thrace*, which is the *Tyrilois* of the ancients, and from thence named *Chorluly.** His parents being mean and poor, had bound him apprentice in his youth to a barber. *Cara Bairam ogli*, a *Capuji baſhi*, happens about that time to go from *Conſtantinople* to *Adrianople*, (where Sultan *Mahomet* IV then reſided) and lodges by the way at his father's houſe, as he generally uſed to do. Obſerving the good countenance of the young man, he asks him whether he would follow him, and become an *Othmanly*, *i. e.* a courtier? The young man embraces the offer, but his parents are againſt it, on account, as they pretended, of their poverty. However, *Ali* goes even againſt their will with the *Capuji baſhi* to *Adrianople*. Being put to ſchool by him, he made ſuch great progreſs in a ſhort time, that *Cara Bairam Ogli* thought it more adviſeable to bring him into the Sultan's palace, as a ſpacious theatre, in which his virtues might ſhine; and, by being his patron, enlarge one day his fortune, rather than keep him in his own houſe employed in ſervile offices. By this means being admitted into *Seffer Odaſi*, he paſſed in few years through all the court-offices; ſo that when Sultan *Muſtapha* II came to the throne, he was one of the inner chamberlains of that order which is called *Haſne Odaſi*. At which time his parts, concealed under the former moroſe Sultans, or, to ſpeak more properly, now come to maturity, began to diſplay themſelves at court. For, Sultan *Muſtapha* obſerving his great dexterity and readineſs above all others in giving anſwers, not only made him one of his chief favourites, but alſo imparted to him his ſecrets, and began to aſk his advice: by which means paſſing through ſeveral poſts, he was, in the ſpace of two years, (a thing very uncommon!) raiſed to the place of *Chocadaragalyk**, which is the ſecond dignity in the *Othman* court. After he became poſſeſſed of this office, he ſo won the affection of the Sultan, by his prudent behaviour, that whatever he asked was granted; and though he was inferior to the *Silahdar aga* in order and dignity, yet he was much ſuperior to him in authority: but when he became *Silahdar aga*, he not only governed the court as he pleaſed, which is the proper buſineſs of the chief ſword-bearer, but he had alſo ſuch an aſcendent over the Sultan, that, unleſs the Mufti interpoſed, he would do nothing without asking his opinion. At laſt he was diſmiſſed from court by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, and conſtituted *Cubbe Vizir*, obtaining at the ſame time a promiſe of marriage with the Sultan's daughter that was three years old. He continued in the ſame degree of favour during the remainder of Sultan *Muſtapha*'s reign; but, after his being depoſed, he came to *Conſtantinople* with Sultan *Ahmed*, as an unknown perſon, and ſhortly after was ſent to the Paſhalic of *Tripoli* of *Damaſcus*. At the end of two years he is recalled to *Conſtantinople*, to celebrate his marriage with Sultan *Muſtapha*'s daughter, and by his fair ſpeeches ſo ſoftens the Sultan, that, under various pretences, he put off his departure from day to day, though it was often deſired. In this condition he ſo behaved, as to acquire among the great men the reputation of uncommon prudence, and among the people the commendation of being a juſt and uncorrupt judge. Indeed, to ſatisfy the Sultan's unbounded avarice, he was ſometimes forced againſt his own inclination to oppreſs the people, and to lay very heavy burdens upon them; but he did even that with ſo much art, that neither he nor the Sultan were cenſured for it. He was deſirous of enlarging the bounds of the Empire, but ſo however as not to expoſe the ſtate to danger for an inconſiderable advantage. For the ſame reaſon he was averſe to war, having ſufficiently learned by former battles, of how little ſervice fury and numbers are againſt a diſciplined army of Chriſtians. The *Ruſſians* he did not love, nay, he had in times paſt, endeavoured to hurt them ſeveral ways; but he kept fair with them on purpoſe to divert the war which the King of *Sweden* was earneſtly urging. At laſt, being accuſed by the King of *Sweden* of treachery, and depoſed for the reaſons mentioned in the hiſtory, he was at firſt permitted by the Sultan to live privately in a palace which he had in the ſuburbs *Eyub*. Being viſited there by perſons of the firſt rank, he reflected with too much boldneſs upon the Sultan, and, among other things, ſaid he was not ſorry for having been deprived of the Vizirſhip, which he really conſidered

During his adminiſtration, the *Othman* Empire received ſuch gueſts as it had never yet ſeen, nor perhaps ever will ſee again, namely, *Charles* XII, King of *Sweden*,

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conſidered as a very heavy burthen; but was only ſorry for having loſt his ſoul for the Sultan's ſake, and reduced many rich citizens to the utmoſt poverty, and yet could not content his inſatiable avarice. Theſe things the Sultan ſo interpreted, as if they had been ſpoken with deſign to excite a rebellion; and what inclined him the more to believe it, was, that during the five years of his Vizirſhip, he had entirely gained the affections not only of the ſoldiery, but alſo of the whole people. So, three days after, he ſends a *Capuji baſhi* with a *Chatiſheriſ* appointing him Baſha of *Bender*; but when he was on his journey, he diſpatches another *Capuji baſhi*, *Nemche-Tuſufaga*, to bring him back, and, after loading him with reproaches, orders him to be baniſhed to *Mitylene*. There he kept him almoſt a whole year, with deſign that if the war begun with the *Ruſſians*, ſhould prove unſucceſsful, he might entruſt him again with the government of affairs, and make uſe of his prudence to repair the loſſes he ſhould ſuffer. But when the Sultan was ſure of good ſucceſs, he required a *Fetva* of the Mufti, declaring that man worthy of puniſhment, who had deceived his maſter by falſe Fears, and thereby hindered him from attacking the enemy, at a time when he had an opportunity of ſubduing their whole dominions. The Mufti pronouncing that ſuch an offence deſerved death, the Sultan ſends a *Chatiſheriſ* to order his head to be cut off, and publickly expoſed in the market-place before *Bobi-humayun*, or the outer gates of the palace. But I have heard, he often repented afterwards of depriving the *Othman* Empire of ſo great a man, upon ſuch a trifling account; for he was really endowed with ſuch natural parts, that if I ſhould ſay there was none like him in the *Othman* Empire, nay, even in the whole World in his time, I ſhould not exceed the bounds of truth. Though he had not ſtudied the liberal arts, yet no one could hear him ſpeak without admiring his eloquence, and his exquiſite judgment. Whatever he ſaid, he immediately proved by juſt and regular arguments, which a perfect Logician would perhaps have been puzzled to find. Scarce could any thing be propoſed even upon the common occurrences of life, but he would ſpeak very pertinently about it; which readineſs all *Conſtantinople* ſtood the more amazed at, becauſe he had ſpent all his life in the palace, where the courtiers being as it were ſhut up, neither ſee nor learn any thing but ceremonies, and ſuch like things, which they are taught by the maſters. If any point of law was propoſed, though he did not underſtand *Arabic*, in which the niceties of the *Mahometan* proceſſes are recorded, yet he could anſwer ſo properly and ingeniouſly upon every ſubject, that the moſt learned Mufti muſt have been ſilent in his preſence. In giving advice, in diſcovering the deſigns of any perſon, in foreſeeing the Event of things, he was another *Ulyſſes*; and whenever his counſels were neglected, fatal errors enſued. The firſt time Monſieur *de Feriol*, the *French* ambaſſador, came to wait upon him, after the conference was over, and *Feriol* gone out, I heard the Vizir ſaying to thoſe about him, *Bu Giaur ya deli dur*; *ya az zemanden ſongra deli olur*, i. e. "This Infidel is mad, "or elſe will be ſo within a few days, "which, he ſaid, he gueſſed by the fre-"quent motion of his eyes, by the agita-"tion of his body, the levity of his geſ-"ture, and his perpetual ſighing." That his prediction was true, the event ſhowed within a month or two; for he was ſeized with ſo violent a lunacy, that they were forced to bind him with chains; and the phyſicians having for ſeveral days endeavoured in vain to cure him, the *French* merchants come to the Vizir, and tell him, that their ambaſſador was out of order, and therefore they deſired him to confirm a perſon of their own body, whom they ſhould chuſe to take care of their concerns. But he told them, that the cauſe of his illneſs could be nothing but madneſs; and that it was ſo, came ſoon after to be publickly known in *Conſtantinople*. He had a moſt excellent memory, ſo that, amidſt great variety of buſineſs, he could, after three or four years, remember cauſes that came before him; and, what is more, give a very particular account of them. When he was ſitting in the *Divan*, no one could behold him without admiration; for he was a perſon of ſo much quickneſs and dexterity, that he could attend to three things at once, as if he had divided himſelf into three parts. For the quicker diſpatch of buſineſs, he ordered two petitions to be read at the ſame time by both the *Teskiereji*, and underſtood each cauſe as perfectly as if he had heard it three or four times, giving thereupon a ſuitable ſentence. In the mean time, he hearkned to others that were pleading before the *Kadiulaskier*, and delivering back the *Arzubal* to him; told him what ſentence he was to give. He was ſo great a lover of juſtice, that many affirm he never gave an unjuſt ſentence. The *Othman* Em-

Sweden, and *Staniſlaus*, who had been advanced, though unjuſtly, to the Crown of *Poland*.

IX. For a war ariſing between the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*, the *Swede* gained the advantage, and engaged the *Poles*, who were before inclined to a change, to depoſe their King *Auguſtus*, and chuſe *Staniſlaus*, *Waywod* of *Poſnania*, in his room. And, not content with this, to deſtroy the ſource of the war, he entered *Saxony*, the King of *Poland*'s native country, raiſed vaſt ſums of money thence by unheard-of exactions, and by that means obliged *Auguſtus* to abdicate the Kingdom of *Poland*, and acknowledge *Staniſlaus* for King.

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* entertained by the Sultan.

X. This enemy being removed from his borders, he marches with his whole army againſt *Peter* I. Czar of *Ruſſia*, who had been *Auguſtus*'s ally, and threatning nothing leſs than to depoſe him, at firſt pretends to penetrate into *Ruſſia*, near *Pleſcow*; but afterwards, induced by the promiſes of *Mazeppa*, Hetman of

The *Swedes* make a bold irruption into *Ruſſia*.

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pire had indeed in former times many not inferior to him for this virtue; but it has not hitherto produced any one equal to him in ſkilfulneſs at finding out truth: one inſtance of which will not, I hope, be tedious to the reader. A *Turkiſh* merchant at *Conſtantinople* went, according to cuſtom, to a bath before morning-prayer, and at his return from thence, as he was going to the *Jami*, loſt in the ſtreet his purſe out of his boſom with two hundred pieces of gold, called *Turali*. At his coming out of the *Jami*, after prayers were over, finding his boſom lighter, and perceiving he had loſt his money, he immediately goes to the cryer, and orders him to cry a purſe with ſuch and ſuch marks, and ſo much money in it: the owner whereof intreated the perſon that had found it, for God's ſake to return it to him, and he would freely give half the money for a reward. Fortune had happened to throw it in the way of a *Levend*, or *Marine*, who, when he heard that the owner offered a reward of a hundred *Turali* was ſtung with a remorſe of conſcience, and choſe rather to get honeſtly the half of what he had found, than to keep the whole under an appearance of theft: for if any perſon hears a thing cried that he has found, and keep it, if it comes to be known, he is, by the law of the *Koran* adjudged to be guilty of theft. So the man goes to the cryer, owns that he had found what was loſt, and that he intended to keep a hundred *Turali*, according to the bargain, and to reſtore the other hundred to the right owner. The owner immediately comes, but when he ſaw that his money was entire, he attempts to recede from his promiſe; and perceiving he could not do ſo without ſome ground, he invents a lye, pretending there were in the ſame purſe emerald ear-rings worth ſeven hundred crowns; and them he demands alſo from the marine. The man denying it, and calling God, the prophet, and all that was good and ſacred, to witneſs, that he had found nothing but the two hundred *Turali*, he is drawn before a *Cadi*, or inferior judge, and accuſed of theft. The judge, either out of negligence, or becauſe he was bribed, abſolved indeed the marine of theft, but ordered him to go away without a reward, for having loſt a thing of that value by his careleſsneſs. The Marine, not only diſappointed of his expectation, but alſo undergoing the ſcandal of being a thief, repreſents the whole matter in an *Arzubal* to the Vizir, who ſummons the merchant with the money in diſpute, and the cryer, to appear before him in judgment. Upon hearing the caſe, the Vizir firſt aſks the cryer, what it was the merchant had ordered him to make an enquiry after? he ingenuouſly owned, that it was only the two hundred *Turali*. The merchant thereupon putting in a word, ſaid, that he had cauſed no mention to be made of the emerald ear-rings, for fear that, if the purſe had fallen into the hands of an unſkilful perſon, and who knew not the value of *Jems*, when he ſhould diſcover what a great treaſure he had found, that might be a temptation to him to keep it all. The marine, on the other hand, making oath that he had found nothing in the bag but the money, *Ali Paſha* paſſed the following ſentence: "Since the "merchant, beſides two hundred *Turali*, has "loſt alſo ſome emerald ear-rings in the "ſame purſe, and ſince the marine has de"poſed upon oath that he has found no"thing but the money, it is plain that the "purſe and money which the marine has "found were not loſt by the merchant, but "by ſomebody elſe. Let the merchant "therefore have his things cried, till ſome "perſons fearing God, that has found them, "reſtore them to him; and let the Marine "keep that money by him for the ſpace of "forty days, and if no body comes and "claims it within that time, then let it be "his." Thus the covetous merchant loſt his credit, and half his money; and the marine went away joyfully with both to his ſhip.

the

the *Coſſaks*, who had offered to ſurrender to him his province and forces, bends his march towards *Ukrania*.

Ali Paſha promiſes the King of *Sweden* and the rebel *Coſſaks* aſſiſtance againſt the *Ruſſians*.

XI. During this march, *Ali Paſha*, glad of an opportunity of depreſſing the Czar of *Ruſſia*, the moſt inveterate enemy of the *Turks*, without any danger or diſadvantage to the *Othman* Empire, orders *Caplan Gierai*, Chan of *Crim Tartary*, by letters, to confirm *Mazeppa* in his deſign by all poſſible methods, and promiſe, that as ſoon as he heard of the *Swedes* having entered the country of the *Coſſaks*, he would come to their aſſiſtance with a numerous army of *Turks* and *Tartars*, and with united forces deſtroy their common enemy, but fully reſtore the *Coſſaks* to their former liberties.

Mazeppa, Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, joins the *Swedes*. H. 1121.

XII. *Mazeppa*, Hetman of the *Coſſaks*, confiding in theſe promiſes of the Chan, ſends an invitation to the King of *Sweden*: but the King was ſo long amuſed with the vain aſſurances of the Vizir and Chan, till on the fifth of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1121, he was defeated by the Czar at *Pultowa*, and ſuſtained an irreparable loſs.

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The *Swediſh* army routed at *Poltowa*, ſuſtain an irrecoverable loſs. The King takes ſanctuary among the *Turks*.

XIII. After this defeat, the King of *Sweden* retires to *Bender* to the *Turks*, whom he thought to be his confederates. The next year *Staniſlaus* flies to the ſame place with the *Waywod* of *Kiow*, and other *Poliſh* Nobles of his party, whom *Auguſtus*'s return, upon the news of the King of *Sweden*'s defeat, obliged to leave the Kingdom.

The *Turks* entertain the Kings with great civility, but retract their promiſes.

XIV. They are both received with very great honour, but when they deſire the aſſiſtance promiſed them againſt their enemies, they are amuſed by the Vizir with ambiguous anſwers. For as ſoon as he heard that the *Ruſſians* had not only driven the *Swedes* from their borders with a great ſlaughter, and taken moſt of their army priſoners, but likewiſe ſubdued *Livonia*, the ſtrongeſt bulwark of *Sweden*, he determines to keep the peace inviolable with the *Ruſſians*, and to preſerve the *Othman* Empire from all danger.

The *Turks* confirm the peace with the Czar.

XV. For this purpoſe, he confirms the former articles of peace at the requeſt of *Tolſtoi*, the *Ruſſian* ambaſſador, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the *Swedes*, *Staniſlaus*, and the *French* to the contrary.

The King of *Sweden* charges the Vizir with being a traytor.

XVI. At laſt the King of *Sweden*, finding the Vizir deaf to his petitions, by his ambaſſador, *Poniatowski*, preſents privately a remonſtrance to the Sultan himſelf, complaining that the Vizir was bribed by the enemy, and a traytor to the Empire, ſince he had excited him, by the Chan of *Tartary*, with many and great promiſes, to carry on the war, when the *Ruſſians* were inclined to peace; but now ſhuts his ears to his petitions, and had made ſuch a peace with the common enemy, as the *Ruſſians* themſelves could ſcarce have wiſhed for.

But in the preſent ſituation of affairs can obtain nothing.

XVII. The Sultan, according to cuſtom, ſends theſe letters to the Vizir, and orders him to give an account of what had been hitherto done with the *Swedes*. The Vizir is extremely incenſed with the Chan and the King of *Sweden*; but not being able to gratify his reſentments againſt the latter, he diſcharges his whole fury upon the former. He gives the Sultan ſuch an account as he thought proper, full of falſities, laying all the blame upon the treachery of the Chan, by which means he procures him to be depoſed, and baniſhed to *Janopoli*.

The *Turks* determine to confirm the peace with *Ruſſia*, and to oblige the Kings to depart.

XVIII. The Nobles again hold a private conſultation, in which it is determined to maintain the peace with *Ruſſia*, to grant the King leave to return home, and to take care that he might have a ſafe paſſage through *Germany*. On the other hand, the King receiving this anſwer, refuſes to depart, declaring he would ſtay and ſee how affairs would go, ſince he was ſure the next ſummer the *Turks* would be engaged in a war with the *Ruſſians*, though they ſhould endeavour to avoid it; and then the Sultan would perceive too late, he had not falſely charged the Vizir with being a traytor. But the Vizir deſpiſing theſe remonſtrances, perſiſts in his opinion, and ſends the Chan, *Deulet Gierai*, into *Crim Tartary* with great honour, ordering him to endeavour by all means to maintain the peace with the *Ruſſians*, and if they ſhould make any attempt to the contrary, to ſend the *Othman* court information.

The fraud of the Vizir detected.

XIX. When the Chan came to the *Cherſoneſus*, that he might load his predeceſſor, *Caplan Gierai*, he informs the Sultan, that he had not only loſt, by his miſ-

conduct,

conduct above thirty thouſand *Tartars* in the expedition againſt the *Circaſſians* *, but likewiſe occaſioned the revolt of the *Coſſaks* under *Mazeppa*, to whom he had promiſed liberty and aſſiſtance in the name of the *Othman* court. The Sultan having received this account, ſends for the Vizir, and enquires what letters had been ſent to the Chan of *Tartary* concerning his aſſiſting the *Swedes*. The Vizir denies there had been any, and affirms it to be a fiction of the Chan. The Sultan ſuſpecting what was really the caſe, ſends a truſty meſſenger privately to *Caplan Gierai* at *Yanopolis*, to enquire whether he had writ ſuch a letter to *Mazeppa*. *Caplan Gierai*, not thinking the Vizir's reſentments were to be feared, frankly acknowledges the truth, that he had made ſuch promiſes to the *Hetman* of the *Coſſaks*, but that it was by the command of the Vizir. The Sultan being informed of this, ſends again for the Vizir, charging him with falſhood, and, in a paſſion, ſays to him, "ſuch letters ought not to have been ſent during a truce; but when "once ſent, ought not to be retracted, nor the King of *Sweden* deceived, nor "the honour of the *Othman* Empire and the Muſulman faith proſtituted be-"fore Infidels."

XX. He therefore deprives *Chorhily* * *Ali Paſha* of the Vizirſhip, and advances in his room *Kioprili Ogli Nuuman Paſha* (7), a man more eminent for juſtice and learning, than for warlike abilities. Theſe were only ſparks and indications of that flame, which, from ſeveral other cauſes, ſoon after broke out.

Ali therefore being removed from the poſt of Vizir, is ſucceeded by *Kioprili Nuuman Paſha*.

XXI. For the King of *Sweden*, upon the removal and baniſhment of his enemy, *Ali Paſha*, opens more boldly by his ambaſſador, *Poniatowski*, his deſigns to the *Othman* court, and perſwades them to a war with *Ruſſia*. He alledges, the States of *Poland* were in league with him and *Staniſlaus*, and that the *Waywod* of *Kiow* was univerſally deſired for general of the army; that forty thouſand ſelect men were raiſed by his officers in *Pomerania*,

The King of *Sweden*, by ſurpriſing methods, engages the Sultan to break the peace with the *Ruſſians*.

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(7) *Kioprili Nuuman*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his juſtice, learning, and piety; but of no experience either in political or military affairs: for his father, the great and ſo often commended *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, had brought up all his ſons more to learning, than to the knowledge of ſtate-affairs: to the end that they ſhould ſlight court-honours and preferments, which he knew to be attended with great danger, and devoting themſelves to an eccleſiaſtical life, might quietly ſpend their days free from the fear of the Ax, or other violent death. In that ſtate they would alſo have continued, had it not been for their relation, *Huſein Paſha*, who drew them out of it, and, though they were but young, raiſed them to the higheſt dignities in the *Othman* court. However, this *Nuuman Paſha* being grown up before *Huſein Paſha* came to the Vizirſhip, and having been initiated into the profound learning of the *Arabians*, he always retained, even in the midſt of his public employments, a love for reading, and the ſtudy of the laws; but, by applying himſelf too cloſely to his lucubrations whilſt he was at *Conſtantinople*, he contracted ſuch a ridiculous fancy, as to imagine that there was always a fly ſitting upon his noſe, which indeed flew away when he ſcared it, but returned again immediately to the ſame place. All the phyſicians then in *Conſtantinople* were conſulted upon that occaſion, and, after they had long uſed in vain all their endeavours, one *Le Duc*, a *French* phyſician, found means to apply a ſuitable remedy to the diſtemper; for he did not go about, as the reſt, to argue with him that it was all a fancy, and there was nothing in it; but when he was brought to the ſick man, and asked by him whether he ſaw the fly that was ſitting upon his noſe? he ſaid he did; and by that prudent diſſimulation, induced the diſordered perſon to place the utmoſt confidence in him. After which, he ordered him ſeveral innocent juleps, under the the name of purging and opening medicines; at laſt, he drew a knife gently along his noſe, as if he was going to cut off the fly, and then ſhewed him a dead fly which he had kept in his hand for that purpoſe: whereupon *Nuuman Paſha* immediately cried out, this is the very fly which has ſo long plagued me: and thus he was perfectly cured of that whimſical fancy.

who would without any difficulty enter *Poland*, as ſoon as the *Turkiſh* or *Tartar* light-armed troops ſhould appear in the confines of *Podolia*; that the *Danes*, who were in alliance with the *Ruſſians*, had been defeated by his general with ſuch loſs, that it was thought they could hardly bring an army again into the field for ſeveral years. He likewiſe ſends the Sultan a picture of the Czar, engraved at *Amſterdam*, with this inſcription:

PETRUS PRIMUS RUSSO-GRÆCORUM MONARCHA.

To theſe were added other accounts brought from the borders of the Empire, that the *Ruſſians* had carried off a great number of *Swedes* from the villages of *Moldavia*; that the Czar was building a great fleet in the *Tanais*, and had already finiſhed the port of *Taganorus*; in ſhort, that every thing threatned war in thoſe parts. Theſe things ſtrangely diſturbed the mind of the Sultan, eſpecially that the *Ruſſians*, who had been before entirely ignorant of naval affairs, had now gained ſuch knowledge therein, that they ventured to ſend their ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* in ſhips of war.

The Sultan's judgment of the Czar.

XXII. He ſends therefore for the Vizir, *Kioprili Ogli Nuuman Paſha*, and is reported to have ſaid to him: "This enemy (meaning the Czar) cannot "correct his extravagant deſigns; for I eaſily gueſs, from his paſt actions, that "he, like another *Alexander the Great*, aſpires to the monarchy of the whole "world. This infidel therefore muſt be chaſtiſed, before he be able to annoy "us; otherwiſe, if no notice be taken of his attempts, it is to be feared when "we are engaged in war with other nations, he will give us a troubleſome diverſion."

The Vizir's anſwer to the Sultan.

XXIII. To this *Nuuman Paſha* replies, ſome misfortune is to be dreaded from the growing greatneſs of the Czar; but ſince a peace is eſtabliſhed, it ought not to be broke without a juſt cauſe. He would ſend for the Czar's ambaſſador, and enquire what were the intentions of his maſter. But if the *Ruſſians* ſhould unexpectedly attack the *Turks* before the expiration of the truce, God would aſſiſt the juſt cauſe of the *Muſulmans*.

The Vizir's diſcourſe with the ambaſſador.

XXIV. The Vizir upon his return, ſending for the ambaſſador, enquires for what purpoſe the Czar had ordered ſo many ſhips and galleys to be built in the *Tanais*; that if he were deſirous of a peace, there was no occaſion for a fleet, ſince it was of no uſe againſt any other enemy, there being no paſſage for it into the *Caſpian* ſea, or the ocean. The Czar's ambaſſador anſwers, his maſter had built no new ſhips, but only thought proper to finiſh thoſe which had been begun before the peace, leſt they ſhould rot; that he would be hoſtage, that the Czar ſhould not uſe any hoſtilities before the truce was expired without urgent neceſſity.

The Sultan removes the Vizir from his poſt for oppoſing his opinion.

XXV. Notwithſtanding this was told him by the Vizir, the Sultan reſolves to make war upon the Czar, for which purpoſe he orders the Vizir to raiſe money, and lay heavier taxes than uſual. The Vizir declares it impoſſible, and that nothing could be levied upon the ſubjects but what the law and the prophet himſelf preſcribed; that an army was to be liſted according to his directions, which, though inferior in number, yet being hired with that money, would be of much more ſervice than a greater body of forces. But if this advice was diſagreeable to the Sultan, he deſired him to chuſe another Vizir, who ſhould be better skilled in the arts of oppreſſing the people.

Baltaji Mehemed again appointed Vizir.

XXVI. The Sultan grants his requeſt, and, taking the ſeal of the Vizirſhip from him, delivers it again to *Baltaji Mehemed Paſha*, his miſtreſs's husband, ſending *Nuuman Paſha* to the government of *Eubea*. Under the new Vizir, warlike preparations are made more openly, and with great application ſoldiers are raiſed, and every thing is ready for an early campain.

XXVII. The *Venetians*, terrified at this, and not knowing the design of these preparations, but imagining the *Turks* would attempt the *Morea*, make large presents to the Mufti, and other great officers; but the *Russian* ambassador depending upon the peace lately made and confirmed, is more negligent in his conduct, thinking it unnecessary to seek that by bribes, which was settled by the articles of peace. The Vizir taking this for avarice, in the month *Sheval* †, of the year 1122, holds a council with the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, whom he had sent for, and the rest of the *Cubbe Vizirs*, about a war with the Czar; a campain is almost unanimously resolved, agreeably to the Sultan's inclination. Orders are immediately sent throughout the Empire to raise men for the ensuing expedition; the Czar's ambassador is confined in the *Seven Towers*; all his effects which could be found are confiscated, and sentence of death passed upon him as an impostor, which the Sultan would also have put in execution, if the Vizir had not interposed, and assured him, if he should violate the laws of nations in such a manner, he would fix an indelible mark of infamy upon his reign.

The Sultan having declared his intentions of war against the *Russians*, orders the ambassador of that country to be confined

† *November*. H. 1122.

A. C. 1710.

XXVIII. On the other hand, five hundred purses are immediately sent to the King of *Sweden*, under the pretence of a loan, who is likewise presented with six and thirty horses, part with, and part without furniture, and other royal gifts, and he is assured of the protection of the *Othman* court.

He honours the King of *Sweden* in a very singular manner.

XXIX. In the mean time, the Sultan is informed by *Mazeppa* and others, that *Constantine Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, held a secret correspondence with the Czar; was concerting a revolt from the *Othman* Empire; and had promised the Czar, if he could penetrate into *Moldavia*, thirty thousand men, with provisions for many years, and was already made a knight of St. *Andrew* in confirmation of his alliance. This being supported by the accounts of several other Basha's, the Sultan, before he declared war, resolves to seize this domestic enemy, and cure the *Othman* Empire of this wound.

Brancovan charged with treachery by *Mazeppa*.

XXX. But perceiving it to be very difficult to be executed, on account of that Prince's great power and authority, he orders the Chan of *Crim-Tartary* to consult with the Vizir about it, and inform him what he thought necessary for the interest of the Empire. The Chan persuades the Vizir not to attempt any thing against *Brancovan*, but to draw him into the snare by means of the neighbouring Prince of *Moldavia*. If the present Prince was improper for that purpose, he knew that *Demetrius Cantemir* would be more fit, whose fidelity the Sultan had experienced both in peace and war.

A consultation held for the deposing him.

XXXI. The Sultan approves of this advice, and having deposed *Nicholaus Maurocordato*, appoints *Cantemir*, Prince of *Walachia*, under the title of that of *Moldavia*, and, presenting him with a sable vest in the month *Sheval*, of the year 1122 †, sends him into *Moldavia*, with orders to seize *Brancovan* under colour of friendship, alliance, or any other pretence which he thought proper, and send him alive or dead to *Constantinople*; and when he had possessed himself of the Principality of *Walachia*, to take upon him the government of it: but that he should appoint another Prince of *Moldavia*, and refer his choice to the approbation of the court. For the readier and better execution of this design, he ordered the Chan immediately to grant *Cantemir* as many thousand *Tartars* as he should require. On the other hand, the Sultan promised *Cantemir*, that the Principality should be *Ebedi*, and no tribute nor *Pishkiesh* demanded while he should continue in *Moldavia*.

Demetrius Cantemir appointed Prince of *Walachia*, under the title of that of *Moldavia*.

† *Nov.* 1710.

XXXII. These promises being confirmed by a *Chatisherif*, *Cantemir*, with the Chan of *Tartary*, goes to *Moldavia*, about the end of *November*; but a few days after his arrival, he is directed by letters from the Prime Vizir's *Kiehaia*, *Osman Aga* (8) to send immediately to the Sultan and Vizir the *Pishkiesh* usually given

The promises made to *Cantemir* denied by the treacherous court.

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) *Osman Aga*] before the Vizirship of *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha*, he was *Giumrukchi**, or overseer of the customs, and was universally esteemed, because the Vizir was thought to have a particular regard for him. After the conclusion of the peace with the *Russians*,

given at a Prince's entrance into his government, to collect a great quantity of provisions for the *Turkish* army, finish the bridge with the utmost expedition, place the *Swedes* and *Cossaks* who were with the King of *Sweden*, in winter-quarters, and march himself with his forces about *Hydgreez* at *Bender*, with many other almost intolerable burthens.

Upon this account he offers a faithful service to a faithful monarch.

XXXIII. From these first fruits, *Cantemir* perceiving how little faith was to be expected from the infidels, throws off his attachment to the *Turkish* interest, and esteeming it better to suffer with Christ, than wait for the deceitful treasures of *Egypt*, sends a trusty messenger to the Czar, with an offer of himself and his Principality.

The Czar marches with his army to *Jassy*, the capital of *Moldavia*.

H. 1123.

A. C. 1711

XXXIV. Having mutually exchanged their faith, the Czar sends before out of *Poland* his general, *Borius Petrovicz Skeremetew*, with part of his forces to seize the bridge over the *Danube*, himself following soon after with the rest of the regiments, and in the month *Jemaziul Evvel*, of the year 1123, encamps at the *Hierasus*, near *Czuczora*. Having joined the *Moldavian* troops, he marches with a few of his officers to *Jassij*, religiously visiting the churches and monasteries for three days, and waiting for the provisions promised by the Prince of *Walachia*.

Brancovan, Prince of *Walachia*, breaks his solemn promise.

XXXV. But having observed that his ambassador endeavoured only to amuse him with empty ceremonies, instead of discharging what had been promised, and being now assured of his treachery, he is in great doubt whether to proceed, stand his ground, or retire. For famine, a misfortune fatal to the Christians engaged in the war in *Moldavia*, had now begun to distress the *Russian* army, because the generals depending upon *Brancovan*'s promises, had brought but twenty days provisions, and the locusts had destroyed all the grass in *Moldavia*.

The Czar sends part of his army to forage in *Walachia*.

XXXVI. Upon this account, the Czar sends General *de Roenne* and Count *Thomas Cantacuzenus* into the borders of *Walachia* with part of the army, to seize by force what *Brancovan* had refused to grant of his own accord, and therewith to refresh the soldiers. Those troops having passed the mountains of *Moldavia*, first assault *Braila*, and after four days siege, oblige the *Turkish* garrison to surrender. As they are marching further, in order to penetrate into *Walachia*, they are recalled by the Czar's letters, in which they are commanded to restore *Braila* to the *Turks*, and return.

The Czar marches to seize the passage over the *Danube*.

XXXVII. For after their departure from the camp, the Czar with his whole army had marched to *Czuczora*, with design to seize the bridge over the *Danube* before the arrival of the *Turks*; but when he came to the hill of *Rabie*, he is informed the Vizir with his whole army, reported to be two hundred and twenty thousand men, had already passed the *Danube*, and were marching with great expedition towards *Falczij*.

He sends part of his army to prevent the Vizir from passing the river,

XXXVIII. Upon this he sends *Taceus*, the *Russian* general, with seven thousand of his own soldiers, five hundred *Moldavians*, and several hundred *Cossaks*, to *Falczy*, to prevent the *Turks* from passing the river.

Who being surrounded by the enemy, is in great danger.

XXXIX. But before he came to *Falczij*, near the village of *Barsenij*, on the eastern bank of the *Hierasus*, he sees the whole army of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, of which he sends an account to the Czar by a courier. While he is waiting for an answer, the *Turkish* forces pass the river a little lower in the night, without opposition, and surround his troops with their horse. In this

ANNOTATIONS.

Russians, the Vizir sent him before to pacify the Sultan, who received him kindly, (lest by unseasonably discovering his designs, he should give the Vizir an occasion of raising a sedition,) and made him chief governor of the court, which office he enjoyed as long as the Vizir continued in his dignity; but after the Vizir was deposed and banished, there being no longer any danger of a rebellion in the army, *Osman aga* was treacherously drawn in by *Bostanji bashi* into *Kavak*, or the castle of the *Bosphorus*, and there beheaded by order of the Sultan: for it was thought, that he being bribed by the *Russians*, had been the chief adviser of the peace made by the Vizir.

distress

distreſs there comes a *Moldavian*, with orders from the Czar to retire to his camp; upon which *Janus* throwing his troops into a ſquare, retreats ſlowly, and bravely reſiſts the numberleſs forces of the enemy, whenever they attack him.

XL. When he was not far from the camp, and ſtrongly preſſed by the enemy, *Cantemir*, Prince of *Moldavia*, with his troops, marches to his aſſiſtance, and for three hours withſtands ſixty thouſand *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian* horſe, and repulſing them not without loſs, returns to the camp at *Stanileſti*.

Cantemir with his troops comes to his aſſiſtance.

XLI. But the Czar finding himſelf in ſuch a ſituation, that he could not open his ranks, nor march forward on account of the enemy's forces, and the want of proviſions, changes his reſolution; and about the ſecond hour of the night ſetting fire to the empty and ſuperfluous carriages, becauſe the whole camp could not be conveyed away by the ſoldiers, marches his army back toward the hill of *Rabie*.

The Czar removes his camp on account of the diſadvantageous ſituation of the place.

XLII. The *Turks*, at day-break, ſeeing the *Ruſſian* camp abandoned, and imagining them to fly, follow with the utmoſt ſpeed, and endeavour to ſtop their march with their whole force. But this not ſucceeding, and perceiving that the *Ruſſians* were advanced about noon to the place deſigned, they encamp likewiſe on both ſides the river, and annoy the enemy that day with continual but ſlight skirmiſhes.

The enemy imagining they go to fly, attacks them with great vigour.

XLIII. The day after the Vizir, with the Janizaries and beſt part of the army, comes up, and with four hundred and ſeventy cannon fires upon the enemy's camp, after which the Janizaries make a vigorous aſſault upon the *Ruſſians*, which they repeat ſeven times with great fury. The *Ruſſians*, though they had but thirty cannon, and were extremely diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and eſpecially forage, bravely repel the Janizaries, and oblige them to retire with great loſs to their trenches.

The Vizir, ſurrounding the *Ruſſian* camp aſſaults it with great fury.

XLIV. Having fought thus for three days with doubtful ſucceſs, at laſt, on the fourth day, contrary to all hope and expectation, a ſudden peace ſhines forth amidſt the ſtorms of war. This is more readily agreed to by the *Turks*, becauſe their camp reſounded with the complaints of the ſoldiery, and the Janizaries who had eſcaped, refuſed to return to an engagement, in which they had ſuſtained ſo great loſs, and had been in the moſt imminent danger.

Great hopes of peace appear.

XLV. Theſe pacific meaſures are indeed oppoſed by the King of *Sweden*, who the day before came from *Bender* to the camp, and he uſes his utmoſt efforts to prevent the peace, but meets with a repulſe from the Vizir, who had a greater regard for the *Ottoman* intereſt than the King's.

The King of *Sweden* endeavours in vain to diſſuade it.

XLVI. The conditions of peace being agreed upon, the Czar ſends *Peter* Baron of *Shafirow*, vice-chancellor of the *Ruſſian* Empire, and *Michael Boriſovicz Sheremetew*, captain of the guards, as ambaſſadors extraordinary to *Conſtantinople* for the confirmation of the peace.

Ambaſſadors ſent to confirm the articles of peace.

XLVII. Theſe being ſent to the *Turkiſh* camp, the next day the Czar marches his army towards *Mohilow*, and there paſſing the *Tyras*, returns through *Poland* to his capital of *Petersburg*.

The Czar returns with his army.

XLVIII. In the cloſe of this narration, it will not be improper to add a heroical ſaying of *Peter the Great*, Emperor of *Ruſſia*, worthy the imitation of all Chriſtian Princes. For when he ſent ambaſſadors to make peace with the *Turks*, the Vizir's firſt demand was, that *Cantemir*, the rebel Prince of *Moldavia*, ſhould be delivered up to him. The ambaſſadors acquainting him with this demand, and many of the courtiers perſwading him not to loſe ſo numerous an army for the ſake of one man, he anſwered with a truly royal ſpirit, "That "he could reſign all the country as far as *Curska* to the *Turks*, ſince there "was hope of recovering it again; but could by no means violate his faith, and "deliver up a Prince, who had abandoned his Principality for his ſake, becauſe "it was impoſſible to repair honour once forfeited." The *Turks* hearing this, deſiſted from their demand, and made peace upon other conditions, ſo well known, that we think it needleſs to inſert them in this Volume.

The heroic ſaying of *Peter the Great*.

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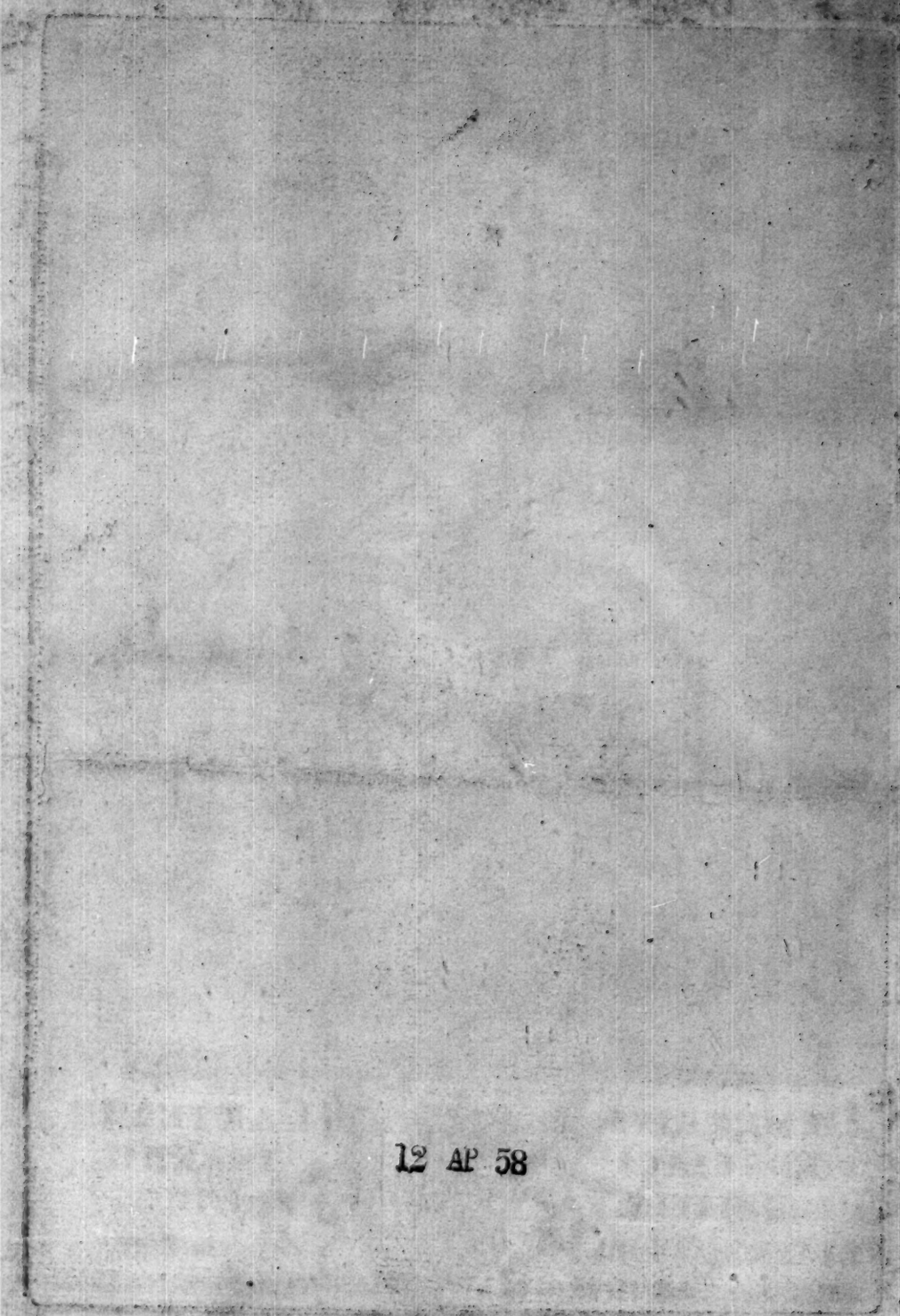
ERRATA.

Page 360. Line 25. and 364. l. 33. for *Chateau-nouveau*, read *Chateau-neuf*. p. 276. dele the note at the bottom of the page. *Sko* is a diminutive in the *Tartarian* language. Thus *Doroſhensko* is a diminutive of *Dorotheus*.

FINIS.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DEMETRIVS CANTEMIR.
S. ROSSIACI IMPERII,
et MOLDAVIÆ PRINCEPS.
PETRI. M. RUSSORU *Imperatoris*
SENATOR, et AB IN- TIMIS CONSILIIS.

The LIFE of
DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR,
Prince of MOLDAVIA.

PRINCE *Demetrius Cantemir* was born *October* 26, 1673. *Constantine Cantemir*, was then but *Serdar*, that is, governor [illegible] of three districts of *Moldavia*.*

In the year 1684, his father was made Prince of *Moldavia*, and the Turk demanding one of his sons in hostage, he sent his eldest son, *Antiochus*, attended with six young Nobles, to *Constantinople*. 1684.

Three years after *Demetrius Cantemir* was ordered by his father, to go and relieve his brother. At that time *Constantine Brancovan*, mortal enemy of the *Cantemir* family, was Prince of *Wallachia*. *Brancovan*, on the arrival of *Demetrius* at *Constantinople*, in order to destroy his father's credit with the *Port*, insinuates to the Prime Vizir, that *Demetrius* was not Prince *Cantemir*'s second son, but a youth procured by him to draw his true son, *Antiochus*, out of the hands of the *Turks*. Whereupon the Vizir, to examine the affair, sending for *Demetrius*, the moment he appeared, said, *Brancovan* has inserted the blackest of calumnies; for old *Cantemir* is very visible in the person of young *Demetrius*. And, indeed, *Demetrius* shined in such a manner in this his first appearance before the prime minister of the *Ottoman* Empire, and afterwards gave so many proofs of a ripe understanding and a prudent conduct, that he rendered himself a son worthy of his father. 1687.

He remained at *Constantinople* till 1691, when, relieved by his brother *Antiochus*, he returned to his father. During his stay at *Constantinople*, he studied the *Turkish* language and *musick*, in which he afterwards excelled to such a degree, that he was the first introducer of *musical notes* among the *Turks*, and composed several pieces of musick, which are sung to this day with great pleasure. 1691.

In the year 1692 *Daltaban*, the Seraskier, having besieged *Servea*, he followed his father to the army, and received a great deal of respect from that *Turkish* general. 1692.

The next year his father died on the thirteenth of *March*. On his death-bed he sent for his son and nobles, and desired them, before he expired, to chuse a successor. The nobles unanimously declare *Demetrius* for their Prince. The dying father was delighted with this news, flattering himself that his son's election would be confirmed by the Sultan; but money was more prevalent at the *Port* than the father's services and the son's merit, so another was appoint- 1693.

* *Constantine Cantemir* had four wives, of which the third was mother of our author.

ed, and *Demetrius* was obliged to leave his country, and retire to his brother at *Conſtantinople**.

1697. After this he was, by the Prime Vizir's order, at the battle of *Zenta*. As he was only a voluntier, he was not in the battle, and, flying with the *Turks*, returned with the remains of the army to *Conſtantinople*.

Brancovan continuing his enmity to the family, perſecuted the two brothers to the utmoſt of his power. *Demetrius*'s merit had inflamed his hatred, for he was in great eſteem with all the miniſters at court. He had not only made himſelf maſter of *Turkiſh*, but alſo of *Arabic* and *Perſian*; and his affability and chearful temper rendered him the delight of the beſt company in the metropolis. *Brancovan* therefore believing *Demetrius* was the only perſon whom he had to fear as a rival, ſpared no pains or money to cauſe him to be removed from the *Port*; and at laſt by a great ſum obtained, though in vain, his enemy's baniſhment; for *Demetrius* having notice of it, concealed himſelf at the houſe of a Baſſa, who not only entertained him and his family with great civility forty days, but procured a revocation of the ſentence, and the means of his appearing at court with more luſtre than ever. This was a great mortification to *Brancovan*, who had ſome reaſon for his proceedings: for *Demetrius* ſo ardently wiſhed for the Principality of *Walachia*, that he twice refuſed that of *Moldavia*, which however, by his recommendation, was both times given to his brother *Antiochus*.

1700. When his brother went firſt to take poſſeſſion of his Principality, *Demetrius* accompanied him, and at that time married *Caſſandra*, daughter of *Serban Cantacuzenus*, who had been Prince of *Walachia*. By this marriage, *Demetrius* had a daughter in *Moldavia*; and ſhortly after was forced to quit that country, and return with his brother, who was depoſed, to *Conſtantinople*, where he became the father of another daughter and four ſons.

During this third reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, *Demetrius*, having nothing better to do, employed himſelf in building his houſe, and ſtudying the cuſtoms and uſages of the country. He had many years leiſure; for he departed not from
1710. *Conſtantinople* till the year 1710, when *Peter the Great*, Czar of *Muſcovy*, declared war with the Infidels. Upon this monarch's approach with his army towards the borders of *Moldavia*, the *Port* thought proper to appoint *Demetrius* Prince of that Province, becauſe the preſent governor, *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, though a learned man, and in great repute at the *Turkiſh* court, was not a fit perſon in a time of war, having neither courage nor ſkill in military affairs. *Demetrius* was forced to accept of this dignity both by the Vizir and the inſinuations of the Chan of the *Tartars*, who had intimated to the *Port*, that he was the only Chriſtian capable of doing ſignal ſervice on this occaſion. Hence it was that *Demetrius* was ſo far from making the uſual preſents to the Sultan and the *Turkiſh* miniſters, that he was allowed by the *Port* twenty purſes towards his expence.

1710. He was no ſooner arrived at *Jaſſy*, metropolis of *Moldavia*, but he received orders from the *Port* to build a bridge over the *Danube* for the paſſage of the *Turkiſh* army; and withal, was commanded by the Vizir to ſend him the money due to him and the other officers for his advancement to that Principality. *Demetrius* was extremely incenſed with the laſt order, and from that moment reſolved to be revenged of the Vizir, and embrace the preſent opportunity of freeing his country from the *Turkiſh* yoke.

By good fortune, *Peter the Great* ſent to him at this time a *Greek* phyſician, named *Politala*, with very advantagious propoſals. Whereupon, as the ſervice of a Chriſtian Prince, and the happineſs of his own people were concerned, he ſoon came to an agreement with that Monarch; by which, 1. *Moldavia*, reſtored to its antient extent, was to be under the protection of *Ruſſia*. 2. The Prince and his people were to ſwear fidelity to his Czariſh Majeſty as ſoon as the *Ruſſian* army was entered *Moldavia*. 3. The Prince at the ſame time was to join his forces with the Czar, and act in concert againſt the *Turks*. 4. The Prince, as

* It muſt be obſerved, that the ſons of the Prince of *Moldavia* and of *Walachia*, as well as the depoſed Princes (called by the *Turks*, *Mazil*) are obliged to live at *Conſtantinople*.

well

well as his ſucceſſors, were to enjoy for ever the ſovereignty of *Moldavia* under the auſpices of the *Ruſſian* Monarchs. 5. No other perſon could be admitted to the Principality till the *Cantemir* family was entirely extinct. Theſe, with ſome other conditions, were ratified by the Czar at *Lusk* in *Poland*, the thirteenth of *April* 1711, under the ſeal of the Empire, and ſent by an expreſs to the Prince. Purſuant to this agreement, *Demetrius* continued to give the Czar proper advices concerning the forces he was to bring with him, and the methods he was to take in the enterprize.

Mean while, he failed not to go on with the bridge over the *Danube*, the direction of which, at the charge of the *Turks*, *Moldavia* and *Walachia* finding timber, was wholly committed to him: ſo that he could eaſily retard the work, which he did to the utmoſt of his power, without incurring the leaſt ſuſpicion of correſponding with the *Ruſſians*, and continually preſſed the Czar to haſten his march before the finiſhing of the bridge. Unfortunately his advices, as of a man whoſe fidelity was not yet approved, were not readily followed; and the Czar, deceived by the hopes given him by *Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, came too late to hinder the *Turks* paſſing the *Danube*. The Czar arrived at *Jaſſy* in *June* 1711, where the Nobles and People of *Moldavia* acknowledged him for 1711.
ſovereign, and, with their Prince, publickly ſwore fidelity to him. As this expedition is related at large in the hiſtory, it ſuffices to ſay that the Czar was, for want of neceſſaries, obliged to make a diſadvantagious peace with the *Turks*; but, to his immortal honour, refuſed to deliver up Prince *Cantemir*, though himſelf, family, and army, were in the utmoſt diſtreſs. His miniſter was ordered to tell the *Turks* the Prince was not in his camp, he being, during the treaty, ſhut up in the Czarina's coach, which was known only to a ſervant who brought him his victuals.

The Prince, ſeeing he could not remain in *Moldavia*, obtained a patent from the Czar, by which the Czar promiſed him and the *Moldavian* Nobles amends for their loſſes, and a refuge in his dominions. By this inſtrument (dated at *Mogilof*, the firſt of *Auguſt* 1711) he created *Demetrius* and his Heirs Princes of the *Ruſſian* Empire, with the title of *moſt ſerene Highneſs*, and gave him the privilege of being accountable only to the Czar himſelf, and the *Moldavians* that ſhould retire into *Ruſſia*, to him alone.

Upon this agreement, he removed his family and goods from *Jaſſy*, and followed the *Ruſſian* camp, attended with above a thouſand *Moldavian* Nobles and Officers, who abandoned their country for his ſake.

The Prince with his followers retired to *Charcof* in *Ukrania*, which was ap- 1711.
pointed for the habitation of himſelf and people. He remained there with all his family till 1713, when he removed to *Moſcow*. At his requeſt, the Czar not only 1713.
divided the lands he had given him in *Ukrania* among the *Moldavian* Nobles, but gave him alſo a thouſand farm-houſes belonging to the Crown. Theſe lands had ever been in the poſſeſſion of the Czars, and both for ſituation and number of inhabitants, are reckoned the beſt in the Empire. His majeſty moreover allowed him a large annual penſion, which was paid as long as the Prince lived.

Soon after *Demetrius*'s arrival at *Moſcow*, his wife, *Caſſandra*, continually grieving for the loſs of her country and relations in *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, where her own and husband's effects were ſeized by the *Port*, fell ſick of a fever, and, by the ignorance of the Apothecary, who gave her a too ſtrong purging potion, was ſent out of the world, after a few days illneſs, in the flower of her age, being but thirty years old. She was a woman of great prudence and ſenſe, much gi- *May* 11,
ven to reading, and withal very mindful of her family-affairs, and the education 1713.
of her children. Her beauty, of which ſhe had a good ſhare, was her leaſt ornament. She was buried at *Moſcow* in a *Greek* cloyſter, where the Prince, her husband, had contributed to the building of a fine Church.

The next year *Demetrius* came to *Petersburg* with his third ſon, *Serban*, but 1714
ſeven years old. The boy, on *Eaſter*-Day, made a ſpeech in *Greek* before the Czar, for which the Czar gave him a handſome preſent, and liſted him in his own regiment.

As the Czar travelled the next year into foreign countries, *Demetrius* took the opportunity to visit his territories, where he stayed till 1716. At that time he finished his History of the *Othman* Empire, begun at *Constantinople*.

1716. In 1716, *Demetrius* exercised the power given him by the Czar over the *Moldavian* Nobles, among whom the villages of *Uhrania* had been divided. These Lords frequently meeting at entertainments, happened one time to fall out in their cups, and, drawing their sabres, two of them were unfortunately killed, and several wounded. Whereupon complaints were brought to the Prince, who, citing the offenders to appear before him, after a tryal, condemned three to death, and some other to the galleys: but afterwards changed the sentence of death into that of corporal punishment, which was executed, and the whole approved by the Czar. This perhaps is the only instance in the *Russian* History of a subject's exercising the power of life and death in his own name.

1717. In 1717, the Czar being called home by the troubles excited in his country, *Demetrius* returned also to *Mostow*, where he was often with his Majesty, and
1718. even received frequent visits from him. At the Czar's departure to *Petersburg*, he was ordered to attend him, but his family remained at *Moscow*, his second daughter, *Smaragda*, being seized with a phtisick.

When he came to *Petersburg*, he happened to see, at a publick assembly of the Nobles held regularly every winter, the third daughter of Prince *Trubezkoi*, the present Field Marshal of the *Russian* forces, the greatest beauty of her time, and, falling in love with her, demanded her in a few days of her father in marriage. He obtained his request, and married her the beginning of the winter. A little before the nuptials, he shaved his beard, and changed his *Moldavian* for the *French* habit. The Czar was pleased to come in person, and conduct him to the Church where the ceremony was to be performed, and led him back to his house, presenting him by the way with a rich sword.

After the nuptial-feast, which lasted three days, and at which his Majesty, with the Empress, Princesses of the blood, and all the Nobles at *Petersburg*, were present, he was made a privy-counsellor.

His children had now followed him to *Petersburg*, except his daughter *Smaragda*, who daily growing worse, died the fourth of *July*, in her seventeenth year. But her loss was supplied by a daughter which his second wife bore him the eighth of *November*, the same year, to whom the Czar and Czarina stood Godfather and Godmother, and named her also *Smaragda*.

1720. The next year he was ordered to follow the Czar into *Persia*, with Count *Tolstoi* and Admiral *Apraxin*. In this expedition *Apraxin* commanded the army, and *Tolstoi*, with *Demetrius*, had the direction of the civil affairs, these three composing his Majesty's council.

He accompanied the Czar to *Colomna*, a town ninety *verst* from *Moscow*, situated at the mouth of the *Moscua*, which runs into the *Occa*. Here he found his family, which followed him by water, and embarking, pursued his journey to
1721. *Astracan*, where he arrived the fourth of *July*.

He had but just left *Colomna*, when he begun to feel a pain in his reins, with a light fever, attended now and then with such a weakness, that he was forced to keep his bed three or four days. However, it did not prevent him from employing himself in setting up a *Turkish* press to print the Czar's declarations of war, which he had a mind to publish in *Persia* in that language. The flat vessels in which he sailed were very proper for this project: so that by the time the Czar arrived at *Astracan*, every thing was ready for printing the declarations. In *August*, *Demetrius* embarked at *Astracan* on board a frigate of twenty guns, to follow the Czar into *Persia*. The whole army crossed the sea with his Majesty, and in a few days safely arrived at the place where the fort of the *holy Cross* is since built.

As *Demetrius* was obliged to accompany the Czar by land to *Derbent*, he sent his frigate with his baggage and servants to wait for him there. But unhappily, this vessel was thrown by a storm on a sand-bank, and, excepting the crew, every thing was lost. Among other things, the Prince lost his cabinet with his papers, particularly a manuscript history from *Mahomet* the false Prophet, to *Othman* the

firſt *Turkiſh* Sultan; a work which had coſt a great deal of pains, and deſerved a better fate.

The Prince's illneſs daily increaſed, and neither himſelf nor the phyſicians could find out the cauſe. He continued his journey however to *Derbent*, and, in an interval of eaſe, viſits the famous wall on the mountains of *Caucaſus*; of which Profeſſor *Bayer* has given a particular account in the ſecond volume of the Acts of the Academy at *Petersburg*.

In his return from *Derbent*, *Demetrius*'s diſtemper was found to be a *Diabetes*, which ſo weakned him, that he could not mount his horſe. Believing himſelf near death, he made his will, which he delivered into the Czar's hands, whom he appointed his executor and guardian of his children. His three eldeſt ſons were with him, but his wife, daughter, and youngeſt ſon, were left at *Aſtracan*. The Czar proceeding to that city, left *Poſcala*, the Empreſs's phyſician, to take care of him.

Demetrius came in *Auguſt* to *Aſtracan*, ſo waſted, that his friends hardly knew him. The beginning of *December* he was in ſuch danger, that he believed it neceſſary to *confeſs* and *communicate*, expecting death every moment. Admiral *Apraxin*, Count *Tolſtoi*, and Prince *George Trubezkoi*, haſtned to take their laſt leave of him. His wife, children, and family, ſtood round him in tears, whilſt he with uncommon reſolution comforted them, recommending them to the three miniſters, and exhorting them to mutual love and firm union after his death.

In this extremity, it was remembered that Mr. *Englert*, a phyſician in the army, had not been conſulted. He was immediately ſent for, and by his skill ſo far conquered the diſtemper, that *Demetrius* had ſtrength to go to the Cathedral of *Aſtracan* on *Chriſtmas*-Day. Finding himſelf daily grow ſtronger, he reſolved to leave *Aſtracan*, and repair to his lands, for which he obtained the Czar's leave.

He began his journey in *January* 1723, which was very tedious, not only on account of the great diſtance, but alſo by the returns of his diſtemper. However, he arrived at laſt, in *March*, in pretty good health. He ſpent his time in the uſual diverſions of the country, in ſettling his domeſtic affairs, and in building a Church, dedicated to St. *Demetrius*, when his health permitted him. At laſt, on the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, and his *Diabetes* increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he died the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, aged forty-nine years, ſeven months, and five days.

Jan. 14, 1723.

1723.

He had by his firſt wife ſix ſons and two daughters, and by his ſecond an only daughter. One of his daughters and two ſons died in his life-time, and he left behind him two daughters, *Maria* and *Smaragda*; and four ſons, *Matthew*, *Conſtantine*, *Serban*, and *Antiochus*, who are all alive. The laſt is now Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the Czarina to King *George*, and brought with him into *England* the *Latin* manuſcript of his father's *Othman* Hiſtory, from whence the *Engliſh* Tranſlation was made.

Demetrius was of a middle ſize, rather lean than fat. He had an agreeable countenance, and always ſpoke with affability, mildneſs and caution. His cuſtom was to riſe at five in the morning, and, ſmoaking a pipe of tobacco over a diſh of coffee after the *Turkiſh* manner, he retired to his ſtudy till dinner, which was conſtantly at noon. He generally dined upon one diſh, his favourite diſh being ſmall chicken with ſorrel. At his meals he always drank water with his wine. Drunkenneſs was his mortal enemy, for, after once drinking too much, he was ſick a fortnight. He ſlept a little after dinner, and the reſt of the day was ſpent in his ſtudy till ſeven in the evening. Then he ſaw his family, and ſupping at ten, went to bed at twelve. He was obliged to alter his way of living after he had been made Privy-Counſellor by the Czar, and had married a young wife; for the affairs of ſtate, and the charms of a beautiful young ſpouſe, frequently took him off from his ſtudies.

His father's death, when he was but a youth, his long ſtay at *Conſtantinople* without employ, and the ſhort continuance of the government of his Principality, did not allow him to ſhow his capacity in civil affairs, and his courage in military, though he wanted neither. His whole ſedentary life was employed in cultivating

vating his mind, the fruits of which appear in his works, the chief whereof are the following:

1. History of the growth and decay of the *Othman* Empire, in *Latin*, a manuscript.

2. System of the *Mahometan Religion*, written and printed in *Russian*, by the order of *Peter the Great*, to whom it is dedicated by the Author, in *Folio*.

3. The *World* and the *Soul*, printed in *Moldavia* in the *Greek* and *Moldavian* tongues: it is a book of morality in dialogues.

4. The antient and modern history of *Dacia*, a large *Folio*, written in the *Moldavian* language, a manuscript. The same book in *Latin* was lost in the *Caspian Sea*.

5. Present State of *Moldavia*, in *Latin*, with a large map of the country. It is now printing in *Holland* in *Quarto*.

6. History of the Creation, with physical observations, in *Latin*. A manuscript in *Folio*, intitled, *Theologo-Physica*.

7. The History of the two houses of *Brancovan* and *Cantacuzenus*, in the *Moldavian Tongue*; a manuscript, in *Quarto*.

8. History of the *Mahometans*, from the time of the false Prophet *Mahomet*, to the first *Turkish* Emperor, lost in the *Caspian Sea*.

9. A book of *Turkish musical Airs*, in *Quarto*.

10. Introduction to the *Turkish* musick, in the *Moldavian* language, in *Octavo*.

Besides his compleat works, he has penned several imperfect treatises, mostly upon morality and history, originals of which are preserved.

He spoke *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Arabic*, modern *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Russian*, and *Moldavian*; and understood very well antient *Greek*, *Sclavonian*, and *French*.

His principal study was History, though he made a good progress in Philosophy and the Mathematicks, of which Architecture pleased him most. The Churches he built in three of his villages, are of his design and manner.

He was member of the Academy of *Berlin*, and at the same time the news of his death reached *Petersburg*, the Emperor of *Germany*'s Resident received for the deceased a patent creating him *Prince of the Roman Empire*, which he sent back to his master.

FINIS.

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